A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

HUTTON WEBSTER

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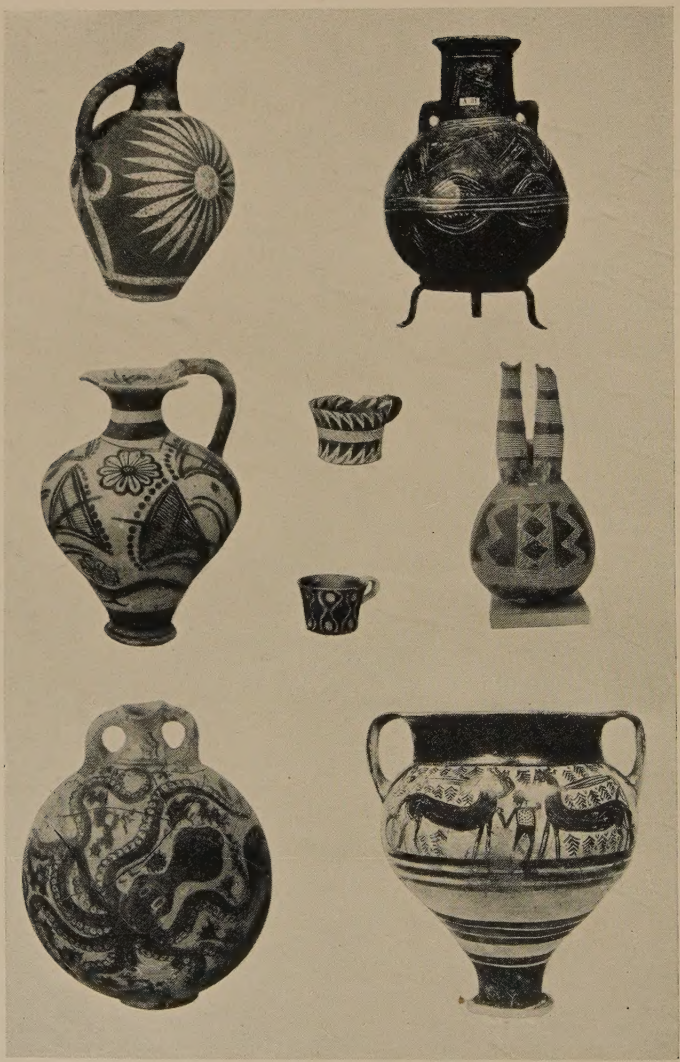

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POTTERY OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE

From Mycenæ, Crete, and Troy. Date *c.* 2000–1300 B.C.

Fr.

A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF ROME

BY

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PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

WITH 236 ILLUSTRATIONS
AND 55 MAPS AND PLANS

Ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων.

DIONYSIUS HALICARN.
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A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE AGES BEFORE HISTORY

1. The Study of History

HISTORY is the narrative of what civilized man has done. It deals with those social groups called states and nations. Just as biography describes the life of individuals, so history relates the rise, progress, and decline of human societies.

Subject-matter of history.

History cannot go farther back than written records. In the early life of every people, before the use of writing becomes general, many legends and stories are passed down by word of mouth from age to age. Traditional information of this nature soon grows untrustworthy, often absolutely false, like a piece of village gossip that has been many times retold. Until men have written records it is impossible for them to keep a full and accurate account of their achievements.

Written records.

Written records are of two sorts—books and inscriptions. We still possess many books composed in antiquity. Thus the sacred scriptures of the Hebrews collected in the Old Testament are our chief source of information for the history of this famous people. The history of the Babylonians who lived in western Asia is written on thin clay tablets, of which we have entire libraries. The dry climate of the Nile valley has preserved to this day thousands of the fragile papyrus[1] manu-

Books.

[1] The pith of the papyrus, a plant native to the Nile valley, was cut into slices, which were then pressed together and dried in the sun. Several of the paper sheets thus formed were glued together at their edges to form a roll. From *papyros* and *biblos*, the two names of this Egyptian plant, have come, through the Greek, our own words "paper" and "Bible."

scripts of the Egyptians. The Greeks and Romans at first employed the same material for their writings, but afterwards they used the more lasting parchment prepared from sheepskin. Nearly all the books that they have left to us are parchment manuscripts.

Besides books, there are written records known as inscriptions. These are usually cut in stone, but sometimes we find them painted over the surface of a wall, stamped on coins, or impressed upon metal tablets. Epitaphs on grave-stones make up the greatest number of inscriptions. About

Inscriptions.

THE DISC OF PHÆSTUS

An inscribed clay tablet found in Crete. The inscription is perhaps the most remarkable found in the island. Date about 1800 B.C.

forty thousand of them have come down to us from the Romans alone. A large part of our knowledge of antiquity is obtained from such records.

The historian also makes use of remains, such as statues, coins, ornaments, weapons, utensils, and, above all, stone monuments. Many ancient peoples were great builders. They raised palaces for their kings, tombs for the dead, fortresses, bridges, temples, arches. Some of these monuments still survive as memorials of the past; for example, the massive pyramids of Egypt, the Greek temples of light and graceful outline, and the Roman aqueducts which stretch for miles across the land.

Remains.

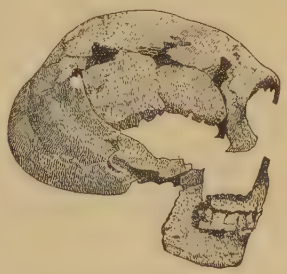
History, based on written records, begins in different countries at widely varying dates. A few books and inscriptions found in Egypt date back three or four thousand years before Christ. The annals of Babylonia are scarcely less ancient. In other parts of the world there is no such high antiquity. Trustworthy records in China and India do not go beyond 1000 B.C. For the Greeks and Romans, the commencement of the historic period must be placed about 750 B.C. The inhabitants of northern Europe did not come into the light of history until near the opening of the Christian era.

Beginnings of history.

2. Prehistoric Peoples

In studying the historic period our chief concern is with those peoples whose ideas or whose deeds have aided human progress and the spread of civilization. Six-sevenths of the earth's inhabitants now belong to civilized countries, and these countries include the best and largest regions of the globe. But when ancient history begins, some three or four thousand years before Christ, civilization was confined within a narrow area — the river valleys of western Asia and Egypt. The uncounted centuries before the dawn of history make up the prehistoric epoch when savagery and barbarism prevailed throughout the world.

The prehistoric epoch.



SKULL OF THE MAN OF SPY

One of two skulls discovered in 1886 in the cave of Spy (Belgium). Notice the prominent eyebrow ridges, the low, retreating forehead, the strong and well-developed lower jaw.

It has become possible, in recent years, to learn something about the men who lived during the ages before history. They left behind them no written records. There are neither books nor inscriptions for our guidance. We must depend on prehistoric remains which have been found in nearly every part of the world.

Prehistoric remains.

Primitive men often made their homes beneath overhanging cliffs and in deep caverns which gave protection against the wind, the rain, and wild animals. Rock shelters are especially numerous in France and England, where many have been explored. The examination of a cave sometimes reveals a few human skeletons or skulls, and very often

The cave dwellers.

A Cave Dwelling of the Stone Age

the bones of extinct animals such as the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. The cave deposits are also rich in articles of human workmanship — in stone axes, knives, arrowheads, barbed harpoons, and bone needles.

In Denmark there are huge "kitchen middens" on the sites of ancient villages and camping places. These artificial hills, sometimes a quarter of a mile long and several hundred feet wide, are really refuse heaps, containing myriads of oyster shells, and bones of animals, birds, and fish.

"Kitchen middens."

Mingled with this rubbish are implements of stone, bone, and wood, together with pieces of pottery and other things of human manufacture.

In Switzerland and northern Italy we find remains of prehistoric lake dwellers who raised their huts on platforms over the water, as some savages still build to-day.[1] The piles on which the platforms rest are pointed tree trunks driven into the bottom of the lake to a depth of several yards. The mud about the piles contains thousands of objects, including animal bones, seeds of various plants and fruits, shreds of coarse cloth, fragments of pottery and leather, even wooden lasts for shoes.

The lake dwellers.

Primitive men erected stone monuments and mounds of earth in all the continents. These structures served as tombs where the dead were laid away, surrounded by their weapons, tools, and ornaments. Such things were supposed to be necessary for a life within, or perhaps beyond, the grave.

Monuments and mounds.

A Prehistoric Egyptian Tomb

The skeleton lay on the left side with knees drawn up and hands raised to the head. About it were various articles of food and vessels of pottery.

The study of prehistoric remains is not our only means of picturing the childhood of man. We can learn a great deal from existing savages and barbarians who make implements and weapons, build houses and boats, like those of primitive men. Even the customs and beliefs of modern aborigines may resemble those of early men. Hence what we discover about the wild Australians, the African negroes, or the American Indians throws light on the ages before history.

Modern savages and barbarians.

[1] The modern Swiss *chalet* is thought to be a copy of the prehistoric lake dwelling.

3. The Prehistoric Ages

The prehistoric epoch is commonly divided, according to the character of the materials used for tools and weapons, into the Age of Stone and the Age of Metals.[1] The one is the age of savagery; the other is the age of barbarism or semicivilization.

The two ages.

Man's earliest implements were those that lay ready to his hand. A branch from a tree served as a spear; a thick stick in his strong arms became a powerful club. The bones or tusks of animals may often have proved dangerous weapons when wielded by some prehistoric Samson. Later, perhaps, came the use of a hard stone such as flint, which could be chipped into the forms of arrowheads, axes, and speartips. The first stone implements were so rude in shape

Development of tools and weapons.

ARROWHEADS OF THE STONE AGE

Different forms from Europe, Africa, and North America.

that it is difficult to believe them of human workmanship. They may have been made several hundred thousand years ago. After countless centuries of slow advance, primitive men learned to fasten wooden handles to their stone tools, and also to use such materials as jade and granite, which could be ground and polished

[1] This classification was anticipated by some ancient students, notably by the Roman poet Lucretius in the last century B.C. His great work, *On the Nature of Things*, contains this passage: "Weapons of old were hands, nails, and teeth, and stones, and boughs broken off trees, and flaming fire, as soon as it had become known. Afterwards the use of iron and copper was discovered; but the use of copper was earlier than that of iron; for it is easier to work and is found in greater quantity" (*De rerum natura*, v, 1283–1288).

into a variety of forms. More durable as well as more beautiful tools and weapons then came into existence.

Although the best of these stone implements must seem to us very crude and unsatisfactory, their use continued throughout the greater part of the prehistoric period. Every region of the world has had a Stone Age.[1] Its length is reckoned, not by centuries, but by millenniums.

The Stone Age.

Stone implements were not entirely given up even after the introduction of metals. At the present day, we still have our gunflints, grindstones, and burnishers. The survival of stone objects has sometimes been due to motives of superstition or religion. Thus the Egyptians employed stone knives for embalming the dead centuries after the metals had found their way into the valley of the Nile; and the priests of ancient Mexico slaughtered the sacrificial victims with blades of stone, though for other purposes copper had been long in common use. Small stone axes and arrowheads are often worn by ignorant people as charms against witchcraft and poison. Sometimes these objects are called thunderbolts and are thought to have fallen from heaven. The peasants of Scotland and Ireland call them "elf shot," supposing that they are shot by elves or fairies at men and cattle. Such quaint beliefs have great vitality.

Survivals of the Stone Age.

In comparison with the Stone Age, the Age of Metals covers a brief expanse of time. The knowledge and use of metals date back not much before the dawn of history. The earliest civilized peoples, the Babylonians and Egyptians, when we first become acquainted with them, appear to be passing from the use of stone implements to those of metal.

Age of Metals.

The coming of the metals brought about a revolution the greatest that the world has seen or that it will ever see. The history

[1] There are still some savage tribes, for instance, the Australians, which continue to make stone implements very similar to those of prehistoric men. Other primitive peoples, such as the natives of the Pacific islands, passed directly from the use of stone to that of iron after this part of the world was opened up to European trade in the nineteenth century.

of civilization has been declared to be the history of the metals in the hands of man. No wonder that round these treasures of earth, gathered from the glittering sands or smelted from the deep rock, there grew up many a legend which told of wondrous smiths such as the Greek Hephæstus (Vulcan), whose forge was in the smoking crater of Mount Ætna, or the Hebrew Tubal-Cain, who lived in the seventh generation after Adam and was "a master in all copper and iron work."[1]

Significance of the metals.

The substitution of metal for stone took place very gradually. Copper, at first, was the material most commonly employed. The credit for the invention of copper tools seems to belong to the Egyptians, who began by using the crude copper ore (malachite) found in the Nile valley. At a very early date they were working the copper mines on the peninsula of Sinai. The Babylonians probably obtained their copper from the same region. Copper implements long continued to be used on the island of Cyprus[2] in the eastern Mediterranean, as well as in various parts of Europe.

Copper.

But copper tools were soft and would not keep an edge. Some ancient smith, more ingenious than his fellows, discovered that the addition of a small part of tin to the copper produced a new metal — bronze — harder than the old, yet capable of being moulded into a variety of forms. The use of the superior bronze implements spread rapidly. At least as early as 3000 B.C., we find bronze taking the place of copper in both Egypt and Babylonia. Somewhat later bronze came into use on the island of Crete, then along the eastern coasts of Greece, and afterwards in other European countries.

Bronze.

The introduction of iron occurred in comparatively recent times. At first it was a scarce and therefore a very precious metal, and was employed only for small objects, such as charms

[1] *Genesis*, iv, 22.

[2] The very name of this island means "copper" (Greek, Κύπρος).

and ornaments. The Egyptians seem to have made little use of iron before 1500 B.C. They called it "the metal of heaven," as if they obtained it from meteorites. In the Greek Homeric poems, composed about 900 B.C. or later, we find iron considered so valuable that a lump of it is one of the chief prizes at athletic games. In the first five books of the Bible, iron is mentioned only thirteen times, though copper and bronze are referred to forty-four times. Iron is more difficult to work than copper or bronze, but it is vastly superior to those metals in hardness and durability. With iron, people could make better axes for cutting down the forests, better plows for tilling the soil, and better weapons for slaying wild animals. When iron implements came into general use, man's mastery over nature was assured.[1]

Iron.

EARLY ROMAN BAR MONEY

A bar of copper marked with the figure of a bull. Dates from the fourth century B.C.

During the prehistoric period early man came to be widely scattered throughout the world. Here and there, slowly, and with the utmost difficulty, he began to take the first steps toward civilization. The tools and weapons he left behind him have given us some evidence of his advance. We may now single out some of his other great achievements and follow their development to the dawn of history.

First steps toward civilization.

4. Domestication of Animals

Primitive man, at the outset, must have lived on what nature supplied in the way of wild berries, nuts, roots, and herbs.

[1] Iron was unknown to the inhabitants of North America and South America before the coming of the Europeans. The natives used many stone implements besides those of copper and bronze. The Indians got most of their copper from the mines in the Lake Superior region, whence it was carried far and wide among the various tribes.

Where fish or game were abundant, he added the flesh of animals to his vegetarian diet. As his implements improved and his skill increased, he became a hunter, trapper, and fisher. A tribe of hunters, however, requires an extensive territory and a constant supply of game. When the wild animals are all killed or their numbers are seriously reduced, privation and hardship result. It was a forward step, therefore, when man began to tame animals as well as to kill them.

Hunting and fishing stage.

The dog was man's first conquest over the animal kingdom. Bones of the dog appear in "kitchen middens" belonging to the Stone Age. That primitive animal seems to have descended from some creature now extinct, midway in size between a hound and a spaniel. As early as the Age of Metals, various breeds appear, such as deerhounds, sheep dogs, and mastiffs. The dog soon showed how useful he could be. He tracked and ran down game, guarded the camp, and later, in the pastoral stage, protected flocks and herds against their wild enemies.[1]

Domestication of the dog.

The cow was also domesticated at a remote period. Its bones are found in some of the oldest lake dwellings in Switzerland. No other animal has been more useful to mankind. The cow's flesh and milk supply food; its skin provides clothing; its sinews, bones, and horns yield materials for primitive implements. It was very early employed as a draught animal. Some Egyptian paintings which in date go back almost to Stone Age times represent oxen bearing the yoke and drawing the plough. Cattle have also been commonly used as a kind of money. Thus the Homeric Greeks, whose wealth consisted chiefly of their herds, priced a slave at twenty oxen, a suit of armour at one hundred oxen, and so on. The early Romans reckoned values in cattle, one ox being equivalent to ten sheep. As late as the fifth century B.C., all fines in Roman courts were

The cow.

[1] Even the savage Australians, the lowest of mankind, have a partially domesticated animal in the dingo, or native dog.

paid in cows and sheep. Our English word "pecuniary" goes back to the Latin *pecus* or "cattle."

The domestication of the horse came much later than that of the cow. In the early Stone Age, the horse ran wild over western Europe and formed an important source of food for primitive men. This prehistoric horse, as some ancient drawings show,[1] was a small animal with shaggy mane and tail. It very much resembled the wild pony still found on the steppes of Mongolia. The domesticated horse does not appear in Egypt and western Asia much before 1500 B.C. The name which the Babylonians gave to it, "the ass of the East," indicates that the horse was first introduced from central or northern Asia. For a long time after the horse was tamed, the more manageable ox continued to be used as the beast of burden. The horse was kept for chariots of war, as among the Egyptians, or ridden bareback in races, as by the early Greeks.

The horse.

At the close of prehistoric times in the Old World, nearly all the domestic animals of to-day were known. Besides those just mentioned, the goat, sheep, ass, and hog had been converted into man's useful servants.[2]

Other animals domesticated.

5. Domestication of Plants

The domestication of animals made possible an advance from the hunting and fishing stage to the pastoral stage. Herds of cattle and sheep would furnish more certain and abundant supplies of food than the chase could ever yield. So we find in some parts of the world, as on the great Asiatic plains, the herdsman succeeding the hunter and fisher. But even in this stage much land for grazing is required. With the exhaustion of the pasturage the sheep or cattle must be driven to new fields. Hence pastoral peoples, as well as hunting and

Pastoral stage.

[1] See the illustration, page 21.

[2] In the New World, the only important domestic animal was the llama of the Andes. The natives used it as a beast of burden, ate its flesh, and clothed themselves with its wool.

fishing folk, remained nomads without fixed homes. Before permanent settlements were possible, another onward step became necessary. This was the domestication of plants.

The domestication of plants marked almost as wonderful an advance as the domestication of animals. When wild seed grasses and plants had been transformed into the great cereals — wheat, oats, barley, and rice — people could raise them for food and so could pass from the life of wandering hunters or shepherds to the life of settled farmers. There is evidence that in Stone Age times some of the inhabitants of western Europe were familiar with various cultivated plants, but agriculture on a large scale seems to have begun in the fertile regions of Egypt and western Asia.[1] Here first arose populous communities with leisure to develop the arts of life. Here, as has been already seen, we must look for the beginnings of history.

Agricultural stage.

6. Writing and the Alphabet

Though history is always based on written records, the first steps towards writing are prehistoric. We begin with the pictures or rough drawings which have been found among the remains of the early Stone Age. Primitive man, however, could not rest satisfied with portraying objects. He wanted to record thoughts and actions, and so his pictures tended to become symbols of ideas. Thus the figure of an arrow might represent, not a real object, but the idea of an "enemy." A "fight" could be shown

Picture writing.

INDIAN PICTURE WRITING

Picture writing of the Tahltan, a British Columbia tribe. The drawing was done in charcoal on the blazed trunk of a tree. The meaning is: "Using a raft, I shot three geese."

[1] The plants domesticated in the New World were not numerous. The most important were the potato of Peru and Ecuador, Indian corn or maize, tobacco, the tomato, and manioc. From the roots of the latter, the starch called tapioca is derived.

simply by drawing two arrows directed against each other. In such ways a few symbols were able to express a wide range of ideas. Many uncivilized tribes still employ picture writing of this sort. The American Indians developed it in most elaborate fashion. On rolls of birch bark or the skins of animals, they wrote messages, hunting stories and songs, and even preserved their tribal annals.

VARIOUS SIGNS OF SYMBOLIC PICTURE WRITING

1, "war" (Dakota Indian); 2, "morning" (Ojibwa Indian); 3, "nothing" (Ojibwa Indian); 4 and 5, "to eat" (Indian, Mexican, Egyptian, etc.).

A new stage in the development of writing was reached when the picture represented, not an actual object, or an idea, but a sound of the human voice. This difficult but all important step appears to have been taken through the use of the *rebus*, that is, writing words by pictures of objects which stand for sounds. Such rebuses are found in prehistoric Egyptian writing; for example, the Egyptian words for "sun" and "goose" were so nearly alike that the royal title "Son of the Sun" could be suggested by grouping the pictures of the sun and a goose. Rebus making of this sort is still a common game among children, but to primitive men it must have been a serious occupation.

Sound writing; the rebus.

MEXICAN REBUS

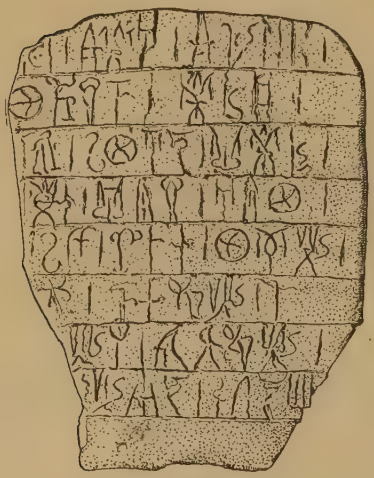
The Latin *Pater Noster*, "Our Father," is written by a flag (*pan*), a stone (*te*), a prickly pear (*noch*), and another stone (*te*).

In the simplest form of sound writing, each separate picture or symbol stands for the sound of an entire word. This method was employed by the Chinese, who have never given it up. Every one of the forty thousand words in a Chinese dictionary has its equivalent in a separate written character. To learn them all would be the work of a lifetime.

Words.

CHINESE PICTURE WRITING AND LATER CONVENTIONAL CHARACTERS

A more developed form of sound writing occurs when signs are used for the sounds, not of entire words, but of separate syllables.



CRETAN WRITING

A large tablet with linear script found in the palace at Gnossus, Crete. There are eight lines of writing with a total of about twenty words. Notice the upright lines which appear to mark the termination of each group of signs.

Syllables. Since the number of different syllables which the voice can utter is limited, it now becomes possible to write all the words of a language with a few hundred signs. The Japanese, who borrowed some of the Chinese symbols, used them to denote syllables, instead of entire words. The Babylonians possessed, in their cuneiform[1] characters, signs for about five hundred syllables. Recent discoveries in Crete indicate that its prehistoric inhabitants were acquainted with a somewhat similar system.

Letters. The final step in the development of writing is taken when the separate sounds of the voice are analyzed and each is represented by a single sign or letter. With alphabets of a few score letters, every word in a language may be easily written.

[1] Latin *cuneus*, "a wedge."

The Egyptians early developed such an alphabet. Unfortunately they never learned to give up their older methods of writing and to rely upon alphabetic signs alone. Egyptian hieroglyphics[1] are a curious jumble of object-pictures, symbols of ideas, and signs for entire words, separate syllables, and letters. The writing is a museum of all the steps in the development from the picture to the letter.

Egyptian hieroglyphics.

BEGINNINGS OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE

Below the pictured hieroglyphics in the first line is the same text in a simpler writing known as hieratic. The two systems, however, were not distinct; they correspond, like our own printed and written characters. The third line illustrates old Babylonian cuneiform, in which the characters, like the hieroglyphics, are rude and broken-down pictures of objects. Derived from them is the later cuneiform shown in lines four and five.

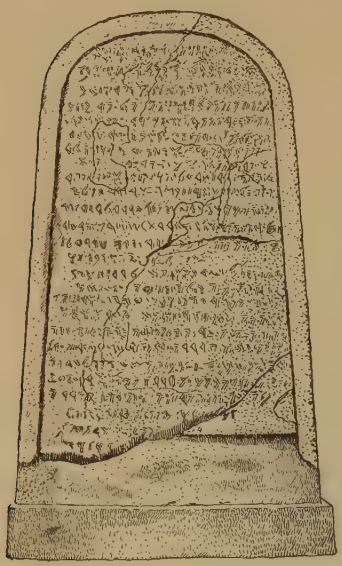
As early, apparently, as the tenth century B.C., we find the Phœnicians of western Asia in possession of an alphabet. It consisted of twenty-two letters, each representing a consonant. Doubtless the Phœnicians did not invent this alphabet themselves. They seem to have borrowed most or all of the signs for letters from neighbouring peoples. Egypt, Babylonia, and Crete may have furnished the Phœnicians with their signs.

Phœnician alphabet.

[1] From the Greek words *hieros*, "holy," and *glyphein*, "to carve." The Egyptians regarded their signs as sacred.

If they did not originate the alphabet now in use, the Phœnicians did most to spread a knowledge of it in other lands. They were bold sailors and traders who bought and sold throughout the Mediterranean. Wherever they went, they took their alphabet. From the Phœnicians, the Greeks learned some, if not all, of their letters. Then the Greeks taught them to the Romans, from whom other European peoples[1] borrowed them.

Diffusion of the Phœnician alphabet.



THE MOABITE STONE
Louvre, Paris

Found in 1868 at Dîbân, east of the Dead Sea. The monument records the victory of Mesha, king of Moab, over the united armies of Israel and Judah, about 850 B.C. The inscription, consisting of 34 lines, is one of the most ancient examples of Phœnician writing.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance to mankind of alphabetic writing. Though no existing alphabet perfectly represents every sound of a language, the system is simple compared with all earlier methods of recording thought. It is vastly easier nowadays to acquire knowledge than it was in Oriental antiquity when only a few favoured persons could read and write. Thus the alphabet, by increasing the intelligence of the common people, has helped to raise them in the scale of civilization.

Importance of the alphabet.

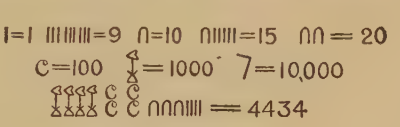
7. Beginnings of Science

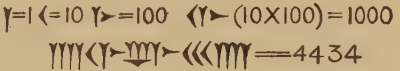
Already we have seen that prehistoric men in their struggle for existence had gathered an extensive fund of information. They

[1] Our word "alphabet" comes from the name of the first two letters of the Greek alphabet, *alpha* and *beta*.

could make useful and artistic implements of stone. They could work many metals into a variety of tools and weapons. They were practical botanists, able to distinguish different plants and to cultivate them for food. They were close students of animal life and expert hunters and fishers. They knew how to produce fire and preserve it, how to cook, how to fashion pottery and baskets, how to spin and weave, how to build boats and houses. After writing came into general use, all this knowledge served as the foundations of science.

Foundations of scientific knowledge.





ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN NUMERATION

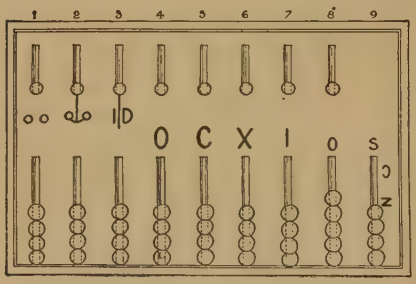
We can still distinguish some of the first steps in scientific knowledge. Counting, for instance, began with calculations on one's fingers, a method still familiar to children. Finger counting explains the origin of the decimal system. The beginnings of numeral figures may be seen in picture writing, as when an Indian warrior will make four vertical strokes to show that he has taken four scalps. When writing was in its infancy, some peoples hit on the device of using special marks for fives, tens, hundreds, and their multiples, leaving only the units to be indicated by single strokes. Examples are found among the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians. This rather clumsy method has not yet disappeared, for the Roman numerals V, X, C, M, etc., are still in common use. The simpler Arabic numerals probably originated in Babylonia, whence they spread to India. They were introduced into Europe during the Middle Ages by the Arabs.

Systems of notation.

The art of reckoning has likewise its history. Perhaps the first way was to reckon by means of small objects such as pebbles, beans, or shells. Traders among the natives of Africa still employ these primitive counters. The next step

Methods of reckoning.

was to place them on a counting board, or abacus, which was divided into columns so that in one column the objects represented units, the next tens, and so on. The Roman boy solved his problems in arithmetic by means of the abacus. Chinese merchants are wonderfully expert in its use. Even in modern European countries it still holds a place in the schools. The final step in the art of reckoning was to get rid of counters and write down the numbers in ruled columns. For empty columns the sign for "nothing," or zero, was invented. A zero sign, though unfamiliar to the Romans, seems to have been known in Babylonia several centuries before the Christian era. The use of this modest-looking symbol made it possible to work out easily the most elaborate calculations in arithmetic.



ROMAN ABACUS OR COUNTING BOARD

The simplest and probably the earliest measures of length are those derived from various parts of the human body. Some American Indian tribes employed the double arm's length, the single arm's length, the hand width, and the finger width. The Mexicans used the footstep and the pace or stride. Greek measures were based on the finger breadth, sixteen of which made the foot. The Romans counted one thousand paces or double steps to the mile. Old English standards, such as the span, the ell, and the hand, all go back to this very obvious method of measuring on the body.

Measures of length.

Measures of capacity appear to have been first obtained from natural objects of uniform size. Thus the Hebrews had the hen's egg as their unit; the modern Malays employ cocoanuts as measures; the Chinese use joints of bamboo. In nearly all systems of weight the smallest unit is some

Measures of capacity and weight.

actual seed, such as the old English barleycorn, of which twenty-four made a pennyweight. The same natural unit was familiar to the Greeks and Romans. Some of our modern standards of weight and capacity can be traced back to those of antiquity; for instance, the pound and ounce, gallon and pint, come from Roman weights and measures.

It is interesting to trace the beginnings of time reckoning and of that most important institution, the calendar. Some savage peoples distinguish the passage of time only by days and nights. The Eskimo, for example, counts by so many "sleeps." A longer cycle of time was found in the lunar month, the interval between two new moons (about twenty-nine days, twelve hours). Most primitive tribes reckon by "moons." The importance of the moon for the calendars of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians is shown by the fact that among the former the hieroglyph for "month" was represented by a crescent moon, and among the latter, by the regular use of the sign for thirty to indicate the moon god. In nearly all the languages of early European peoples, the names for moon and month were once the same.

Calculation of time; the month.

Twelve lunar months give us the lunar year of about three hundred and fifty-four days. In order to adapt such a year to the different seasons, the practice arose of inserting a thirteenth month from time to time. Such awkward calendars were used in antiquity by the Babylonians, Jews, and Greeks; in modern times by the Arabs and Chinese.[1] The Egyptians were the only people in the Old World to frame a solar year. It consisted of twelve months, each containing thirty days, with five extra days at the end of the year. This calendar was taken over by the Romans, who added the system of leap years. It has since been adopted by most civilized countries.[2]

The year.

[1] The Chinese lunar calendar was abandoned for the solar calendar in 1912, when the oldest empire in the world became the youngest republic.

[2] The Mexican solar year, the only one to be used in the New World, also consisted of three hundred and sixty days with five more added at the end of the year;

The week seems to have arisen simply as a convenient division of the lunar month. Thus the very common ten-day week was probably suggested by the three aspects of the moon in the waxing crescent, the more or less full disk, and the waning crescent. Ten-day periods were familiar to peoples so distant from one another as the New Zealanders, the Peruvians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. Weeks of eight days were used in antiquity by the Romans.

The week.

The seven-day week almost certainly arose from a recognition of four lunar phases — new moon, first quarter, full moon, and last quarter. Many primitive peoples who have no true weeks, nevertheless watch the changes of the moon and employ them as a convenient means of noting the passage of time. The Babylonians, at a very early period, divided their months into seven-day cycles, of which the last would contain more than seven days, since there are more than twenty-eight days in a lunar month. As far as we know, the Hebrews were the first to employ a seven-day week which does not follow the moon's phases, but runs without interruption through the months and the years. The week of seven days, named after the sun, moon, and five planets, was familiar to the Romans as early as the first century A.D. It has since spread to every civilized land.

The seven-day week.

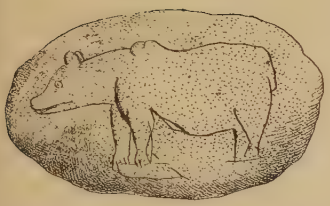
8. Beginnings of Art

The study of prehistoric art takes us back almost to the infancy of mankind. Many thousands of years ago some savages dwelt in western Europe whose artistic productions have been found in great numbers. They lived among animals, such as the mammoth, cave bear, and woolly-haired rhinoceros, which have since disappeared, and among many others, such as the lion and hippopotamus, which now

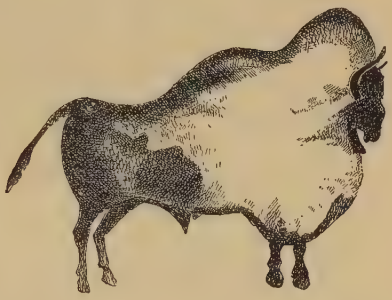
Early drawing and painting.

these supplementary days were thought unlucky, and on them nothing was done. The likeness between the calendars of the Mexicans and Egyptians is only one of the remarkable resemblances between these two early civilizations.

Sketch of Mammoth on a Tusk found in a Cave in France



Cave Bear drawn on a Pebble



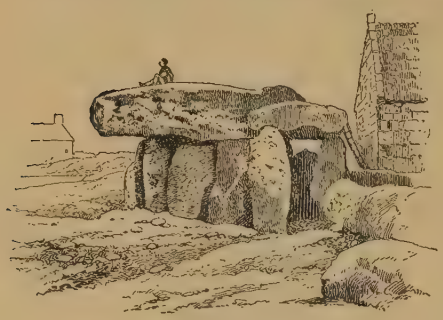
Bison painted on the Wall of a Cave

Wild Horse on the Wall of a Cave in Spain

PREHISTORIC ART

Later he pictured an aurochs — later he pictured a bear —
Pictured the sabre-toothed tiger dragging a man to his lair —
Pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone —
Out of the love that he bore them, scribing them clearly on bone. — Kipling.

exist only in warmer climates. Armed with clubs, flint axes, and horn daggers, primitive man sought out these fierce beasts and killed them. On fragments of their bones or tusks, or on cavern walls, he amused himself by engraving and painting pictures of his prey. Some of these earliest works of art are of remarkable excellence. Evidently their authors must have been close observers of animal life.



A Dolmen

Department of Morbihan, Brittany.

A still later period of the Stone Age witnessed the beginnings of architecture. Men had then begun to raise the huge dolmens which are found in various parts of the Old World, from England to India. A dolmen is a monument made by laying one long stone over several other stones set upright in the ground. It formed a one-chambered tomb which was usually covered with earth so as to make a mound. Even the pyramids of Egypt are but reproductions, on a vaster scale, of such prehistoric grave mounds.

Early architecture; dolmens.

In this same Stone Age we find enormous stone pillars, known as menhirs, which often marked a grave. In the French district of Brittany, menhirs are very numerous; there is one place where nearly four thousand of these monuments are still standing. The menhir is the parent of the Egyptian obelisk and indeed of all memorial columns. Carved in the semblance of a human face and figure, the menhir became a statue, perhaps the first that man ever made.

Menhirs.

A number of menhirs were sometimes combined into one impressive monument. A famous example is Stonehenge, which

was probably raised in the earlier part of the Age of Metals. Stonehenge consisted of two circles of upright stones enclosing two ellipses, both open at one end. Some of the stones are sixteen feet high and eighteen feet in circumference. It is marvellous that men with few tools and no mechanical devices could have hauled them, and lifted them, and put them in position.[1]

Stonehenge.

As we approach historic times, we can trace a steady improvement in the various forms of art. Recent discoveries in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and other lands indicate that their early inhabitants were able architects, often building on a colossal scale. Their paintings and sculptures prepared the way for the work of later artists. Our survey of the beginnings of art shows us that in this field, as elsewhere, we must start with the things accomplished by prehistoric man.

Significance of prehistoric art.

CARVED MENHIR

From Saint-Sernin, in Aveyron, a department of southern France.

9. Historic Peoples

At the dawn of history, the various regions of the world were already in the possession of many different peoples. Such characteristics as the shape of the skull, the features of the face, stature, or complexion, may serve to distinguish one people from another. Other grounds for distinction are found in language, customs, beliefs, and general intelligence.

Races of man.

[1] Stonehenge is situated on Salisbury Plain, about nine miles from the pleasant town of Salisbury. No traveller should fail to visit this impressive memorial of a vanished people.

If we consider physical differences only, it is possible to classify the world's inhabitants into a few large groups or races. Each of these groups occupies, roughly speaking, its separate area of the globe. The most familiar classification is that which recognizes the Black or Negro race dwelling in Africa, the Yellow or Mongolian race whose home is in central and eastern Asia, and the White or Caucasian race of western Asia and

Classification of races.

STONEHENGE

Europe. Sometimes two additional divisions are made by including, as the Red race, the American Indians, and as the Brown race, the natives of the Pacific islands.

These separate racial groups have made very unequal progress in culture. The peoples belonging to the Black, Red, and Brown races are still either savages or barbarians as were the men of prehistoric times. The Chinese and Japanese are the only representatives of the Yellow race that have been able to form civilized states. In the present, as in the past, it is chiefly the members of the White race who are developing civilization and making history.

The White race.

Because of differences in language, scholars have divided the White or Caucasian race into two main groups, called Indo-Europeans and Semites.[1] This classification is often helpful, but the student should remember that Indo-European and Semitic peoples are not always to be sharply

Indo-Europeans and Semites.

[1] The Old Testament (*Genesis*, x, 21–22) represents Shem (or Sem), son of Noah, as the ancestor of the Semitic peoples. The title "Indo-European" tells

distinguished because they have different types of language. Physically, there is no very clear distinction between the two groups. A clear skin, an oval face, wavy or curly hair, and regular features separate both of them from the Negro and the Mongolian.

The Indo-Europeans in antiquity included the Hindus of India, the Medes and Persians dwelling on the plateau of Iran, the Greeks and Italians, as well as most of the inhabitants of central and western Europe. All these peoples spoke related languages which are believed to be offshoots from one common tongue.[1] Of course, likeness in language does not imply that all Indo-Europeans were related in blood. Men often adopt a foreign tongue, as they may a foreign religion or custom, and pass it on to their children.

Principal Indo-European peoples.

us that the members of that group now dwell in India and in Europe. Indo-European peoples are popularly called "Aryans" from a Sanskrit word meaning "noble."

[1] The likeness between the Indo-European languages is best illustrated by the common words for relationship. Terms such as "father," "mother," "brother," "daughter," etc., occur with slight changes of form in nearly all the Indo-European tongues. Thus "father" in Sanskrit (the old Hindu language) is *pitar*, in ancient Persian is *pidar*, in Greek, πατήρ (*patḗr*), in Latin, *pater*, and in German, *Vater*.

The various Semitic nations dwelling in western Asia and Arabia were more closely connected one to another. Not only did they speak much the same type of language, but also in physical traits and habits of life they appear to have been akin. The Semites in antiquity included the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Arabians.

Principal Semitic peoples.

At the opening of the historic period, still other parts of the ancient world were the homes of various peoples who hardly can be classed as either Indo-Europeans or Semites. Among these were the Egyptians of north Africa and the inhabitants of Asia Minor. We must remember that, during the long prehistoric ages, repeated conquests and migrations had mingled the blood of many different communities. History has to do with few unmixed peoples.

Peoples of uncertain relationship.

10. The Historic Ages

Recorded history — some six thousand years in length — may be conveniently divided into three parts. Ancient history begins with the Oriental peoples which were the first to develop the arts of civilized life. At the outset the Semites were superior in civilization and power. The first or Oriental period, therefore, is chiefly a record of the relations of the Semitic nations with one another. Ancient history enters upon its second or Classical period, when the Greeks, and later the Romans, dwelling in the peninsulas of southern Europe, secured the supremacy for men of Indo-European speech. Thus the course of ancient history moves steadily from East to West.

Ancient history.

Ancient history reaches its natural conclusion when classical civilization, developed by the Greeks and Romans, passed under the control of other Indo-European peoples. A period of over one thousand years — from the end of the fifth to the close of the fifteenth century — covers the epoch of transition from ancient to modern times. For lack of a better

Medieval history.

name we call this era the Middle Ages and describe its history as medieval history. It deals particularly with the nations of western Europe, which had now taken the leading place in the world.

By the close of medieval times the field of history once more widens. The world of America opens up to exploration and settlement. New nations in new lands begin to play their parts on the historic stage. These great events belong to modern history, the record of the last four hundred years of human progress.

Modern history.

In this book we shall concern ourselves with ancient history alone. We shall try to learn something of distant times and unfamiliar peoples, not only because such a study is interesting in itself, but also because it helps us to understand the sources of our own civilization. The roots of the present, it has been truly said, lie deep in the past.

CHAPTER II

THE LANDS AND PEOPLES OF THE EAST TO ABOUT 500 B.C.

11. Countries of Farther Asia

ANCIENT history begins in the East—in Asia, and in that part of Africa called Egypt, which the peoples of antiquity always regarded as belonging to Asia.

If we look at a physical map of Asia, we see at once how it consists of two very unequal divisions separated by an almost continuous mass of mountains and deserts. These two divisions are Farther and Nearer, or Eastern and Western, Asia.

Farther Asia begins at the centre of the continent with a series of elevated table-lands which rise into the lofty plateaux known as the "Roof of the World." Here two tremendous mountain chains diverge. The Altai range runs out to the northeast and reaches the shores of the Pacific near Bering Strait. The Himalaya range extends southeast to the Malay peninsula at the other corner of the continent. In the angle formed by their intersection lies the cold and barren region of East Turkestan and Tibet, the height of which, in some places, is ten thousand feet above the sea. From these mountains and plateaux the ground sinks gradually toward the north into the lowlands of West Turkestan and Siberia, toward the east and south into the plains of China and India.

Physical geography of Farther Asia.

Two great divisions of mankind have inhabited Asia from primeval times—the Aryans and the Asian or Yellow race. The Aryan peoples occupy the southwestern area, to the borders of

the plateau region, while the Asian division holds the great Siberian plain and the area to the east of the table-lands. The Asian race is roughly divided into the Sinitic and Sibiric branches, the former comprising the inhabitants of the high region east of the Pamir, and including the Chinese, the latter spreading over the Siberian plain.

The peoples of Asia.

The fertile territory of central China, watered by the two

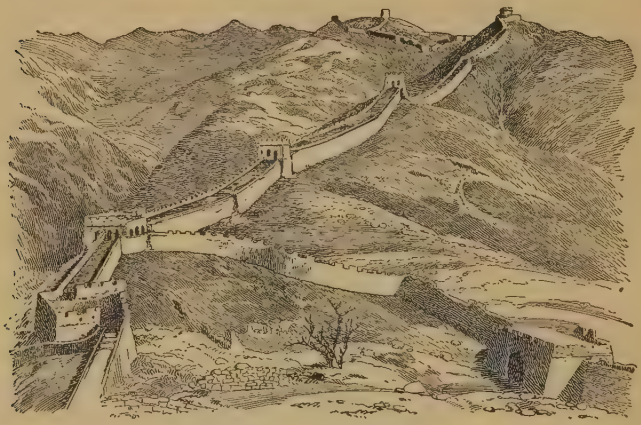
DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA

streams Yangtse and Hoangho, was settled at a remote period by wandering tribes. They must have been little better than savages, if we may accept Chinese traditions, which refer to a time when the people lived in caves, ate uncooked food, and wore the skins of animals. Later they grew less rude. We are told how fire was created by the friction of two pieces of dry wood; how the first houses were built by intertwining the boughs of trees; how wise rulers taught their subjects to smelt and forge metals, to tame wild animals, and to cultivate the soil. Then came the art of writing and an advance to the historic age.

Prehistoric age in China.

The beginnings of Chinese history, according to native accounts, go back to nearly three thousand years before Christ; but trustworthy records do not go beyond 1000 B.C. The civilization developed in antiquity has endured with little change until the present day. The inhabitants of neighbouring countries, Korea, Japan, and Indo-China, owe much to this civilization. It has exerted little influence on the other peoples

Historic age in China.



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

The wall averages 20 feet in width and is wide enough to allow from three to six horsemen to ride abreast.

of Asia because the Chinese have always occupied a distant corner of the continent, cut off by deserts and mountains from the lands on the west. As if these barriers were not enough, they raised the Great Wall[1] to protect their country from invasion. Behind this mighty rampart the Chinese have lived secluded and aloof from the progress of our western world. In ancient times China was a land of mystery.

[1] The wall extends about 1500 miles along the northern frontier of China. In 1908 it was traversed in its entire length by an American, Mr. W. E. Geil. He found many parts of the fortification still in good repair, though built twenty-one centuries ago.

India was better known than China, especially its two great rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, which flow to the southwest and southeast respectively, and make this part of the peninsula one of the most fertile territories on the globe. **India.** Such a land attracted immigrants. The region now known as the Punjab—the land of the five great streams—was settled by light-skinned Indo-Europeans[1] perhaps as early as 2000 B.C. Then they colonized the valley of the Ganges and so brought all northern India under their control.

India did not remain entirely isolated from the rest of Asia. The Punjab was twice conquered by invaders from the West; by the Persians in the sixth century B.C.,[2] and about two hundred years later by the Greeks. **India and the West.** After being freed from foreign rule India continued to be of importance through its commerce, which introduced such luxuries as precious stones, spices, and ivory among the western peoples. The country, however, remained outside the "Circuit of the Lands" (*Orbis Terrarum*) familiar to the ancients. Even as late as the beginning of the Christian era, a Greek geographer could declare that "few persons of our nation have ever seen India; and those who have visited it have seen only a small part of the peninsula."[3]

The territories now known as Tibet and Turkestan were called Scythia[4] in antiquity. That part of Scythia lying east of the Caspian Sea is watered by two important rivers, the Oxus and the Jaxartes. **Asiatic Scythia.** Though both now flow into the Sea of Aral, the Oxus formerly emptied into the Caspian. Hence it made an important artery of traffic by which the merchandise of the far East passed over the Caspian and Black Seas into Europe.

All this Trans-Caspian region has been drying up for centuries. Lakes and rivers have disappeared one after another. Fertile valleys and once populous cities have been replaced by the shifting

[1] See page 25. [2] See page 66. [3] Strabo, *Geography*, xv, 1, 2.

[4] The name Scythia was also applied in ancient times to the European regions north of the Black Sea.

sands of the desert. Before the drought set in, some parts of Scythia were seats of a very ancient civilization. Recent explorations[1] on the site of Anau, in an oasis east of the Caspian, have revealed evidences of a culture which may go back several thousand years before Christ. The earliest inhabitants built their houses of sun-dried brick, used flint sickles, and made rude pottery. They cultivated barley and wheat, and had domesticated sheep. The ruins of later settlements contain bones of many other domestic animals, including the horse and the ox, and also metal implements, first of copper, then of iron. All the stages of progress from barbarism to civilization are thus found on this one site. But the changes in climate seem gradually to have made the Trans-Caspian area incapable of supporting a large population. During historic times it formed the abode of the wild Scythians, nomadic tribes whose inroads were so much feared by the more civilized peoples of Asia.

Civilization of Anau.

The countries of Farther Asia, as a consequence of their remote and inaccessible situation, were very imperfectly known in antiquity. It is only in recent times that such lands as China and India have begun to open up to western ideas and western culture. In our study of Oriental history we may set them aside and confine ourselves to the countries of Nearer Asia.

Isolation of Farther Asia.

12. Countries of Nearer Asia

Nearer, or Western, Asia, the smaller of the two great divisions of the Asiatic continent, is a region bounded by the Black and Caspian seas on the north, by the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean on the south, eastward by the Indus River, westward by the Mediterranean and the Nile. Nearly all the countries within this area played a part in the ancient history of the Orient.

Boundaries of Nearer Asia.

[1] Those made in 1904 by the Carnegie Expedition to Turkestan.

PHYSICAL
MAP OF ASIA
Below Ocean Level
0 to 500 Ft.
500 to 3,000 Ft.
3,000 to 9,000 Ft.
9,000 to 15,000 Ft.
over 15,000 Ft.
Deserts
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH CHINA SEA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
CEYLON
EUROPE
ASIA MINOR
AFRICA
INDIA
CHINA
Plain of Siberia
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
Behring Sea
Lena R.
Amur R.
Ob R.
Yenisei R.
Irtish R.
Ural Mts.
Altai Mts.
Desert of Gobi
Thian Shan Mts.
Turfan Depression
Mt. Godwin Austen 28,250
Mustagh Ata 24,400
Plateau of Tibet
Himalaya Mts.
Mt. Everest 29,002
Brahmaputra R.
Ganges R.
Indus R.
Plateau of the Deccan
Plateau of Iran
Plateau of Arabia
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Caucasus Mts.
Mt. Elbrus 18,470
Mt. Ararat 16,916
Mt. Demavend
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Nile R.
Section along Line A-B.
Plains of Siberia
Altai Mts. 10,930
Thian Shan 13,124
Turfan Depression 427
Mt. Godwin Austen 28,250
Mustagh Ata 24,400
Plateau of Tibet
Mt. Everest 29,002
Deccan
30,000 Ft.
25,000 Ft.
20,000 Ft.
15,000 Ft.
10,000 Ft.
5,000 Ft.
THE M. N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

The lofty plateaux of central Asia decline on the west into the lower but still elevated region of Iran, enclosed on all sides by mountains. Iran is a land of extremes where one passes from the frigid winters of the northern latitudes to the torrid summers of the south; from sheltered orchard valleys, the home of the lemon, the olive, and the vine, to wind-swept plains and burning deserts devoid of all vegetation. The great salt steppes which make up the central and southern parts of Iran have never

Iran.

THE TWO PEAKS OF MOUNT ARARAT

been fit for human habitation. West of the desert, however, was a productive and well-watered district belonging to the kindred people called Medes and Persians. Their country lay high above sea level, and possessed a cold and bracing climate. It was a fit nursery for those warlike shepherds who were one day to become the lords of Asia.

The Iranian table-land rises toward the northwest into the wild and rugged plateau of Armenia. It contains many extinct volcanoes, the loftiest of which is the gigantic snow-covered mass of Great Ararat, seventeen thousand feet high.[1] On the northern border of Armenia the chain of the Caucasus lies like a massive wall between Asia and Europe. The

Armenia.

[1] The Armenians believe that Ararat is the mountain on which the ark rested after the Flood (*Genesis*, viii, 4). Their name for it is still "Noah's Mountain."

pass at its centre, called the Caucasian Gates, from prehistoric times has been an important highway between the two continents.

Asia Minor.

To the west of Armenia, the Taurus range thrusts itself between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and forms the central mass of Asia Minor. Few mountain chains have exerted a more important influence on history than the Taurus. It served for centuries as an almost impassable barrier separating Asia Minor from the adjacent East. The peninsula of Asia Minor belongs, in fact, nearly as much to Europe as to Asia. It has always been a natural link between the two continents.

Arabia.

A second peninsula, that of Arabia, may be regarded as the link between Africa and Asia. North Arabia was probably the original home of the Semites, whence they found their way, before the dawn of history, into the adjoining lands. South Arabia, at an early date, was the seat of a powerful kingdom, one of whose rulers, the "Queen of Sheba," visited the Hebrew monarch Solomon.[1] Arabia, however, lay beyond the main currents of Oriental life. Its pastoral peoples were little disturbed by their more enterprising neighbours on the north and west.

Influence of geographical conditions.

These four countries of Nearer Asia were not well fitted to become centres of early civilization. They possessed no great rivers which help to bring people together, and no broad, fertile plains which support a large population. Armenia and Asia Minor were broken up into small districts by forbidding chains of mountains. Iran and Arabia were chiefly barren deserts. But two other divisions of Nearer Asia resembled distant India and China in the possession of a warm climate, a fruitful soil, and an extensive river system. These lands were Babylonia and Egypt, the first homes of civilized man.

[1] See 1 *Kings*, x, 1–13.

13. Babylonia: the Tigris-Euphrates Valley

Two famous rivers rise in the remote fastnesses of Armenia — the Tigris and the Euphrates. As they flow southward, the twin streams approach each other to form a common valley, and then proceed in parallel channels for the greater part of their course. In remote antiquity each river discharged its water into the Persian Gulf by a separate mouth. This Tigris-Euphrates valley was called, by the Greeks, Mesopotamia, "the land between the rivers."[1]

The Tigris and the Euphrates.

Lower Mesopotamia contains the flat land of Babylonia. It has been won by the rivers from the sea. Every year the Tigris and Euphrates carry down much soil from the Armenian hills and deposit it in the Persian Gulf. Babylonia now is about five hundred and fifty miles in length; and it continues to grow at the rate of about three miles a century. But if the rivers can create, they can also destroy. They are given to disastrous inundations against which the ancient inhabitants had to guard by dikes and ditches. In modern times the works of irrigation and drainage have fallen into decay. Once fertile regions are a dreary wilderness of marsh and sandy waste.[2]

Babylonia.

Babylonia is a remarkably productive country. The annual inundation of the rivers has covered its once rocky bottom with deposits of rich silt. Crops planted in such a soil, under the influence of a blazing sun, ripen with great rapidity and yield abundant harvests. "Of all the countries that we know," says an old Greek traveller, "there is no other so fruitful in grain."[3] Wheat and barley were perhaps first domesticated in this part of the world. Wheat still grows wild there.

Productions of Babylonia.

[1] Modern geographers now include as Mesopotamia all the territory between the mountains of Iran on the east and the deserts of Arabia and Syria on the west.

[2] English engineers employed by the Turkish government began in 1909 the huge task of restoring the ancient irrigation works. The result of this work will be to bring into cultivation several million acres of land capable of producing immense crops of wheat and cotton.

[3] Herodotus, i, 193.

Though Babylonia possessed no forests, it had the wonderful date-palm, which needed scarcely any cultivation. The fruit was used in a variety of ways for food, while the stem, leaves, and fibres were also turned to account. If the alluvial soil yielded little stone, clay, on the other hand, abounded everywhere. Moulded into brick and afterwards dried in the sun, the clay became *adobe*, the cheapest building material imaginable.

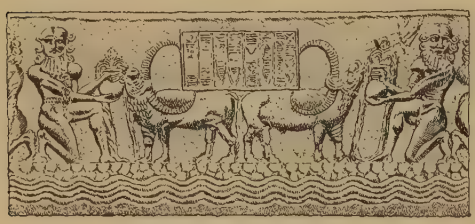
Babylonia an early centre of civilization.

In Babylonia Nature seems to have done her utmost to make it easy for people to gain a living. We can understand, therefore, why from prehistoric times men have gathered in this region, and why it is here that we must look for one of the earliest seats of civilization.[1]

14. Early Babylonian History (to about 1600 B.C.)

When we catch our first glimpse of the Babylonians, some three or four thousand years before the Christian era, we find that they are already a mixed people. Ages before the historic curtain rises many different races had met and mingled on the broad Mesopotamian plain. The Semites, who entered the land and imposed their language upon its inhabitants, were but the last of a long series of invaders.

Inhabitants of Babylonia.



SEAL OF SARGON I

Babylonian city-kingdoms.

The earliest Babylonian records take us back to a time when the country was parcelled out among a number of independent states, each with its capital city, its patron god, and its king. Of their history we possess little

[1] It is interesting to note that Hebrew tradition (*Genesis*, ii, 8–15) places Paradise, the garden of God and original home of man, in southern Babylonia. The ancient name for this district was Edin (Eden).

detailed knowledge. The political annals mainly tell of ceaseless efforts on the part of each little community to win dominion over its neighbours.

One of the most famous rulers of this period was Sargon I, a king of Agade in northern Babylonia. As with other national heroes, legends gathered about his name. It was told how his mother, a royal princess, concealed his birth by placing him in a rush basket closed with pitch, and sent him adrift, like another Moses, on the river. A kindly water-carrier rescued the babe and reared it as his own child. The foundling in after years became a powerful monarch who brought all the Tigris-Euphrates valley under his sway. Tradition declares that he carried his victorious arms to Syria and ruled over "the countries of the sea of the setting sun." If this is true, then Sargon was the first of the world-conquerors, and his empire the earliest known to history.

Sargon I, about 2500 B.C.

MONUMENT CONTAINING THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

British Museum

A block of black diorite nearly eight feet in height. On one side is a representation of the Babylonian king receiving the laws from the sun god, who was also worshipped as the god of justice. The bulk of the code is chiselled in 28 columns on the reverse side of the monument.

Another great Babylonian king was Hammurabi. Some inscriptions still remain which recite how he freed his country from foreign invaders and made his native Babylon the capital of the entire land. Henceforth this city became the real centre of the Euphrates valley, to which, indeed, it gave its name. Hammurabi is said to have conquered western Asia, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

Hammurabi, about 2000 B.C.

Hammurabi was more than a conqueror. He was also an able statesman, who sought to develop the territories his sword had won. He dug great canals to distribute the waters of the Euphrates, and built huge granaries to store the wheat against a time of famine. In Babylon he raised splendid temples and palaces. For his entire empire he published a code of laws, the oldest in the world. Its wise and humane regulations show what an advance in civilization had been accomplished at this early date.[1] By making Babylonia so strong and flourishing, Hammurabi was able to extend her influence in every direction.[2]

Character of Hammurabi's rule.

The successors of Hammurabi continued for several centuries to rule in peace and prosperity over their extensive realm. At length, however, their power began to decline. In the west, Babylonia lost control over the Mediterranean lands. In the north, the subject city of Assur threw off its allegiance and founded an independent state, known as Assyria. Babylonia itself was invaded by the Hittites, who entered from the northwest. Though kings still reigned at Babylon, their empire passed away.

Decline of Babylonia.

Meanwhile, in the distant valley of the Nile another state had been gradually coming into view. Egypt, by 1600 B.C., stood ready to grasp the imperial power now laid down by Babylonia.

A rival state.

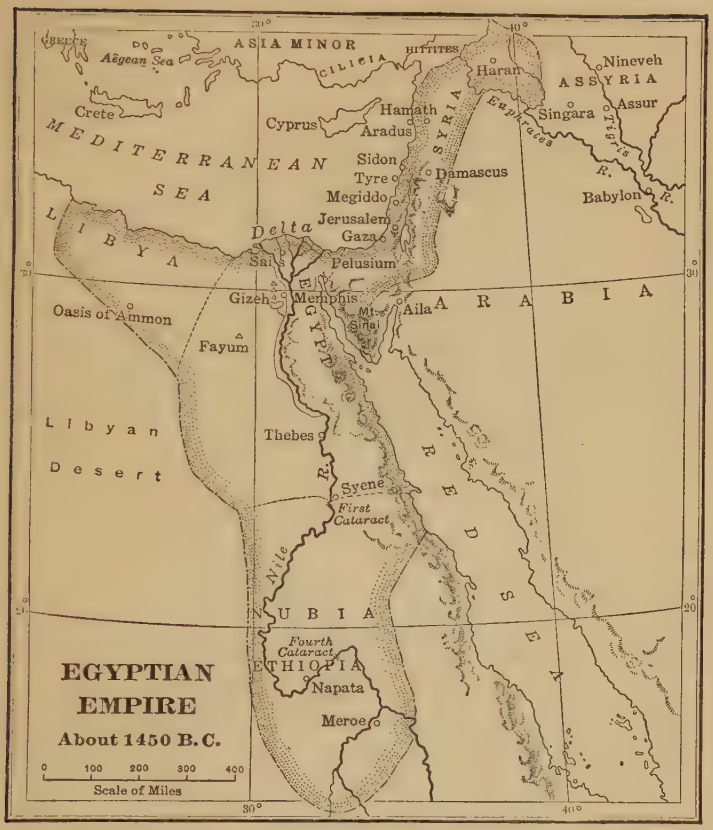
15. Egypt: the Valley of the Nile

West of Arabia and the Red Sea the desert of Sahara extends to the Atlantic Ocean. Here and there its barren sands contain green oases, formed by the surface water collecting in depressions of the ground. Of these oases, the most extensive is Egypt — the long and narrow valley through which the Nile finds a way to the sea.

Egyptian oasis.

[1] See page 90.

[2] Hammurabi has especial interest for us because he is believed to have been a contemporary of the patriarch Abraham. As "Amraphel, king of Shinar," he is thought to be mentioned in an early Hebrew narrative (*Genesis*, chap. xiv).



The Nile is the longest of the great African rivers. Rising in the Nyanza lakes of central Africa, that mighty stream, before entering Egypt, receives the waters of the Blue Nile near the modern town of Khartum. From this point, as the Nile passes through the country anciently known as Ethiopia,[1] its course is broken up by a series of five rocky rapids, misnamed cataracts, which can be shot by boats. So the river became a highway along which the gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and

Course of the Nile; Ethiopia.

[1] Modern Nubia is included within the limits of ancient Ethiopia.

aromatic gums of the South were from early times brought down into Egypt.

The cataracts cease near the island of Philæ, and Upper Egypt begins. This is a strip of fertile territory about five hundred miles in length, but averaging only eight miles in width. Not far from modern Cairo the hills enclosing the valley fall away, the Nile divides into numerous branches, and Lower Egypt, or the Delta,[1] begins. The sluggish stream passes through a region of mingled swamp and plain, and at length by three principal mouths empties its waters into the Mediterranean.

Upper and Lower Egypt.

Egypt owes her existence to the Nile. All Lower Egypt is a creation of the river by the gradual accumulation of sediment at its mouth. Upper Egypt has been dug out of the desert sand and underlying rock by centuries of erosion. Once the Nile filled all the space between the hills that line its sides. Now it flows through a thick layer of alluvial mud deposited by the yearly inundations.

Egypt the "gift of the Nile."

The Nile begins to rise in June when the snows melt on the Abyssinian hillsides. High-water mark, some thirty feet above the ordinary level, is reached in September. Then the inhabitants make haste to cut the confining dikes and to spread the fertilizing water over their fields. Egypt takes on the appearance of a turbid lake, dotted here and there with island villages and crossed in every direction by highways elevated above the flood. Late in October the river begins to subside, and by December has returned to its normal level. As the water recedes it deposits that dressing of fertile vegetable mould which makes the soil of Egypt perhaps the richest in the world.[2]

Annual inundation of the Nile.

[1] Two main arms of the Nile bound Lower Egypt on the east and west, giving it the form of a triangle. The Greeks saw in this a resemblance to their letter Delta (Δ) inverted, and called the country by that name. The term "delta" is now applied to all river mouths which are similarly divided into several branches.

[2] The problem of regulating the Nile inundation so as to distribute the water for irrigation when and where it is most needed, has been solved by the building of the

It was by no accident that Egypt, like Babylonia, became one of the first homes of civilized men. Here, as there, every condition made it easy for people to live and thrive. Food was cheap, for it was easily produced. The peasant needed only to spread his seed broadcast over the muddy fields to be sure of an abundant return. The warm, dry climate enabled him to get along with little shelter and clothing. Hence the inhabitants of this favoured region rapidly in-

Egypt an early centre of civilization.

PHILÆ

The island was originally only a heap of granite boulders. Retaining walls were built around it, and the space within, when filled with rich Nile mud, became beautiful with groves of palms and mimosas. As the result of the construction of the Assuan dam, Philæ and its exquisite temples are now submerged during the winter months when the reservoir is full.

creased in number and collected in populous towns and cities. At a time when most of their neighbours were still in the darkness of the prehistoric age, the Egyptians had begun to make history.

16. Early Egyptian History (to about 1600 B.C.)

The origin of the people whom we call Egyptians is shrouded in mystery. In physical characteristics they certainly resembled

Assuan dam. It lies across the head of the first cataract for a distance of a mile and a quarter, and creates a lake 240 miles in length. This gigantic work was completed in 1912 by the British officials who now control Egypt.

the native tribes of north and east Africa. Their language, however, shows close kinship to the Semitic tongues of western Asia and Arabia. It is probable that the historic Egyptians arose from the mingling of several alien peoples.

Inhabitants of Egypt.

At a very remote period the Nile valley was settled by primitive folk, still in the Stone Age, but already with the rudiments of civilization. They made beautiful tools of polished flint, and later of copper and bronze; they fashioned pottery, built houses and temples, sailed boats on the Nile, and tilled the soil. They had even learned to live in tiny states like those of ancient Babylonia. By 4000 B.C., these independent communities had been gathered into two kingdoms, one in the Delta, the other in the valley above. All this progress falls within the prehistoric period.

Prehistoric era in Egypt.

Khufu (Cheops), builder of the Great Pyramid

Merneptah, the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus

TWO FAMOUS PHARAOHS

The history of Egypt properly commences with the union of the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt under Menes. An ancient tradition made him the builder of Memphis, near the head of the Delta, and the founder of the Egyptian monarchy. Scholars once doubted these exploits and even regarded Menes himself as mythical. Now his very tomb has been discovered.[1] In the gray dawn of history

Menes, king of Egypt, about 3400 B.C.

[1] Menes was buried in Upper Egypt, either at Abydos or some distance to the south, near the modern village of Nagada. At the latter place a large brick tomb,

Menes appears as a real personage, the first of that long line of kings who for three thousand years reigned over the land of Egypt.

Several centuries after Menes we reach the period of the Pharaohs[1] who raised the pyramids.[2] Probably no other rulers have ever stamped their memory so indelibly on the pages of history as the builders of these mighty structures. The most celebrated monarch of this line was the Pharaoh whom the Greeks called Cheops. His features are preserved for us in an ivory statuette recently dis-

The pyramid builders, about 3000–2800 B.C.

THE GREAT PYRAMID

The pyramid when completed had a height of 481 feet. It is now 451 feet high. Its base covers about 13 acres. Some of the blocks of white limestone used in its construction weigh 50 tons. The facing of polished stone was gradually removed for building purposes by the Arabs. On the northern side of the pyramid a narrow entrance, once carefully concealed, opens into tortuous passages which lead to the central vault. Here the sarcophagus of the king was placed. This chamber was long ago entered and plundered.

covered. It reveals an individual of enormous energy and strength of will — a man "every inch" a king. The Great Pyramid which he erected for his tomb remains a lasting witness to

probably that of Menes, was found by J. de Morgan in 1896. Similar tombs of successors of Menes were opened at Abydos by W. M. F. Petrie, in 1899–1902.

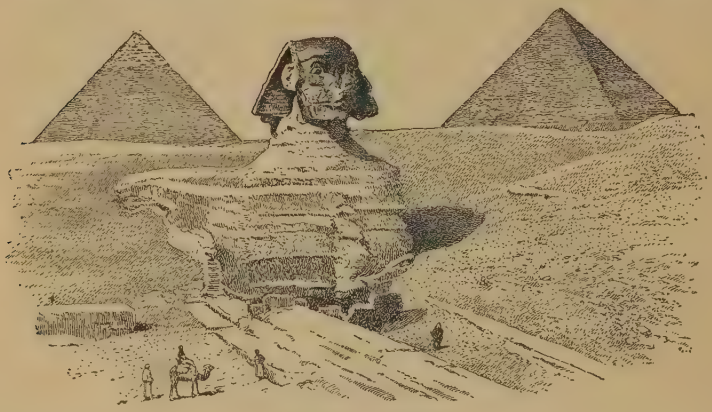
[1] The word "pharaoh," which comes to us from the Bible, is derived from an Egyptian term meaning "the great house" — a common designation of the king.

[2] The pyramids rise from the plain of Gizeh near the site of ancient Memphis. They may be easily reached by electric cars from Cairo, the present capital of Egypt.

his power. Though we know little of Cheops and his successors, the Egypt over which they ruled must have been the home of a highly gifted and civilized people.

After the pyramid builders.

For a long time after the epoch of the pyramid builders the annals of Egypt furnish a record of quiet and peaceful progress. The old city of Memphis gradually declined in importance, and Thebes in Upper Egypt became the capital. The Pharaohs of this era no longer raised useless pyramids, but aimed rather to improve their dominions.



THE GREAT SPHINX

This colossal figure, human-headed and lion-bodied, is hewn from the natural rock. The body is about 150 feet long, the paws 50 feet, the head 30 feet. The height from the base to the top of the head is 70 feet. Except for its head and shoulders, the figure has been buried for centuries in the desert sand. The eyes, nose, and beard have been mutilated by the Arabs. The face is probably that of one of the pyramid kings.

Perhaps their most notable achievement was the construction in the Fayum of a vast reservoir, known as Lake Mœris, to hold the surplus waters of the Nile at the time of inundation. The modern dam at Assuan recalls this ancient feat of engineering.

The vigorous civilization growing up in Egypt was to suffer a sudden eclipse. About 1800 B.C. barbarous tribes from western Asia burst into the country through the Isthmus of Suez, and settled in the Delta. The Hyksos, as they are usually called, were able to

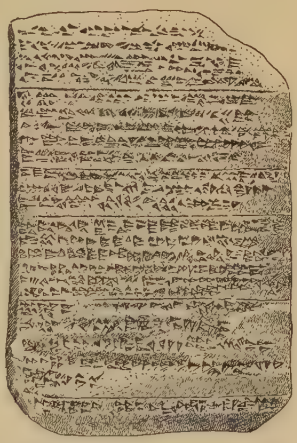
extend their sway over all Egypt. At first they ruled harshly, plundering the cities and enslaving the inhabitants, but in course of time the invaders adopted Egyptian culture and their kings reigned like native Pharaohs. The Hyksos are said to have introduced the horse and military chariot into Egypt. A successful revolt at length expelled the intruders, and set a new line of Theban monarchs on the throne.

Rule of the Hyksos, about 1800–1600 B.C.

17. The Egyptian Empire (about 1600–1100 B.C.)

The overthrow of the Hyksos marked a new era in the history of Egypt. From a home-loving and peaceful people, the Egyptians became a warlike race, ambitious for glory. The Pharaohs raised powerful armies, overran Ethiopia and Syria, and by extensive conquests created an Egyptian Empire, reaching from the Nile to the Euphrates. For several centuries Egypt succeeded Babylonia in supremacy over the Syrian states of western Asia.[1]

Egypt as a world power.



TELL-EL-AMARNA TABLET

This period of the imperial greatness of Egypt is the most splendid in its history. An extensive trade with Cyprus, Crete, and other Mediterranean islands introduced many foreign luxuries. The conquered territories in Syria paid a rich tribute in precious metals, merchandise, and slaves. The forced labour of thousands of war captives enabled the Pharaohs to build public works in every

Imperial splendour of Egypt.

[1] Much light has been thrown on this period by the fortunate discovery in 1887–1888 of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets. Many of them consist of letters written between 1400 and 1300 B.C. to the Pharaohs by their subject princes in Syria. All the letters employ the Babylonian language and script.

part of their realm. Even the ruins of these stupendous structures are enough to indicate the majesty and power of ancient Egypt.

Of all the conquering Pharaohs, none won more fame than Rameses II. His likeness is familiar to us from many statues.

AN EGYPTIAN STATUE
Royal Museum, Turin

A black granite statue of the youthful Rameses II. It is probably a faithful portrait. No better work was ever produced by the Egyptian sculptor.

Rameses II, about 1292–1225 B.C.

His well-preserved mummy, after many strange adventures in the course of thirty centuries, now rests quietly in an Egyptian museum.

Rameses ruled for nearly seventy years. A whole cycle of legends clustered about his name. He was even said to have made campaigns reaching to the very ends of the world. As a matter of fact, the military expeditions of Rameses did not reach beyond Syria. His warfare there was chiefly with the Hittites, who had moved southward from their home in Asia Minor and sought to establish themselves in the Syrian lands. This Pharaoh does not appear to have been entirely successful against his foes. We find him at length entering into an alliance with "the great king of the Hittites," by which their dominion over northern Syria was recognized. The treaty between them was inscribed on the walls of a temple at Thebes, where we may read it to-day.[1] In the arts of peace Rameses achieved a more enduring renown. He erected many statues and temples in various parts of Egypt and made Thebes, his capital, the most magnificent city of the age.

Rameses II as warrior and builder.

[1] The Hittite capital at Boghaz-keui in Asia Minor was excavated as recently as 1906–1907. The finds there include a copy of this famous treaty in the Babylonian cuneiform script. The numerous inscriptions in the Hittite language found in Syria and Asia Minor have not yet been deciphered.

Ancient Thebes stood on both banks of the Nile and must have once covered a wide area. The public buildings, the quays, the walls with their "hundred gates,"[1] and the thousands of brick dwellings are now represented by a few insignificant mounds. But the wasting hand of time has been kinder to the celebrated temples on the eastern side of the Nile, where lie the modern villages of Karnak and Luxor. The Temple of Amon-Ra at Karnak forms perhaps the most majestic ruin in the world. Its crowning glory was the Hall of Columns, reared by Seti I, and embellished by his son, the great Rameses. Numerous sculptures on the walls record the achievements of these Pharaohs. From Karnak an avenue two miles in length, once lined with ram-headed sphinxes, approached the Temple of Luxor. In front of this Rameses set up two beautiful obelisks of polished red granite covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions. One of the obelisks has been taken away;[2] the other still stands in its place, a lonely sentinel.

Thebes; the temples at Karnak and Luxor.

HEAD OF MUMMY OF RAMESES II
Museum of Gizeh

The mummy was discovered in 1881 in an underground chamber near the site of Thebes. With it were the coffins and bodies of more than a score of royal personages. They had all been taken from their tombs and placed in the vault to conceal them from grave-robbers. Rameses II was over ninety years of age at the time of his death. In spite of the somewhat grotesque disguise of mummification, the face of this famous Pharaoh still wears an aspect of majesty and pride.

The western side of the Nile does not lack monuments. Here Rameses built an imposing temple, the Ramesseum, and placed before it a seated statue of himself, fifty-seven feet in height. Its

[1] *Iliad*, ix, 381.

[2] It was removed in 1831 to Paris, where it adorns the Place de la Concorde. Other Egyptian obelisks are now in Constantinople, Rome, London, and New York.

huge fragments still strew the ground. Not far away an earlier Pharaoh set up two gigantic statues, one of which has achieved celebrity as the Vocal Memnon.[1] The Tombs of the Kings, hollowed out in the sides of a mountain near Thebes, are also an object of much interest. This royal cemetery is a labyrinth of corridors and chambers. It contained twenty-five sepulchres of some of the most famous Egyptian rulers.

Other monuments of Thebes.

CENTRAL AVENUE, HALL OF COLUMNS, KARNAK

The hall measures 170 feet deep by 329 feet broad. Its roof was supported by a central avenue of 12 massive columns, each 67 feet in height and 33 feet in circumference. Additional support was afforded by several rows of shorter columns (122 in all) disposed on each side of those in the middle avenue.

Rameses II was the last of the great Pharaohs. After his death the empire steadily declined in strength. The Asiatic possessions fell away, never to be recovered. By 1100 B.C., Egypt had been restricted to her former boundaries in the Nile valley. The Persians, in the sixth century, brought the country within their own vast empire.

Decline of Egypt after 1100 B.C.

[1] The upper part of the statue was thrown down by an earthquake in 27 B.C., and thereafter the headless trunk emitted at sunrise a curious musical note. The phenomenon was due to the cracking of the stone, wet with dew, under the sun's fierce heat. The Greeks identified the vocal statue with Memnon, son of the Dawn, and

18. Syria and the Syrian Peoples (about 1100–900 B.C.)

Between Egypt and Babylonia lies Syria.[1] It has several entrances: from Egypt, across the Isthmus of Suez; from Babylonia, by caravan routes through the oases of Upper Mesopotamia; from Asia Minor, through a pass in the Taurus range, called the Cilician Gates.

Entrances to Syria.

Syria, an easily accessible land, became the great highway of the ancient world. As the Babylonians and Egyptians grew powerful they pushed over into Syria, there to engage in many a long struggle with the Hittites, who coveted the same region. The Syrian peoples, as a rule, were not able to preserve their independence, because their country was broken up by rivers and mountains into a number of little communities. It was only when the neighbours of Syria were weak that its small states could play a leading part on the stage of Oriental politics. By 1100 B.C., the Hittites no longer ruled in Syria, and neither Babylonia nor Egypt was strong enough to recover supremacy there. During the next two centuries the centre of ancient history shifts to the lands between the Nile and the Euphrates.

Geographical position of Syria.

A Hittite Monument

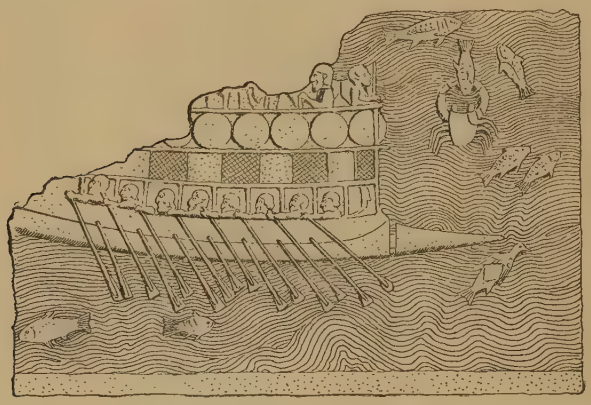
A bas-relief at Ibreez in Asia Minor. It represents a god and his royal worshipper.

tourists from all parts of the Roman Empire came to hear Memnon sing at sunrise. The emperor Septimius Severus thought to do Memnon honour by repairing his statue, and built up the broken part with blocks of limestone. The effect was disastrous, for the monument once more became dumb.

[1] The term Syria is sometimes restricted to the region north of the Jordan River.

Phœnicians.

The Phœnicians were the first Syrian people to assume importance. Their country was a narrow stretch of coast, about one hundred and twenty miles in length, seldom more than twelve miles in width, between the Lebanon Mountains and the sea. This tiny land could not support a large population. When the Phœnicians grew in numbers, they were obliged to betake themselves to the sea. The "cedars of Leba-



A Phœnician War Galley

From a slab found at Nineveh in the palace of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib. The vessel shown is a bireme with two decks. On the upper deck are soldiers with their shields hanging over the side. The oarsmen sit on the lower deck, eight at each side. The crab catching the fish is a humorous touch.

non" furnished soft, white wood for shipbuilding, and the deeply indented coast offered excellent harbours. Thus the Phœnicians became preëminently a race of sailors. Their great cities, Sidon and Tyre, established colonies throughout the Mediterranean and had an extensive commerce with every region of the known world.

The Aramæans[1] dwelt east of Phœnicia. Their chief centre

[1] Their name survives in Aramaic, a language which gradually spread over Palestine. Some parts of the Old Testament, including portions of *Ezra* and *Daniel*, are written in Aramaic. In the time of Christ the Jews of Palestine used it as their ordinary speech.

was Damascus, one of the oldest cities in the world, and still a thriving place. The city is beautiful for situation, lying on the edge of the desert, but amid green gardens and orchards watered by never failing streams. Damascus, not without reason, has been called the "pearl of the Orient."[1]

Aramæans of Damascus.

The Hebrews lived south of Phœnicia, in the land afterwards known as Palestine. We enter it by the Jordan River. The name means "the descender," an appropriate title, for after passing through the Lake of Galilee,[2] the Jordan becomes a series of swift rapids and at length mingles with the salty waters of the Dead Sea, thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The country east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea is a rocky tableland falling off abruptly into the Syrian Desert. Here many nomadic tribes have always found a home. The western part of Palestine, more familiarly known as Canaan, is a varied region of plain and mountain. Canaan is barren and unproductive to-day, but in ancient times it was described as "a land flowing with milk and honey."[3]

The Hebrews.

19. The Hebrews to the Founding of the Monarchy

The Hebrews, as well as the Phœnicians and the Aramæans, belonged to the Semitic race. Their first home was not Palestine, but Arabia. They were a pastoral folk, who depended chiefly on flocks and herds for food. When one pasture was exhausted, the Hebrews had to fold their tents and depart in search of another. So the people were ever moving from place to place, very much as the Bedouins of modern Arabia and of the Sahara Desert.

The Hebrews a pastoral people.

[1] Damascus is now connected with Beirut on the Mediterranean by a railroad line which crosses the Lebanon range. The city since 1907 has had an electric street railway and lighting plant, the first to be built in Bible lands.

[2] Also referred to in the New Testament as the Lake of Gennesaret or the Sea of Tiberias. It is only thirteen miles in length. This famous lake, the scene of so many episodes in the life of Christ, may now be reached by railway.

[3] *Exodus*, iii, 8.

Long before their history opens, some of the Hebrew tribes had begun to emigrate to more fertile lands. One branch of the Hebrews, the "people from beyond," as their neighbours called them, settled in Canaan west of the Jordan River. They were known as the Israelites.

The Israelites.

The traditions of the Israelites are found in the earlier books of the Old Testament. How Abraham journeyed from "Ur of the Chaldees,"[1] an ancient city on the desert edge of Babylonia, and took up his abode in Canaan; how his grandson Jacob (or Israel), when a sore famine troubled the land, went down into Egypt with all his family and settled on the rich plains of the Delta; how there his descendants dwelt in peace for many generations, gaining great possessions and multiplying exceedingly; how, when the Egyptians began to vex them with grievous burdens, the Israelites united under the leadership of Moses and escaped to the peninsula of Sinai; how they wandered for forty years in the "Wilderness" until ready to enter once more the "Promised Land" of Canaan — all this familiar tale is embodied in a narrative of undying charm.[2]

Early traditions of Israel.

The real history of the Israelites begins with their settlement in Canaan. According to the Biblical account, they crossed the Jordan under the leader Joshua, and after a short struggle with the inhabitants made good their footing in the new home. Then followed the formative period in the growth of their state. The Israelites gave up the life of wandering shepherds and became an agricultural people. They learned from the

Israelites in Canaan.

[1] *Genesis*, xi, 28.

[2] It is unfortunate that the Egyptian records throw almost no light upon the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. The settlement may have been made during the age of the Hyksos. The "Land of Goshen" assigned to the Israelites for a home has been identified with the district east of the Nile, between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Some scholars believe that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Rameses II, and that the Exodus took place during the reign of his son Merneptah (about 1225–1215 B.C.). The mummy of Merneptah, recently found, was unwrapped in 1907. An inscription by this king, discovered at Thebes in 1896, contains a reference to the Israelites, who are represented as dwelling in Palestine.

Sidon
Mt. Hermon
Damascus
Tyre
DAN
Pharpar
GREAT SEA
NAPHTALI
Sea of Chinnereth
MANASSEH
Mt. Carmel
ZEBULON
Mt. Tabor
Plain of Jezreel
Megiddo
ISSACHAR
Mt. Gilboa
Dothan
Jabesh-gilead
Jabbok
Ramoth Gilead
Shechem
Mt. Gerizim
EPHRAIM
GAD
Shiloh
Bethel
Jericho
BENJAMIN
Mt. Nebo
Jerusalem
Heshbon
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Bethlehem
REUBEN
JUDAH
Lachish
Hebron
Dibon
Gaza
Arnon
SIMEON
Beersheba
Sea of the Plain or Salt Sea
CANAAN
as divided among
THE TRIBES
0 5 10 20 30 40
Scale of Miles

Daphne
Euphrates
Cyprus
Arvad
Hamath
Tadmor
Riblah
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PHOENICIA
SYRIA
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
ISRAEL
Samaria
Joppa
Jerusalem
Jericho
Bethlehem
Gaza
PHILISTIA
JUDAH
Dead Sea
MOAB
AMMON
Beersheba
EDOM
Sea
EGYPT
Sinai Peninsula
SOLOMON'S KINGDOM
0 50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles

Canaanites to till the soil and to dwell in towns and cities. At the end of this period they had begun to live in settled communities like those of their neighbours.

While the Israelites were thus founding their state, they were very gradually spreading over the entire central plain of Palestine.

Period of the Judges.

The thorough conquest of the country proved to be no easy task. At first their twelve tribes formed only a loose and weak confederacy without a common head. "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes."[1] The sole authority was that held by valiant chieftains and lawgivers such as Samson, Gideon, and Samuel, who served as Judges between the tribes, and often led them in successful attacks upon their foes. Among these were the warlike Philistines, who occupied the southwestern coast of Palestine. To resist the Philistines with success, it was necessary to have a king who could bring all the scattered tribes under his firm, well-ordered rule.

20. The Hebrew Monarchy

In Saul, "a young man and a goodly," the warriors of Israel found a leader to unite them against their enemies. His reign was passed in constant struggles with the Philistines. Saul's efforts to free the nation were ably seconded by his son Jonathan, and by the latter's close friend, David. At length, however, the Israelites met with disaster. The Philistines triumphed in a great battle. The king himself, with his three eldest sons, perished. On hearing the news, David composed a lament full of beauty: "Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places! How are the mighty fallen! . . . Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they were not divided."[2]

Saul, the first king of Israel.

Saul had begun the nation's liberation from bondage. David, who followed him, completed the task by utterly destroying the

[1] *Judges*, xvii, 6. [2] 2 *Samuel*, i, 19–23.

Philistine power.[1] His further conquests extended the boundaries of the new state in every direction. The Aramæans, together with the peoples of Moab and Edom, acknowledged his sway. **Reign of David.**

David chose for a capital the ancient fortress of Jerusalem. The city occupied a strong position on Mount Zion in the heart of the hill country of Palestine. It lay close to the main highways from Egypt into Syria. It commanded nearly all the domain of Israel. An Old Testament writer declared that Jerusalem was placed "in the midst of the nations and of the countries round about her."[2] No better site for the new capital could have been found. Here David built himself a royal palace, and here he fixed the Ark, the sanctuary of Jehovah. Jerusalem became to the Israelites their dearest possession and the centre of their national life.[3] **Jerusalem, the capital.**

The reign of Solomon, the son and successor of David, was the most splendid period in Hebrew history. His empire stretched from the Red Sea and the peninsula of Sinai northward to the Lebanon Mountains and the Euphrates. With the surrounding peoples Solomon was on terms of friendship and alliance. He married an Egyptian princess, a daughter of the reigning Pharaoh. He joined with Hiram, king of Tyre, in trading expeditions on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. The same Phœnician monarch supplied him with the "cedars of Lebanon," with which he erected at Jerusalem a famous temple for the worship of Jehovah. A great builder, a wise administrator and governor, Solomon takes his place as a typical Oriental despot, the most powerful monarch of the age. **Solomon, about 955–925 B.C.**

But the political greatness of the Hebrew state was not destined

[1] The name of these ancient enemies of Israel survives in our word "Palestine."

[2] *Ezekiel*, v, 5.

[3] Jerusalem, though under the control of Turkey, has a large Jewish population at the present day. The city is connected with Jaffa on the Mediterranean by a railway, fifty-five miles in length. It crosses the plain of Sharon, and passes by many places famous in Biblical history.

to endure. Its people were not ready to bear the burdens of empire. They objected to the standing army, to the forced labour on public buildings, and especially to the heavy taxes. The ten northern tribes seceded shortly after Solomon's death and established the independent kingdom of Israel, with its capital at Samaria.[1] The two southern tribes, Judah and Benjamin, formed the kingdom of Judea, and remained loyal to the successors of Solomon.

Secession of the Ten Tribes, about 925 B.C.

With their territory thus rent in twain, the Hebrews could not resist the great Mesopotamian powers which were now recovering strength and warlike energy. First the Assyrians, then the Babylonians, overran the country and imposed their iron yoke on its inhabitants. In the end it became one of the many provinces of Persia.

Decline of the Hebrew power after 900 B.C.

21. The Empire of Assyria (to 606 B.C.)

Already in our survey of the Oriental peoples we have had occasion to mention the Assyrians. Their country, east of the Tigris, was colonized at an early date by emigrants from Babylonia. The decline of the southern state after 1600 B.C. enabled Assyria to secure independence.[2] The bold and hardy inhabitants then began to spread over the territories of their neighbours. The annals of Assyria tell a story of constant warfare with Babylonians, Hittites, and the Syrian peoples.

Rise of Assyria.

At the middle of the eighth century B.C., the empire founded by the earlier Assyrian kings had fallen into decay. Now, however, a line of able monarchs revived its waning glories and raised Assyria to the zenith of her power and strength. Every Asiatic state felt their heavy hand. They created a huge empire stretching from the Caspian Sea to the

Greatness of Assyria, 745–626 B.C.

[1] Harvard University archæologists, who have begun to explore the site of Samaria, uncovered in 1910 the massive walls of a palace, believed to be that of King Ahab. Even more interesting was the discovery of about one hundred fragments of pottery covered with ink writing. The inscriptions, which belong to the time of Ahab (about 850 B.C.), are the earliest Hebrew writings ever found. [2] See page 38.

Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and the Nile. For the first time in Oriental history, Mesopotamia and Egypt, with the intervening territory, were brought under one government.

This unification of the Orient was accomplished only at a fearful cost. The records of Assyria are full of terrible deeds — of towns and cities without number given to the flames, of the devastation of fertile fields and orchards, of the slaughter of men, women, and children, of the enslavement of entire nations. Assyrian kings, in numerous inscriptions, boast of the wreck and ruin they brought to many flourishing lands. One of them thus describes the punishment of a rebellious place: "With battle and slaughter I assaulted and took the city. Three thousand warriors I slew in battle. Their possessions I carried away. Many of their soldiers I took alive; of some I cut off hands and limbs; of others the noses, ears, and arms; of many soldiers I put out the eyes. I devastated the city, dug it up, in fire burned it; I annihilated it."

Character of Assyrian rule.

AN ASSYRIAN

From a Nineveh bas-relief. The original is coloured.

The treatment of conquered peoples by the Assyrian rulers is well illustrated by their dealings with the Hebrews. One of the mightiest monarchs was an usurper who ascended the throne as Sargon II. Shortly after his succession he turned his attention to the kingdom of Israel, which had revolted. Sargon in punishment took its capital city of Samaria (722 B.C.) and led away many thousands of the leading citizens into a life-long captivity in distant Assyria. The Ten Tribes mingled with the population of that region and henceforth disappeared from

Sargon II, 722–705 B.C.

history. Such a transplanting of a rebellious community served to destroy the old feelings of local patriotism. It was an improvement, perhaps, on wholesale massacre.

Sargon's son, Sennacherib, though not the greatest, is the best known of Assyrian kings. His name is familiar from the many references to him in Old Testament writings. An inscription by Sennacherib recounts an expedition against Hezekiah, king of Judea, who was shut up "like a caged bird

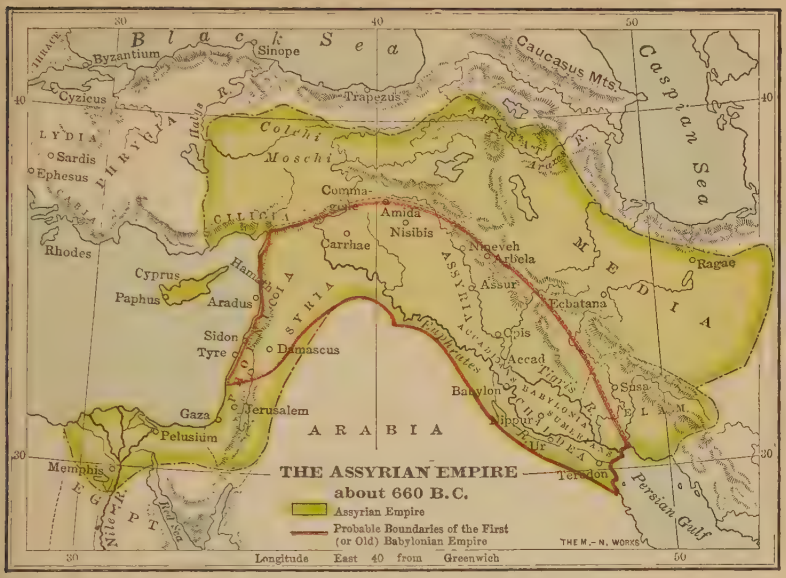
Sennacherib, 705–681 B.C.

AN ASSYRIAN RELIEF
British Museum

The relief represents the siege and capture of Lachish, a city of the Canaanites, by Sennacherib's troops. Notice the total absence of perspective in this work.

in his royal city of Jerusalem." Sennacherib, however, did not capture the place. His troops were swept away by a pestilence. The ancient Hebrew writer conceives it as the visitation of a destroying angel: "It came to pass that night that the angel of Jehovah went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, these were all dead bodies."[1] So Sennacherib departed, and returned with a shattered army to Nineveh, his capital.

[1] *2 Kings*, xix, 35.


Black Sea
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Byzantium
Sinope
Cyzicus
Trapezus
LYDIA
Sardis
Ephesus
PHRYGIA
Halys R.
Colchi
Moschi
ARMENIA
Araxes R.
CILICIA
Comma-
gene
Amida
Nisibis
Carrhae
Rhodes
Cyprus
Paphus
Aradus
SYRIA
Nineveh
Arbela
Assur
MEDIA
Ragae
Ecbatana
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
ASSYRIA
Euphrates R.
Opis
Accad
Tigris R.
Susa
Babylon
BABYLONIA
ELAM
Gaza
Jerusalem
Pelusium
ARABIA
Nippur
Ur
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Red Sea
Teredon
Persian Gulf
THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
about 660 B.C.
Assyrian Empire
Probable Boundaries of the First
(or Old) Babylonian Empire
THE M.-N. WORKS
Longitude East 40 from Greenwich

Black Sea
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Danube R.
Chersonesus
Theodosia
Byzantium
Heraclea
Sinope
Trapezus
Jaxartes R.
Massagetae
Chorasmians
SOGDIANA
Oxus R.
Bactra
BACTRIANA
LYDIA
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Halys R.
Sacae
Marsi
Ionia
Rhodes
Cyprus
Tarsus
Aradus
Tyre
Damascus
Nineveh
Arbela
Hagae
MEDIA
PARTHIA
ARIA
IRAN
Gaza
Jerusalem
Babylon
Susa
Susiana
Elymais
Sagartians
Carmanians
Pelusium
ARABIA
PERSIA
Teredon
Persian Gulf
Naucratis
Memphis
Mt. Sinai
Oasis
EGYPT
Thebes
Oasis
Mediterranean
Indus R.
Mycians
Pasargadae
LYDIA, MEDIA,
BABYLONIA
and EGYPT
about 550 B.C.
Lydia
Media
Babylonia
Egypt
THE M.-N. WORKS
Longitude East 40 from Greenwich

Although Assyria recovered from this disaster, and under subsequent rulers became more prosperous than ever, its empire rested on unstable foundations. The subject races were attached to their oppressive masters by no ties save those of force. When Assyria grew exhausted by its career of conquest, they were quick to strike a blow for freedom. By the middle of the seventh century, Egypt had secured her independence, and many other provinces were ready to revolt. Meanwhile, beyond the eastern mountains, the Medes were gathering ominously on the Assyrian frontier. The storm broke when the Median monarch, in alliance with the king of Babylon, moved upon Nineveh and took possession of it. A legend which may not be wholly false tells how the last Assyrian king, when the enemy had burst within the walls, collected his treasures and his gods, his wives and his sons, on a vast funeral pyre, and then gave himself and them to the flames, to cheat the victors of their prey.

Downfall of Assyria, 606 B.C.

THE CYLINDER OF SENNACHERIB

British Museum

A six-sided cylinder of terra-cotta found at Nineveh. It contains a record of eight years of Sennacherib's reign, including an account of his expedition against Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem.

The hatred of Assyria, inspired by centuries of her cruelty and rapine, led to the utter destruction of the capital. "This is the joyous city," cries an old Hebrew prophet, in bitter scorn, "that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none besides me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! Every one that passeth by her shall hiss and wag his hand."[1] So complete was the annihilation of Nineveh that two centuries later, Xenophon, a Greek traveller, passing by

Destruction of Nineveh.

[1] *Zephaniah*, ii, 15.

its crumbling ruins, knew them simply as the remains of some ancient city of forgotten fame. Yet in our time, from the shapeless mounds that mark its site, the figures of Assyrian kings have risen, as it were, from the grave, to tell us in their own words the story of their conquests and victories, their cruelty, their glory, and their fall.

22. The Empire of Babylonia (after 606 B.C.)

Upon the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the victors at once proceeded to divide the spoil. The share of Media was Assyria itself, with the long stretch of mountain country extending from the Persian Gulf to Asia Minor. Babylonia obtained the western half of the Assyrian domains, including the Euphrates valley and the Syrian coast lands.

Partition of Assyria.

The New Babylonian Empire[1] enjoyed a brief career of splendour under its king, Nebuchadnezzar. During his reign the rule of Babylonia was firmly established throughout Syria to the very borders of Egypt. The Phœnician city of Tyre on its island fortress resisted a siege of thirteen years. An Hebrew writer describes in striking language the length and difficulty of the siege: "Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled."[2] Though he never captured the place, Nebuchadnezzar compelled it to pay tribute.

Nebuchadnezzar, 604–561 B.C.

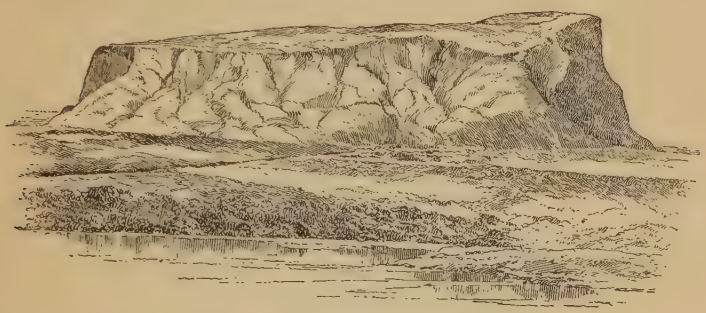
The kingdom of Judea, having repeatedly revolted, met a harder fate. In 586 B.C. Jerusalem was taken, its temple burned, and the people carried into captivity. The anguish of the exiles found utterance in pathetic verse: "By the waters of Babylon there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion."[3] The day of their deliverance, when Babylon itself should bow to a foreign foe, was still far distant. Nebuchadnezzar, in the meantime, made his country one of the great powers in the Oriental world.

Captivity of the Jews, 586–539 B.C.

[1] As distinguished from the Old Babylonian Empire, which came to an end about 1600 B.C. [2] *Ezekiel*, xxix, 18. [3] *Psalms*, cxxxvii, 1.

Even more notable than his conquests abroad were the king's mighty works in his own land. Nebuchadnezzar lavished upon Babylon the wealth gained in his many campaigns. The city lay on both banks of the Euphrates, which were connected by a bridge and lined with quays. Walls of great height and thickness made the city almost impregnable. The structures which adorned it were worthy of the metropolis of the world.

Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar.



THE MOUND OF BABIL

One of the king's palaces, probably now represented by the mound of Babil, was placed on an artificial embankment nearly one hundred feet high. The sides rose in a series of terraces which were planted with trees and shrubs. It is said that Nebuchadnezzar built these Hanging Gardens, or artificial hills, to please his Median wife, who longed for the mountains of her native land. Another mound, called Birs Nimrud (Nimrod's Tower), near Babylon, marks the site of a splendid temple with eight stages, which the king repaired and finished. Tradition has always associated the place with the "Tower of Babel" of Hebrew story.

Monuments of Babylon.

These and many other monuments made Babylon one of the most imposing capitals of antiquity.[1] Despite all its magnificence,

[1] Explorations on the site of Babylon have been conducted since 1899 by the German Oriental Society. Large parts of the temple area, as well as sections of the royal palaces, have been uncovered. It has also been possible to trace the

the city in after ages sank into decay. Its site, for nearly twenty centuries, has been a dismal, desolate spot. "The wild beasts of the desert with the wolves shall dwell there, and the ostriches shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited forever."[1]

Fate of the city.

23. Media and Lydia (after 606 B.C.)

While the Babylonians were building up their empire, the Medes also entered on a period of expansion. They were an Indo-European people who had long lived in the highlands of western Iran.[2] After the capture of Nineveh, the Medes began to advance into Asia Minor. Their progress here was checked by Lydia.

Rise of Media.

Lydia, at first, was a small region in the western part of Asia Minor. Its able rulers gradually built up a kingdom strong enough to oppose with success the growing power of Media. The contest between the two countries was brought to an end in a remarkable manner. In the sixth year of the war (585 B.C.), during a desperate battle, a sudden eclipse of the sun turned day into night, and so terrified the soldiers that they laid down their arms. A treaty of peace was then signed which fixed the Halys River as the boundary between the two countries. As a further pledge of friendship, a son of the Median monarch married a daughter of the king of Lydia.

Rise of Lydia.

By the middle of the sixth century B.C., the troubled Oriental world at length had rest from war. The four great powers, Lydia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt, were united by firm alliances. Though a settled condition of affairs apparently prevailed, a few short years were enough to change the political aspect of the ancient East.

Political situation in 553 B.C.

walls of the city and to determine its real size. The region within the ramparts included a little over one square mile. Compared with modern capitals, Babylon was not a city of great extent.

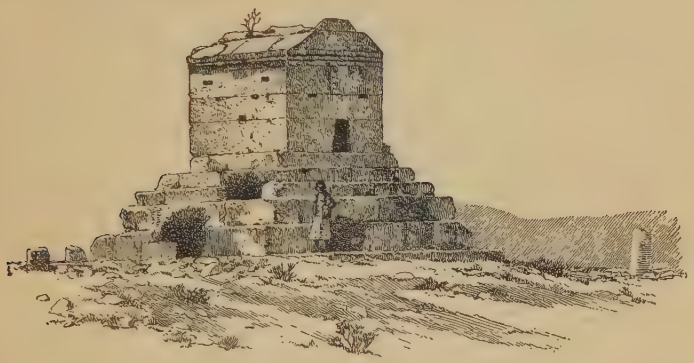
[1] *Jeremiah*, l, 39.

[2] See page 33.

24. The World-Empire of Persia (after 553 B.C.)

Not much earlier than the break-up of the Assyrian Empire we find a new and vigorous people pressing into western Iran. They were the Persians, near kinsmen of the Medes. Subjects at first of Assyria, and then of Media, they regained their independence and secured imperial power under a conquering king whom history knows as Cyrus the Great.

Rise of Persia.



TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT

The mausoleum is built of immense marble blocks, joined together without cement. Its total height, including the seven steps, is about 35 feet. A solitary pillar near the tomb still bears the inscription: "I am Cyrus, the King, the Achæmenian."

Cyrus was the creator of the Persian Empire. The story of his sudden rise to the overlordship of Asia reads like an historical romance. In 553 B.C. Cyrus revolted against the Median monarch. Three years later, Cyrus captured the royal city of Ecbatana, and united the Medes and Persians under his single rule.

Cyrus the Great, 553–529 B.C.

Persia now took the place in Oriental politics formerly held by Media. Soon fresh conquests enlarged the empire. The throne of Lydia was at this time held by Crœsus, the last and most famous of his line. The king grew so wealthy from the tribute paid by Lydian subjects and from his gold mines that his name has passed into the proverb,

Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, 546 B.C.

"rich as Crœsus." He viewed with alarm the rising power of Cyrus and rashly offered battle to the Persian monarch. Defeated in the open field, Crœsus shut himself up in Sardis, his capital. The city was soon taken, however, and with its fall the Lydian kingdom came to an end. The fate of Crœsus is unknown, though legend declared that when the victorious Cyrus was about to burn him on a pyre, the god Apollo, to whose shrine in Greece Crœsus had sent rich gifts, put out the blaze by a sudden shower of rain.

Capture of Babylon, 539 B.C.

The downfall of Lydia prepared the way for a Persian attack on Babylonia. The conquest of that country proved unexpectedly easy. In 539 B.C. the great city of Babylon opened its gates to the Persian hosts. Shortly afterwards Cyrus issued a decree allowing the Jewish exiles there to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple, which Nebuchadnezzar had destroyed. With the surrender of Babylon, the last Semitic empire in the East came to an end. The Medes and Persians, an Indo-European people, henceforth ruled over a wider realm than ever before had been formed in Oriental lands.

The Cyrus of legend.

The career of Cyrus made a deep impression upon the men of his own and of later times. A Jewish prophet hailed him as the man raised up by Jehovah to deliver the Chosen People from captivity. A Greek historian called him the father of the Persians, of all their monarchs the bravest and the best loved. He became the subject of many legends. According to one story, he lost his life while fighting with the wild Scythians[1] near the Aral Sea. Their savage queen, it was said, placed his head in a basin of blood that the conqueror of so many nations might have his fill of gore. All we know with certainty is that his body was buried at Pasargadæ, the city he had built, and that there his empty tomb stands to this day. In ancient times it bore an epitaph: "O man, I am Cyrus, who founded the Persian Empire and was king of Asia. Grudge me not, therefore, this monument."

[1] See page 32.

Cyrus was followed by his son, Cambyses, a cruel but strong-handed despot. Cambyses determined to add Egypt to the Persian dominions. His land army was supported by a powerful fleet, to which the Phœnicians and the Greeks of Cyprus contributed ships. A single battle sufficed to overthrow the Egyptian power and to bring the long reign of the Pharaohs to an end. After the capture of Memphis, the conqueror led his army up the Nile and extended the boundaries of the Persian Empire into Ethiopia.

Cambyses, 529–522 B.C.

While Cambyses tarried in Egypt, news came of a revolt at home. The king, on ascending the throne, had put to death his younger brother, Smerdis. This deed, however, was not generally known. An ambitious Median priest, named Gaumata, who is said to have borne a remarkable resemblance to Smerdis, determined to take advantage of the secret crime. He pretended to be the missing brother and boldly claimed the throne. The greater part of the empire accepted the usurper. Cambyses started to march against him, but when passing through Syria, died suddenly from a self-inflicted, though probably accidental wound. The false Smerdis reigned for a few months and then perished at the hands of the great Persian nobles, led by Darius, a distant kinsman of Cyrus the Great.

The false Smerdis.

DARIUS WITH HIS ATTENDANTS

Bas-relief at Persepolis. The monarch's right hand grasps a staff or sceptre; his left hand, a bunch of flowers. His head is surmounted by a crown; his body is enveloped in the long Median mantle. Above the king is a representation of the divinity which guarded and guided him. In the rear are two Persian nobles, one carrying the royal fan, the other the royal parasol.

The long reign of Darius witnessed further extensions of the frontiers. An expedition to the distant East carried the Persian arms to India and added to the empire the region of the Punjab along the upper waters of the Indus. Another expedition against the wild Scythian tribes along the Danube led to conquests in Europe and brought the Persian dominions to the very doors of Greece. Not without reason could Darius describe himself in an inscription which still survives, as "the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all men."

Darius the Great, 521–485 B.C.

The political history of the East fitly ends with these three Persian conquerors, who thus brought into their huge empire every great state of Oriental antiquity. Medes and Persians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Lydians, Syrians, and Egyptians — all were at length united under the single dominion of one man. In the reign of Darius this united Orient first comes into contact with the rising power of the Greek states of Europe. So we may leave its history here, resuming our narrative when we discuss the momentous conflict between Persia and Greece, which was to affect the course, not alone of Persian or Greek, but of all European history.

Union of the East under Persia.

25. Organization of the Persian Empire

The empire, which in the days of Darius reached its widest extent, comprised an enormous territory. Its eastern and western frontiers were nearly three thousand miles apart. Its northern and southern boundaries were almost as remote. "My father's kingdom," said a Persian prince, "stretches so far to the south that men cannot live there because of the heat, and northward to where they cannot exist because of the cold."[1] From the Indus to the Danube, from the Jaxartes to the Nile, the ancient world was a Persian world.

Extent of the empire.

[1] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i, 7, 6.

It was the work of Darius to provide for his dominions a stable government which should preserve what the sword had won. The problem was difficult. The empire was a motley collection of many peoples widely different in race, language, customs, and religion. Darius did not attempt to weld the conquered nations into unity. As long as the subjects of Persia paid tribute and furnished troops for the royal

Character of the empire.

ROCK SEPULCHRES NEAR PERSEPOLIS

The tombs are those of Darius, Xerxes, and two of their successors.

army, they were allowed to conduct their own affairs with little interference from the Great King.

In this policy Darius was only following the example set by previous world-conquerors. He took a forward step, however, in the improvements he made upon Assyrian and Egyptian methods of administering conquered territory. The entire empire, excluding Persia proper, was divided into some twenty satrapies or provinces, each one with its civil governor or satrap. The satraps carried out the laws and collected the heavy tribute annually levied upon each district. In most of the provinces there were also military governors who commanded the army and reported directly to the king. This device of entrusting the civil and military functions to separate officials lessened the danger of revolts against the Persian authority.

The satrapal system.

As an additional precaution, Darius provided special agents whose business it was to travel from province to province and investigate the conduct of his officials. It became a proverb that "the king has many eyes and many ears."

Darius showed his qualities as a statesman in still another way. He established a great system of military roads throughout the Persian dominions. This means of drawing distant peoples together was afterwards to be adopted on an even more extensive scale by the Romans. The Persian roads were provided at frequent intervals with inns where postmen were always in readiness to take up a letter and carry it to the next station. The Royal Road from Susa,[1] the Persian capital, to Sardis[2] in Lydia was over fifteen hundred miles long; but government couriers, using relays of fresh horses, could cover the distance within a week. An old Greek writer declares with admiration that "there is nothing mortal more swift than these messengers."[3]

Military roads.

For nearly two centuries after Darius, the Orient lay at peace. The countless wars came to an end. Piracy and brigandage were suppressed with a heavy hand. The highways were made safe to merchant and traveller. Agriculture and industry flourished. There was no more destroying of cities, no more wasting of fields and crops, no more carrying into captivity of subject peoples. From their capital at Susa the Persian monarchs, whose sovereignty was the least cruel and least unjust that Asia had ever known, brought law and order into the Oriental world.[4]

Nature of the Persian rule.

[1] Susa was the pleasure city of Darius the Great and his successors. The site has been long deserted, but J. de Morgan's explorations there since 1897 have shown that Susa was first settled in Stone Age times, and that it was one of the earliest centres of civilization in the East.

[2] Excavations on the site of Sardis were undertaken by American archæologists in 1910.

[3] Herodotus, viii, 98.

[4] Our ordinary vocabulary of to-day owes something to Persia. English words of Persian origin include *van*, *magic*, *bazaar*, *shawl*, *turquoise*, and *Paradise*.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT
(About 500 B.C.)
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Royal Road
Persian Empire at the Death of Cyrus (529 B.C.)
Conquests of Cambyses (529-522 B.C.)
Conquests of Darius the Great (521-485 B.C.)
40° Long. East from Greenwich
Danube R.
Black Sea
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Jaxartes
Sacaeans
Cyropolis
SOGDIANA
Derbiccans
Khaesmians
Oxus R.
BACTRIANA
MARGIANA
Gandara
Caspians
Parapanisada
Sattagydans
ARACHOSIA
Pactyans
Paricanians
GEDROSIA
Arabian Sea
INDIA
DRANGIANA
ARIA
PARTHIA
HYRCANIA
Amardians
Arbela
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Sagartians
Carmanians
SAGARTIA
Utians
Persepolis
PERSIA
Pasargadae
Persian Gulf
Susa
Uxians
SUSIANA
Losseans
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Euphrates
Tigris
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
Arbela
Thapsacus
SYRIA
Damascus
Tyre
Jerusalem
ARABIA
PHOENICIA
PALESTINE
CYPRUS
CILICIA
Halys R.
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
COLCHIS
Caspians
Alarodians
Cadusians
Cyrus R.
Caucasus Mts.
Pityus
Byzantium
Calchedon
PAPHLAGONIA
BITHYNIA
Dascylium
MYSIA
PHRYGIA
LYDIA
Sardis
Rhodes
CARIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
CRETE
Athens
Sparta
GREECE
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Mediterranean Sea
Cyrene
Barca
LIBYA
EGYPT
Memphis
Thebes
Nile R.
Arabians
Red Sea

CHAPTER III

ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

26. Rediscovery of the Orient: Written Records

Our present knowledge of Oriental history and Oriental civilization has been gained within very recent times. Less than a hundred years ago we knew but little about the ancient East. Some information could be gathered from the accounts of Greek and Roman sightseers in the Orient. The classical writers, however, were very credulous and accepted readily any foolish story or legend that might be told them. Their narratives are seldom sober history. Some additional information could be gleaned from the Old Testament writings. But from the Oriental peoples themselves — Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians—no word had reached us. They were silent. Not until their mysterious languages had been read and their buried cities excavated could we realize the true importance of these ancient nations.

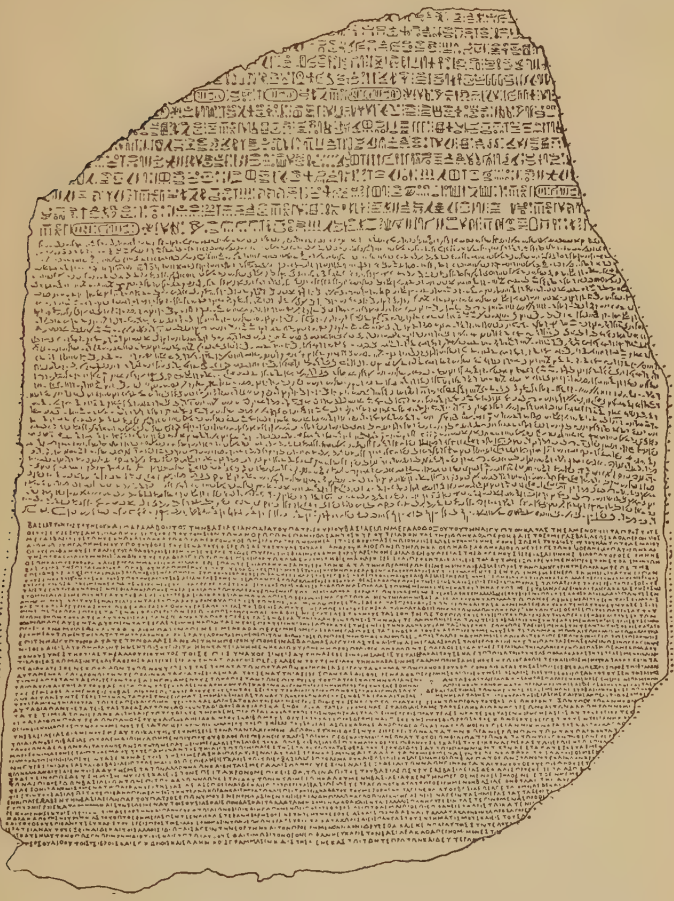
A Royal Name in Hieroglyphics

One of the oval rings or *cartouches* of the Rosetta Stone, containing the symbols for Ptolemaios, the Greek name of King Ptolemy. Each symbol represents the initial letter of the Egyptian name for the object pictured. The objects in order are: a mat, a half-circle, a noose, a lion, a hole, two reeds, and a chair-back. The entire hieroglyph is read from left to right.

The rediscovery of the Orient began in Egypt with the interpretation of hieroglyphic writing. For many centuries no one had been able to read the strange, fantastic signs which still covered the walls of Egyptian tombs and temples. In 1799 the finding of the Rosetta Stone raised hopes that the puzzle might be solved. This monument dated from the second century B.C. It bore a decree in honour of a Greek

The Rosetta Stone.

king, Ptolemy, who at that period ruled over Egypt. There were three inscriptions: hieroglyphics at the top; in the middle



THE ROSETTA STONE

a later and simpler form of Egyptian writing; and at the base the Greek text.

Almost at once scholars in France and England began the task

of decipherment. The Greek words were naturally supposed to be a translation of the two Egyptian inscriptions. It was soon noticed that, wherever the Greek version contained the letters for the name of Ptolemy, there was a corresponding set of signs placed within an oval-shaped ring in the hieroglyphics. By comparing these sign-groups with the Greek text, it became possible to make out a few of the hieroglyphic characters. The words, when read, were found to resemble Coptic, a daughter tongue of the old Egyptian. Since Coptic was already familiar to students, it afforded valuable aid in translating the entire inscription. Thus the Rosetta Stone gave up its message, and this, once understood, served as a key to other inscriptions. The merit for these discoveries belongs largely to a Frenchman, François Champollion, whose researches were made in the early part of the nineteenth century. Scholars can now read the pictured language of ancient Egypt with fair ease and accuracy.

Decipherment of the Rosetta inscription.

The decipherment of Babylonian cuneiform writing[1] formed an even more remarkable exploit. Far away in western Persia the isolated rock of Behistun rises about seventeen hundred feet above the plain. Its limestone face contains huge sculptures which portray the triumph of Darius the Great over his enemies. There is also an inscription in the three principal languages of the king's subjects, namely, Persian, Susian, and Babylonian. The record consists of nearly one thousand lines of cuneiform writing. It gives a life of Darius in that monarch's own words.

The Behistun Rock.

In 1835 an English soldier and scholar, Sir Henry Rawlinson, examined this remarkable document, chiselled in enduring stone. Some years later, at the risk of life and limb, he scaled the rock and took a paper cast of the lettering.[2] At the time of Rawlinson's

[1] See page 14.

[2] This exploit was repeated in 1903 by an intrepid American professor, A. V. W. Jackson. He ascended the rock, verified the records made by Rawlinson over sixty years before, and even photographed parts of the inscription.

feat, the old Persian language had been partially deciphered. By using the proper names in the Persian columns as a clue, it was possible to translate, first the proper names in the two other languages, and finally the entire record. Thus the Behistun inscription furnished a key to the cuneiform writing of the Babylonians.

Decipherment of the Behistun inscription.

BAS-RELIEF ON THE BEHISTUN ROCK

The sculpture represents the triumph of Darius the Great over Gaumata (the false Smerdis), and nine other pretenders to the Persian throne. Darius, the central figure in the group, holds in his left hand a bow. He raises his right hand to pronounce the doom of the roped and pinioned captives who stand before him. Beneath the feet of the king lies the prostrate Gaumata, imploring, with outstretched arms, the monarch's mercy. Over the head of Darius is the winged figure of the god Ahura-Mazda, who presents to him a ring, the image of sovereignty.

Though scholars now understood the two chief languages of antiquity, at first they had very little to read. Soon, however, a series of explorations in Egypt and Babylonia brought to light abundant records in a state of remarkable preservation. The marvellously dry climate of the Nile valley had kept in their original freshness the painted hieroglyphics on the walls of temples and tombs as well as the fragile papyrus[1] rolls, which served as the ordinary writing material of the Egyptians.

Preservation of the ancient records.

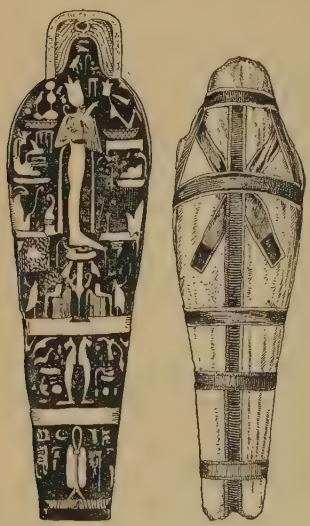
[1] See footnote, page 1.

And the time-defying qualities of the Babylonian brick-books had preserved their inscriptions as clear and legible as when they left the engraver's hands thirty centuries ago. The story of the discoveries by which all these literary treasures have been recovered is of absorbing interest.

27. Rediscovery of the Orient: Monuments and Remains

Not many years ago hardly anyone dreamed that the land of Egypt still held abundant evidences of its former civilization — buried, for the most part, with the dead. To secure the happiness of the soul in the other life the Egyptians believed it necessary to preserve the body against decay. So they invented a process of embalming so perfect that we can to-day look on the very faces of Pharaohs contemporary with Moses. Valuable papyrus manuscripts were often placed in the coffin with the mummy. The mummy case itself, and even the linen bandages in which the body was wrapped, sometimes bore long inscriptions relating to the deceased.

Writings buried with the mummy.



MUMMY AND COVER OF COFFIN
U. S. National Museum, Washington

The same care for the dead which led to the practice of embalming caused the Egyptians to spend immense labour on the tomb itself. The earlier Pharaohs raised the pyramids for their sepulchres. Many of the later kings hollowed out burial chambers in the limestone cliffs that border the Nile valley. Wealthy individuals built tombs of brick and stone such as still cover the desert near the city of Cairo. The walls of these structures were decorated

Records on the walls of tombs.

with sculptures, paintings, and inscriptions. They give an account of the dead man in all the scenes of his earthly life—at the royal court, on his farms, or with his family at home. Thus his biography formed a kind of picture gallery telling us how an ancient Egyptian lived.

In addition to such records, the sepulchres contained everything which it was imagined the soul would need in its future existence. Vessels for food and drink, the soldier's weapons, the workman's tools, the toilet articles of the lady, the playthings of the child, were placed in the tombs. From them is obtained that multitude of objects—furniture, clothing, jewellery, pottery, statues—which fills modern museums.

Objects in the tombs.

Our knowledge of the Babylonians and Assyrians comes from excavations in the immense mounds which line the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. They are the remains of extensive palaces, temples, and other public buildings, built usually of sun-dried brick, and raised above the marshy plain upon a lofty terrace. The buildings were one-storied, and roofed with huge beams of cedar. These structures and the platforms supporting them gradually decayed, and at length sank down into shapeless ruins. Now they look like natural hills, for vegetation covers them, and their sides are scarred by the rains of many centuries.

The mounds of Babylonia and Assyria.

The first person really to begin the work of excavation was a Frenchman, Émile Botta. In 1843, with a few native labourers, he began to dig at a mound on which was a Turkish village known as Khorsabad. Soon his men came upon the remains of an Assyrian palace, the very one, in fact, which Sargon II had raised near Nineveh. Great courts with entrance gates were uncovered, besides stately halls and a maze of passages and rooms. The walls were lined with sculptured slabs representing battle scenes and the siege and capture of cities. All these treasures were taken by Botta to Paris and deposited in the museum of the Louvre.

Explorations by Botta at Khorsabad.

Botta's discoveries created a great sensation. One of the first to hear of them was a young Englishman, Austen H. Layard, who had been much interested in Oriental antiquity. Very soon he also was at work exploring a large mound called Nimrud. It proved to be a site of the Assyrian city of Calah. Imagine the terror of the superstitious workmen and the joy of Layard when pickaxe and shovel brought to light colossal winged bulls and lions with human faces, still keeping guard on both sides of the palace gates. These and other sculptures found here now make up the Nimrud Gallery in the British Museum.

Layard's excavations at Nimrud.

Layard uncovered a second Assyrian palace at a mound called Kuyunjik. It was the imposing structure raised by Sennacherib at Nineveh. The lucky explorer, in fact, had come upon the site of that royal capital, buried for twenty-four centuries since its destruction by the Medes.[1]

Discoveries by Layard at Kuyunjik.

After these amazing revelations, the work of opening mounds and disinterring ancient cities began with renewed vigour. Site after site in Mesopotamia was excavated. The work is even now unfinished. Some of the most remarkable finds have been made within the last two decades. Meanwhile, other lands are being carefully explored. Every year adds its quota of discoveries from Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia.[2] The new knowledge thus gained has made it necessary to rewrite the history of the East. The main features of ancient Oriental life and civilization are now revealed as never before.

Results of modern explorations.

28. Government

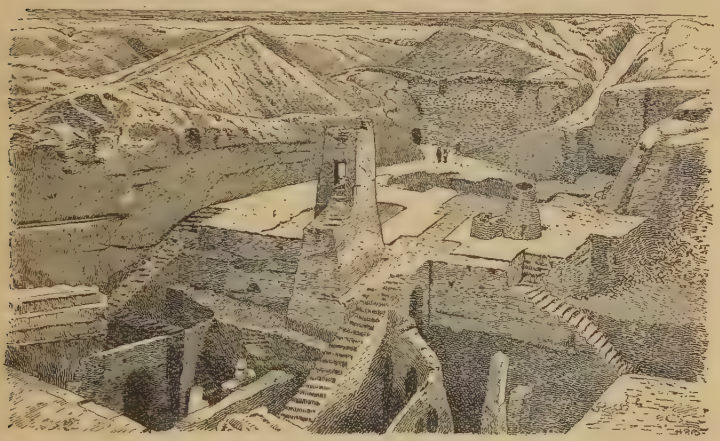
The Oriental peoples, when their history opens, were living under the monarchical form of government. The king, to his

[1] See pages 59–60.

[2] The French Government maintains a great school of archæology at Cairo in Egypt. Excavations are also supported by the (British) Egyptian Exploration Fund and by the German Oriental Society. In recent years several American universities have joined in this fascinating work of discovery.

subjects, was the earthly representative of the gods. Often, indeed, he was himself regarded as divine. In both Egypt and Babylonia, the monarch seems to have been at first a powerful priest who used his position as a stepping-stone to royalty. He never lost his religious character. He remained head of both Church and State.

Rise of the kingship.



EXCAVATIONS AT NIPPUR

Nippur was the ancient "Calneh in the land of Shinar" (*Genesis*, x, 10). Excavations here were conducted by the University of Pennsylvania during 1889–1900. The city contained an imposing temple, a library, a school, and even a little museum of antiquities.

Perhaps no other ruler ever received such full and unhesitating worship as the Egyptian Pharaoh. His subjects called him the "good god," the "great god." This was no idle flattery. People really believed in the divine descent of the king. Though his body was human, his soul had come to him straight from mighty Ra, the sun god. Even in the Pharaoh's lifetime, temples were erected to him, and offerings were made to his sacred majesty. A curious picture, which still survives, shows Rameses II standing in adoration before an image of the heavenly Rameses. In other words, the king as a man worships himself as a god.

Divine nature of the Pharaoh.

This belief in the divine origin and divine right of kings made blind obedience to them a religious obligation for their subjects.

Powers and duties of kings.

Every Oriental monarch was an autocrat. Every Oriental monarchy was a despotism. The king, in consequence, had many duties. He was judge, commander, and high priest, all in one. In time of war, he led his troops and faced the dangers of the battle field. During intervals of peace, he was occupied with a constant round of sacrifices, prayers, and processions, which could not be neglected without exciting the anger of the gods. To his courtiers he gave frequent audience,

AN EGYPTIAN COURT SCENE

Wall-painting, from a tomb at Thebes. Shows a Pharaoh receiving Asiatic envoys bearing tribute. They are introduced by white-robed Egyptian officials. The Asiatics may be distinguished by their gay clothes and black, sharp-pointed beards.

hearing complaints, settling disputes, and issuing commands. A conscientious monarch, such as Hammurabi, who describes himself as "a real father to his people," was a very busy man.

Oriental rulers always maintained luxurious courts. The splendour of Rameses, of Solomon, of Nebuchadnezzar, dazzled their

The royal court.

contemporaries. Royal magnificence reached its height with the Great King of Persia. He lived far removed from the common eye in the recesses of a lordly palace. When he gave audience to his nobles, he sat on a gold and ivory throne, dressed in richest silks. When he travelled, even on military expeditions, he carried with him costly furniture, gold and

silver dishes, gorgeous robes. Just as a modern sultan, he had a harem of many wives. His chief diversion was hunting in the beautiful parks — *paradises*, the Greeks called them — which he possessed in different parts of the royal domains. About him were hundreds of servants, guards, and officials. All who approached his person prostrated themselves in the dust. "Whatsoever he commandeth them, they do. If he bid them make war the one against the other, they do it; if he send them out against his enemies, they go, and break down mountains, walls, and towers. They slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment." [1]

29. Social Classes

Besides the monarch and the royal family, there was generally in Oriental countries an upper class of landowners. In Egypt, the Pharaoh was regarded as sole owner of the land. Some of it he worked through his slaves, but the larger part he granted to his favourites, as hereditary estates. Such persons may be called the nobles. The different priesthoods also had much land, the revenues from which kept up the temples where they ministered. At one time a third of all the tillable soil of Egypt was under the control of the priests. In Babylonia, likewise, we find a priesthood and nobility supported by the income from landed property.

Nobles and priests.

This early aristocracy tended to disappear as new means of acquiring wealth were discovered. An order of nobles composed of high government officials, or sometimes of rich merchants, took its place. These individuals made up the court of the king. They were often very powerful. If he failed to keep on good terms with them, they might any time rise in revolt. Oriental history relates many insurrections against the reigning prince.[2]

Officials and merchants.

[1] 1 *Esdras*, iv, 3–5.

[2] See pages 57, 59, 63, 65.

The middle class included professional men, shopkeepers, independent farmers, and skilled craftsmen. Though regarded as inferiors, still they had a chance to rise in the world. If they became rich, they might hope to enter the upper class as priests or officers of government.

The middle class.

No such hopes encouraged the day labourer in the fields or shops. His lot was bitter poverty and a life of unending toil. If he was an unskilled workman, his wages were only enough to keep him and his family. He toiled under overseers who carried sticks and used them freely. "Man has a back," says an Egyptian proverb, "and obeys only when it is beaten." If the labourer was a peasant, he could be sure that the nobles from whom he rented the land and the tax-collectors of the king would leave him little more than a bare living. Nor might he expect his children to occupy a better place in life than his own. It was a rare thing for a poor boy to obtain an education which would fit him for a higher position. Even more in Oriental antiquity than to-day the curse of the poor was their poverty.

Workmen and peasants.

30. The Slaves

At the very bottom of the social ladder were the slaves. Every ancient people possessed them. At first they were prisoners of war, who, instead of being slaughtered, were made to labour for their masters. Babylonians and Assyrians undertook expeditions for the express purpose of gathering slaves — "like the sand," says an ancient writer. At a later period, people unable to pay their debts lost their freedom. A man could even sell his wife and children into bondage. Criminals were sometimes compelled to enter into servitude. So numerous did slaves become that their price occasionally fell below that of sheep.

Slavery in Babylonia and Assyria.

The treatment of slaves depended on the character of the master. A cruel and overbearing owner might make life a burden

for his bondmen. Escape was rarely possible. Slaves were branded like cattle to prevent their running away. Hammurabi's code[1] imposed the death penalty on anybody who aided or concealed the fugitives. There was plenty of work for the slaves to perform — repairing dikes, digging irrigation canals, erecting vast palaces and temples. On Assyrian sculptures we can see the captives being dragged by chains or forced under the lash to move immense blocks for the construction and adornment of public buildings.

Condition of the slaves.

The servile class in Egypt was not as numerous as in Babylonia, and slavery itself seems to have assumed there a somewhat milder form. Among the Hebrews, slavery was still more humane. That race had suffered too much from servitude not to be touched by the misfortune of others. So the Hebrew laws recorded in the Old Testament provide that a master shall have no power of life or death over his bondmen. If they flee to a city of refuge, they must not be returned. Every seventh day, the slaves, as well as their owners, are to enjoy a period of rest. After six years of service, they are to be set free. Thus the Hebrews, alone among Oriental peoples, approached our modern conceptions of human liberty.

Slavery in Egypt and Israel.

31. Industry

Such fruitful, well-watered valleys as those of the Nile and the Euphrates, encouraged agricultural life. Farming was the chief occupation. Working people, whether slaves or free men, were generally cultivators of the soil.

Farming.

All the methods of agriculture are pictured for us on the monuments. We mark the peasant as he breaks up the earth with a hoe, or ploughs a shallow furrow with a sharp-pointed stick. We see the sheep being driven across sown fields to trample the seed into the moist soil. We watch the patient labourers as with hand sickles they gather in the harvest

Methods of agriculture.

[1] See pages 38, 90.

and then with heavy flails separate the grain from the chaff. Although their methods were very clumsy, ancient farmers raised immense crops of wheat and barley. The soil of Egypt and Babylonia not only supported a dense population, but also supplied food for neighbouring peoples. These two lands were the granaries of the East.

At first there was little manufacturing. Each farm produced everything needed in the way of clothing, tools, and implements.

Manufacturing. As wealth and population increased, it became possible for men to devote themselves to other occupations besides agriculture. Some became artisans or craftsmen, and lived by exchanging their wares for the products of the soil. They settled in the cities, which thus became manufacturing centres.

Many industries of to-day were known in ancient Egypt and Babylonia. We hear of blacksmiths, carpenters, stonecutters,

Artisans and their training. workers in ivory, silver and gold, weavers, potters, glass blowers. Usually the artisans formed guilds or associations, each of which occupied a special street or quarter of the city. Those who wished to follow a particular industry were obliged to enter the guild and serve as apprentices for a period of years. It was sometimes provided that the master should be fined if he overworked his apprentice or failed to teach him the trade. Such regulations were intended to produce good workmen.

The creations of these ancient craftsmen often exhibit remarkable skill. Egyptian linens were so wonderfully fine and transparent as

Ancient manufactures. to merit the name of "woven air." Babylonian tapestries, carpets, and rugs enjoyed a high reputation for beauty of design and colour. Egyptian glass with its waving lines of different hues was much prized. Precious stones were made into beads, necklaces, charms, and seals. The precious metals were employed for a great variety of ornaments. Egyptian paintings show the goldsmiths at work with blowpipe and forceps, fashioning bracelets, rings, and diadems, inlaying objects of stone and wood, or covering their surfaces with fine gold leaf. The

ORIENTAL, GREEK, AND ROMAN COINS

1. Lydian coin of about 700 B.C.; the material is electrum, a compound of gold and silver. 2. Gold *daric*, a Persian coin worth about £1. 3. Hebrew silver *shekel*. 4. Athenian silver tetradrachm, showing Athena, her olive branch, and sacred owl. 5. Roman bronze *as* (nearly one penny) of about 217 B.C.; the symbols are the head of Janus and the prow of a ship. 6. Bronze *sestertius* (2½ pence) struck in Nero's reign; the emperor, who carries a spear, is followed by a second horseman bearing a banner. 7. Silver *denarius* (8½ pence) of about 99 B.C.; it shows a bust of Roma and three citizens voting. 8. Gold *solidus* (£1) of the Emperor Honorius, about 400 A.D.; the emperor wears a diadem and carries a sceptre.

manufacture of tiles and glazed pottery was everywhere carried on. Babylonia is believed to be the original home of porcelain. Enamelled bricks found there are unsurpassed by the best products of the present day. Some of the industrial arts of Babylonia and Egypt have been revived only in modern times.

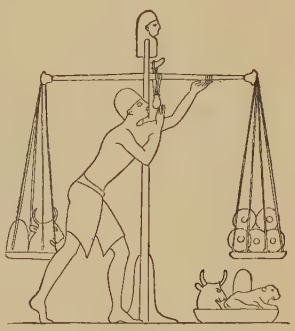
The development of the arts and crafts brought a new industrial class into existence. There was now need of merchants and shopkeepers, to collect manufactured products where they could be readily bought and sold. The cities of Babylonia, in particular, became thriving markets. Partnerships between tradesmen were numerous. We even hear of commercial companies not so very unlike our present corporations. Indeed, business life in ancient Babylonia wore quite a modern look.

Trade.

32. Money and Banking

Some form of money is necessary for well-developed industry and trade. In the beginning, people simply bartered goods, one for another. When they made a purchase or settled a debt, they paid with cattle, clothing, grain, wine, and oil. Even wages and taxes were collected in kind — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources" — as an Egyptian inscription puts it.

Barter.



EGYPTIAN WEIGHING "COW GOLD"

An exchange of goods by barter is generally a troublesome proceeding. What one has to give may not be wanted by some one else. It is much more convenient to select a single object which everybody desires, and to use it as money. We have already seen how the primitive Greeks and Romans employed cattle as a medium of exchange and measure of value. The same commodity money

Commodity money.

was familiar to early Oriental peoples. Still later, various metals were used as money, especially tin, copper, silver, and gold.

Metallic money first circulated in the form of rings and bars. The Egyptians had small pieces of gold — "cow gold" — each of which was simply the value of a full-grown cow. It was necessary to weigh the metal whenever a purchase took place. A common picture on the Egyptian monuments is that of the weigher with his balance and scales.[1] Then the practice arose of stamping each piece of money with its true value and weight. The next step was coinage proper, where the government guarantees not only the weight, but also the genuineness of the metal.

Metallic money; coinage.

The honour of the invention of coinage is generally given to the Lydians, whose country was well supplied with the precious metals. According to a pretty fable, when King Midas, whose touch turned everything to gold, had bathed in the river Pactolus, its sands forthwith became golden. However this may be, the Lydian monarchs certainly enjoyed a reputation for great wealth. As early as the eighth century B.C., they began to strike coins of electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver. The famous Crœsus, whose name is still a synonym for riches, was the first to issue coins of pure gold and silver. The Greek neighbours of Lydia quickly adopted the art and so introduced it into Europe. Under the Persian kings vast quantities of gold and silver coins entered into circulation. The gold coins of Darius, known as "darics," were celebrated for the purity of their metal. They became the standard gold currency of the East.[2]

Lydian and Persian coins.

The use of money as a medium of exchange led naturally to a system of banking. In Babylonia, for instance, the bankers formed an important and influential class. One great banking house, established at Babylon before the age of Sennacherib,

[1] The Old Testament is full of expressions showing that the precious metals passed by weight. When Abraham purchased a field wherein to bury Sarah, he "weighed to Ephron" 400 shekels of silver, "current money with the merchant" (*Genesis*, xxiii, 16).

[2] For illustrations of Oriental coins see plate facing p. 82.

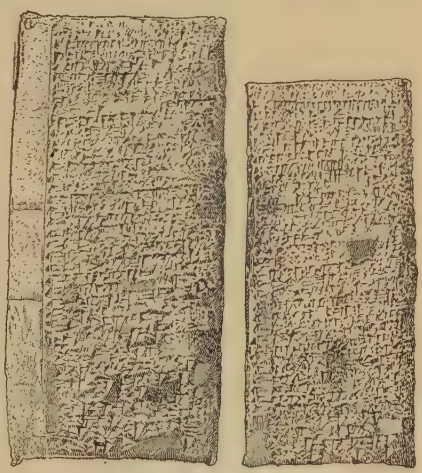
carried on operations for several centuries. Hundreds of legal documents belonging to this firm have been discovered in the huge earthenware jars which served as safes. The Babylonian temples also received money on deposit and lent it out again as do our modern banks. Knowledge of the principles of banking passed from Babylonia to Greece and thence to ancient Italy and Rome.

Banking.

33. Commerce and Trade Routes

The use of the precious metals as money greatly aided the exchange of commodities between different countries. In early times, however, all international trade or commerce was exposed to many dangers. Wild tribes and bands of robbers infested the roads and obliged the traveller and trader to be ever on guard against their attacks. Travel by water had also its drawbacks. Boats were small and easily swamped in rough weather. With a single sail and few oarsmen, progress was very slow. Without compass or chart, the navigator seldom ventured into the open sea.[1] He kept as close as possible to the coast, having always a sharp eye for pirates who might seize his vessel and take him into slavery. In spite of all these risks, the profits of foreign trade were so large

Beginnings of commerce.



Babylonian Contract Tablet

The actual tablet is on the right; on the left is a hollow clay case or envelope.

[1] The Phœnicians seem to have been the first to steer their ships at night by the North Star. This the Greeks called the Phœnician Star.

that from early times there existed much intercourse between Oriental lands.

The cities of the Tigris-Euphrates valley were admirably situated for commerce, both by sea and land. They enjoyed a central position between eastern and western Asia. The shortest way by water from India skirted the southern coast of Iran, and passing up the Persian Gulf, gained the valley of the two great rivers. The sea voyage, however, was dangerous, since it led across a waste of waters and along an exposed and barbarous coast. Even more important were the overland roads from China and India which met at Babylon and Nineveh. Along these routes travelled long lines of caravans laden with the products of the distant East—gold and ivory, jewels and silks, tapestries, spices, and fine woods. Still other avenues of commerce radiated to the west and entered Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. All these trade routes, from prehistoric times, have been arteries of the world's wealth. Many of them are in use even to-day.

Asiatic commerce.

If the inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria were able to control the caravan routes of Asia, it was reserved for a Syrian people, the Phœnicians, to become the pioneers of commerce with Europe. As early as 1500 B.C., the rich copper mines of Cyprus attracted Phœnician colonists to this island.[1] From Cyprus these bold mariners and keen business men passed to Crete, thence along the shores of Asia Minor to the Greek mainland, and possibly to the Black Sea. Some centuries later the Phœnicians were driven from these regions by the rising power of the Greek states. Then they sailed farther westward and established their trading posts in Sicily, Africa, and Spain. At length they passed through the Strait of Gibraltar into the Atlantic and visited the shores of western Europe and Africa.

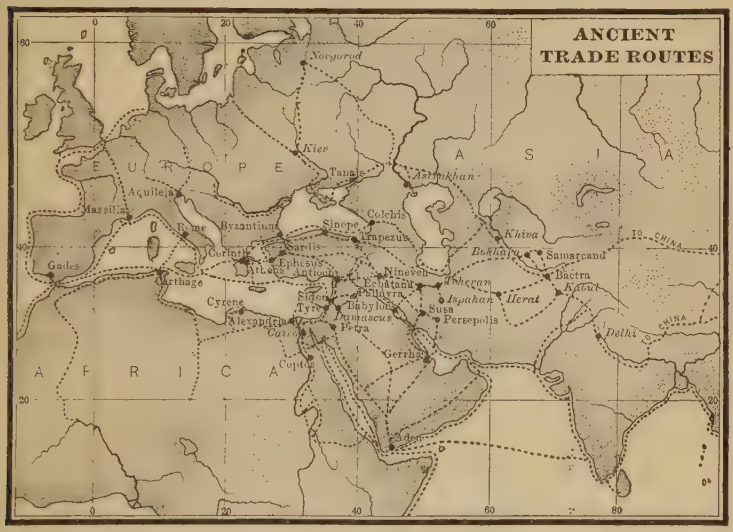
Commerce with Europe.

The Phœnicians obtained a great variety of products from their widely scattered settlements. The mines of Spain yielded tin, lead, and silver. The tin was especially valuable because of its

[1] See page 8.

use in the manufacture of bronze.[1] From Africa came ivory, ostrich feathers, and gold; from Arabia, incense, perfumes, and costly spices. The Phœnicians found a ready sale for these commodities throughout the East. Still other products were brought directly to Phœnicia to provide the raw materials for her flourishing manufactures. The fine carpets and glassware, the cunning works in silver and bronze, and

Phœnician imports and exports.



the beautiful purple cloths[2] produced by Phœnician factories were exported to every region of the known world.

The Phœnicians were able to shut out competitors and to enjoy a strict monopoly of their very profitable trade. They kept their voyages secret. No one in antiquity knew the region from which they brought their tin. Only

Phœnician trade monopoly.

[1] The Cassiterides, or Tin Islands, said to have been visited by the Phœnicians, are identified with the modern Scilly Islands off the southwest coast of England. It is unlikely that the Phœnicians ever worked the tin mines of Cornwall on the mainland.

[2] "Tyrian purple" was a dye secured from a species of shellfish found along the Phœnician coast and in Greek waters.

by chance did a Greek ship discover Spain, with which the Phœnicians had traded for centuries. It is said that the sailors of Carthage, a Phœnician colony, drowned all foreign merchants whom they found intruding in their domains.

Commercial supremacy of the Phœnicians.

For almost a thousand years the men of Tyre and Sidon were the chief commercial people of the Mediterranean. Their ships composed the navies of Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt. "What city is like Tyre?" asks a Hebrew writer. "When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many peoples; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise."[1]

Phœnician voyages of exploration.

The Phœnicians were the boldest sailors of antiquity. Some of their long voyages are still on record. We learn from the Bible that they made cruises on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and brought the gold of Ophir — "four hundred and twenty talents" — to Solomon.[2] There is even a story of certain Phœnicians who, by direction of an Egyptian king, explored the eastern coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and after three years' absence returned to Egypt through the Strait of Gibraltar.

Hanno's expedition.

A much more probable narrative is that of the voyage of Hanno, a Carthaginian admiral. We still possess a Greek translation of his interesting log book. It describes an expedition made about 500 B.C. along the coast of western Africa. The explorers seem to have sailed as far as the country now called Sierra Leone. Among the trophies brought back to Carthage were the skins of three huge apes, which were believed to be human beings. Hanno's account of them is the first notice in literature of the gorilla. More than nineteen hundred years passed before a similar voyage along the African coast was undertaken.

[1] *Ezekiel*, xxvii, 32–33.

[2] See 1 *Kings*, ix, 26–28. The names Ophir and Afr-ica are the same, the latter having an adjectival termination.

PHOENICIAN AND GREEK COLONIES
Phoenicia (mother country)
Phoenician Colonies
Greece (mother country)
Greek Colonies
Cities underlined
10° Long East from Greenwich
BLACK SEA
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
CRETE
EGYPT
RED SEA
Olbia
Heraclea
Phyus
Istrus
Tomi
Callatis
Odessus
Mesambria
Sinope
Athenae
Trapezus
Cytorus
Byzantium
Heraclea
Amphipolis
Neapolis
Tragurium
Lissus
Epidamnus
Olynthus
Apollonia
Poudaea
Ilium
Cyzicus
Elaea
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
Athens
Sparta
Phaselis
Soli
Salamis
Citium
Sidon
Tyre
Naucratis
Apollonia
Cyrene
Barca
Leptis
Tacape
Ruspae
Carthage
Utica
Acragas
Syracuse
Catana
Rhegium
Locri
Motye
Sybaris
Thuri
Croton
Corcyra
Taras
Cume
Carales
Alalia
Antipolis
Massilia
Rhodas
Saguntum
Malaca
Gades
Tingis
Icosium
10°
0°
20°
30°
40°
45°
40°
35°
30°

Wherever the Phœnicians journeyed they established settlements. Most of these were merely trading posts which contained warehouses for the storage of their goods. Hither came the shy natives to barter their raw materials for the finished products — cloths, tools and weapons, wine and oil — which the strangers from the East had brought with them. In Europe there was a very important station at the mouth of the Rhone, where Phœnican vessels received the products brought overland through Gaul. Another depot was located at the head of the Adriatic Sea, the end of a great trade route extending over the Alps and into Germany. These routes were not discovered by the Phœnicians; they had been known and used during prehistoric times.

Phœnician settlements.

Phœnician settlements sometimes grew to be large and flourishing cities. The colony of Gades in southern Spain, mentioned in the Old Testament as Tarshish, survives to this day as Cadiz. The city of Carthage, founded in north Africa by colonists from Tyre, became the commercial mistress of the Mediterranean. Carthaginian history has many points of contact with that of the Greeks and Romans.

Gades and Carthage.

34. Law and Morality

It is clear that societies so highly organized as Phœnicia, Egypt, and Babylonia must have been held together by the firm bonds of law. In place of violence and the rule of the strongest, there had arisen a body of legal principles according to which men shaped their conduct.

Beginnings of law.

The ancient Babylonians, especially, were a legal-minded people. When a man sold his wheat, bought a slave, married a wife, or made a will, the transaction was duly noted on a contract tablet, which was then filed away in the public archives. Instead of writing his name, a Babylonian stamped his seal on the wet clay of the tablet. Every man who owned property had to have a seal. A tablet was protected from defacement by being placed in a case or "envelope."

Babylonian contracts.

The earliest laws were, of course, unwritten. They were no more than the long-established customs of the community. As civilization advanced, the usages that generally prevailed were written out and made into legal codes. A recent discovery has given us the almost complete text of the laws which Hammurabi, the Babylonian king, ordered to be engraved on stone monuments and set up in all the chief cities of his realm.[1]

Laws of Hammurabi.

The code of Hammurabi shows, in general, a high sense of justice. A man who tries to bribe a witness or a judge is to be severely punished. A farmer who is careless with his dykes and allows the water to run through and flood his neighbour's land must restore the value of the grain he has damaged. The owner of a vicious ox which has gored a man must pay a heavy fine, if it is proved that he knew the disposition of the animal and had not blunted its horns.[2] A builder who puts up a shaky house which afterwards collapses and kills the tenant is himself to be put to death. On the other hand, the code has some rude features. Punishments were severe. For injuries to the body there was the simple rule of retaliation—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a limb for a limb. A son who had struck his father was to have his hands cut off. The nature of the punishment depended, moreover, on the rank of the aggrieved party. A person who had caused the loss of a "gentleman's" eye was to have his own plucked out; but if the injury was done to a poor man, the culprit had only to pay a fine. Hammurabi evidently intended that women should be kept in subjection. One of his laws provides that a wife shall be thrown into the river "if she has not been economical, if she has been a gadder-about, has wasted her house, and belittled her husband."

Subject-matter of Hammurabi's code.

Hammurabi's laws thus present a vivid picture of Oriental

[1] A monument containing the code of Hammurabi was found on the site of Susa in 1901–1902. See the illustration, page 37.

[2] Compare the regulations of the Mosaic code on this subject (*Exodus*, xxi, 28–32).

society two thousand years before Christ. They always remained the basis of the Babylonian and Assyrian legal system. They were destined, also, to exert a considerable influence upon the Hebrew code. Centuries after Hammurabi, the enactments of the old Babylonian king were reproduced in some of the familiar regulations of the laws of Moses. In this way they became the heritage of the Hebrews, and, through them, of our own modern world.

Importance of Hammurabi's laws.

The regulations which we find in the earlier books of the Bible were ascribed by the Hebrews to their lawgiver, Moses. He had received them, they believed, from Jehovah himself on Mount Sinai, amidst lightnings and thunderings. These laws covered a wide range of topics. They fixed all religious ceremonies, required the observance every seventh day of the Sabbath, and provided for three great feasts — Passover, in memory of the escape from Egypt; Pentecost, to celebrate the giving of the Ten Commandments; Tabernacles, to recall the wanderings in the Wilderness. They dealt with marriage and the family, determined penalties for crimes, gave elaborate rules for sacrifices, and even indicated what foods must be avoided as "unclean."

The Mosaic code.

No other ancient people possessed a code so elaborate. The Jews throughout the world obey, to this day, its precepts. And modern Christendom still recites the Ten Commandments, the noblest summary of the rules of right living that has come down to us from the ancient world.

Influence of the Mosaic code.

35. Religion

Oriental ideas of religion, even more than of law and morality, were the gradual outgrowth of beliefs held by the Asiatic peoples in prehistoric times. Everywhere nature worship prevailed. The vault of heaven, earth and ocean, sun, moon, and stars were all regarded either as themselves divine or as the abode of divinities.

Nature worship.

The sun was an object of especial adoration. We find a sun god, under different names, in every Oriental country. The Egyptians knew him as Ra and called each Pharaoh the "son of Ra." The obelisk[1] was his emblem. United to the deity of Thebes as Amon-Ra, he became "king of the gods." The great divinity of Babylonia, Merodach, was originally a sun god. As "king of the heavens" he was also associated with Jupiter, the largest of the planets.

Sun gods of Egypt and Babylonia.

Another inheritance from prehistoric times was the belief in evil spirits. Especially in Babylonia and Assyria this became a prominent feature of the popular religion. Men supposed themselves to be constantly surrounded by a host of demons which caused insanity, sickness, disease, and death — all the ills of life. They were given such names as "pestilence," "storm," the "destroyer," the "seizer"; and they were often represented under the terrifying shapes of dragons and serpents. People lived in constant fear of offending these malignant beings.

Babylonian belief in evil spirits.

To cope with evil spirits the Babylonian used magic. He put up a small image of a protecting god at the entrance to his house, and wore charms upon his person. If he felt ill, he went to a priest, who recited a long incantation supposed to drive out the "devil" afflicting the patient. The reputation of the Babylonian priests was so widespread that in time the very name "Chaldæan" came to mean one who is a magician. Some of their magical rites were borrowed by the Jews, and later by the Romans, from whom they entered Christian Europe. The popular superstitions of the Middle Ages regarding demons, witchcraft, and the devil go back, in part, to old Babylonia.

Babylonian magic.

The Babylonians had also many methods of predicting the future. Soothsayers divined from dreams and from the casting of lots. Omens of prosperity or misfortune were drawn from the twisting and colour of the intestines of animals.

Divination.

[1] See the illustration, page 102.

A very remarkable kind of divination was based on inspection of the liver. That organ contains so much blood that it naturally came to be regarded as the seat of life and of the soul. Babylonian priests used a sheep's liver; they examined its fissures and markings with the greatest care, and assigned mystic meanings to them. Divination by the liver was studied for centuries in the temple schools of Babylonia. The practice afterwards spread to Asia Minor, and thence to Italy, where the Romans learned it.

Clay Model of a Liver
British Museum

The surface of the clay is inscribed with magical formulas.

Astrology received much attention. It was believed that planets, comets, and eclipses of the sun and moon all exerted an influence for good or evil on the life of man. This Babylonian astrology likewise extended to western lands and became very popular among the Greeks and Romans. Some of it survives to the present time. When we name the days Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, we are unconscious astrologers, for in old belief the first day belonged to the planet Saturn, the second to the sun, and the third to the moon.[1] Similarly, a "martial," "jovial," or "lunatic" character was thought to be caused by heavenly influences, by Mars, Jupiter (Jove), or the moon (Luna). In fact, superstitious people who try to read their fate in the stars are really practicing an art of Babylonian invention.

Astrology.

[1] The names of the four other week days come from the names of old German deities. Tuesday is the day of Tiu (the Germanic Mars), Wednesday of Woden (Mercury), Thursday of Thor (Jupiter), and Friday of the goddess Freya (Venus).

Less influential in later times was the animal worship of the Egyptians. This, too, was an heritage from the prehistoric past. Many common animals of Egypt — the cat, the hawk, the jackal, the bull, the crocodile, the beetle — were highly reverenced. Some received worship because deities were supposed to dwell in them. At Memphis, for example, the priests said that a god inhabited a bull called Apis, which could be distinguished by a black skin, a white spot on the forehead, and other markings. Naturally, the Apis bull was held in high honour and was embalmed after death.[1]

Animal worship of the Egyptians.

The majority of Egyptian animals were not worshipped for themselves, but as symbols of different gods. Thus the lioness was sacred to Ra, as personifying the destructive power of the sun's rays. The baboon was an emblem of the god of wisdom, perhaps because of the serious expression and human ways of that ape. The beetle, as a symbol of birth and resurrection, and hence of immortality, enjoyed great reverence. A scarab,[2] or image of the beetle, was often worn as a charm, and was placed in the mummy as an artificial heart.

An Egyptian Scarab

Animals as symbols of the divine.

36. Ideas of God and of the Future Life

In the midst of such an assemblage of nature deities, spirits, and sacred animals, it was indeed remarkable that the belief in one god should ever have found a foothold. Yet it is possible to trace a gradual movement in the direction

Monotheism in Egypt.

[1] The burial-place of the sacred bulls was found in 1851 in a rock-hewn chamber near the site of ancient Memphis. The tomb still contained immense coffins of granite and several mummified bulls.

[2] Latin *scarabæus*, "beetle."

of monotheism. Some Egyptian thinkers had apparently reached the idea of a single supreme divinity. One of the Pharaohs in the fourteenth century even tried to impose this belief upon his subjects. He sought to sweep away all the old gods at a stroke and to replace them by a single god, the "great, living disk of the sun, beside whom there is none other." The king ordered that the names of other deities should be erased from the monuments and that their images should be destroyed. In the sun he saw the source of all life upon the earth, and so he caused its rays to be represented each with a hand holding out the sign of life to the world. As far as we are aware, no such lofty faith had ever appeared before; but it was too abstract and impersonal to win popular favour.

Babylonian speculation exhibits a similar tendency towards monotheism. Merodach, the sun god, came to be regarded not only as head of all the gods, but as actually uniting in himself their various attributes. One ancient inscription refers to at least thirteen of the Babylonian deities as merely forms under which Merodach manifests himself to man. Still later we find King Nebuchadnezzar addressing Merodach in prayer as "thou who art from everlasting, thou who art Lord of all that exists." Such words show how narrow was the line that divided the higher Babylonian thought from true monotheism.

Monotheistic tendencies in Babylonia.

Among the Medes and Persians there arose about 700 B.C. a great prophet named Zoroaster. He taught a faith marked by deep spirituality and moral insight. It was the only monotheistic religion developed by an Indo-European people. Ormazd,[1] the heaven-deity, is the maker and upholder of the universe. As the god of light and order, he is also the god of truth and purity. Against him and his attendant spirits stand the forces of darkness and sin, headed by the wicked Ahriman. These rival powers are engaged in a ceaseless contest for the

Monotheism in Persia.

[1] The modern name, contracted from the ancient Ahura-Mazda.

mastery. Mankind, by doing right and avoiding wrong, by loving truth and hating falsehood, can help to make Good triumph over Evil. In the end, Ormazd will overcome Ahriman and will reign supreme in a new and righteous world. Those who have served him, Ormazd will reward with a life of eternal blessedness; but those who have chosen Ahriman's side, he will punish with endless misery. Thus Zoroastrianism marked a real advance toward a pure morality and the belief in one god.[1]

The Hebrews, alone among the Semitic nations of antiquity, were to develop the worship of their god, Jehovah,[2] into a lasting monotheism. This was a long and gradual process. Jehovah was at first regarded as the peculiar divinity of the Hebrew people. His worshippers did not deny the existence of the gods of other nations. But they thought of Jehovah as a "jealous" god, who would not suffer his people to pay homage or offer sacrifice to any strange deity. The First Commandment, for instance, requires that the Hebrews shall have no other gods "before Me" or "beside Me."

Early Hebrew monotheism.

From the eighth century onwards, this narrow conception of Jehovah was transformed by the labours of the Hebrew prophets. While Zoroaster was carrying his doctrine to the Persians, Israel was listening to even nobler teachings. The prophets taught that Jehovah was the one everlasting God in whose hands are all the corners of the earth. He was not only the creator and ruler of the world, He was also the

Teachings of the Hebrew prophets.

[1] Zoroastrians are still to be found in the East. In Persia, now a Mohammedan country, there is a little band of devoted followers of Zoroaster, who keep up to this day the tenets of their ancient faith. In India, the Parsees of Bombay are the descendants of those Persians who fled from Persia at the Mohammedan conquest, rather than surrender their cherished beliefs and embrace a new religion. Among the Parsees, portions of the old Persian scriptures, called the *Avesta*, have been discovered. They are written in an extinct language, akin to Sanskrit and known as Zend. Our knowledge of Zoroaster's doctrines is obtained from these precious fragments of the *Avesta*.

[2] The name "Jehovah" was never known to the ancient Hebrews. "Jahweh" is perhaps as near as we can come to the original usage. Thus the word "hallelujah" means "praise Jah," the *j* being pronounced like *y*.

loving father of mankind. In place of sacrifices and burnt offerings, the prophets set simple righteousness. "What doth the Lord require of thee," says one of them, "but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"[1]

These higher teachings at first were firmly held by only a few individuals among the Hebrews. The common people tended constantly to fall away into the superstition and idolatry of their neighbours. Then came the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests, in which faithful Hebrews saw a punishment sent by Jehovah for their sins. Those who returned to Palestine after the captivity in Babylon[2] were now ready to follow the prophets who bade them worship one God and Him only. Thus gradually did the sublime faith of the prophets become the soul of an entire people. On this Hebrew monotheism two world religions have been founded — Mohammedanism and Christianity.

Later Hebrew monotheism.

We do not find among the early Hebrews or any other Oriental people, very clear ideas about the life after death. The Egyptians long believed that the soul of the dead man resided in or near the tomb, closely associated with the body. This notion seems to have first led to the practice of embalming the corpse so that it might never suffer decay. If the body was not preserved, the soul might die, or it might become a wandering ghost, restless and dangerous to man. Hence, also, the Egyptians tried to place the mummy in such a situation that it should never be disturbed to the end of time. The grave they called an "eternal dwelling."

Egyptian ideas of the state of the dead.

In later centuries the soul was pictured as undergoing after death the ordeal of a last judgment. One of the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* explains what the soul ought to say, when entering the hall in the spirit world where sits Osiris, the judge, with forty-two grim jurors as his assistants. The soul must declare that he has not murdered, stolen, coveted the property of others, blasphemed the gods, borne false witness, or

The last judgment.

[1] *Micah*, vi, 8.

[2] See page 64.

ill treated his parents. During this recitation, his heart was being weighed in balances over against a feather, the symbol of truth. If the heart was found not light, Osiris welcomed the soul to a blissful immortality in a land where harvests never failed, where trees were always green, and wives remained forever young and fair. The fate of him who failed to sustain the ordeal successfully seems to have been fearful torment, ending in annihilation. This famous judgment scene shows us that the Egyptians had al-

THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD
From a Papyrus containing the *Book of the Dead.*

ready begun to think of the future state as a place of rewards and punishments. As a man had lived in the earthly life, so would be his lot in the next.

Some Oriental peoples kept the primitive belief that after death all men, good and bad alike, suffered the same fate. The

The Babylonian Arallu.

Babylonian ideas were doleful in the extreme. At death, every one went to a gloomy underworld. Its name was Arallu, "the house of darkness whence they that enter go out no more; the house whose inhabitants are deprived of light; where dust is their sustenance, their food clay. Light they see not, they sit in darkness."

The Hebrews appear to have adopted from Babylonia their idea of Sheol, the place of departed spirits. It, also, was a dismal

underworld of awful depth. Saint and sinner both lay in Sheol, "the land of darkness and the shadow of death."[1] The good man was considered to receive his reward in a long and happy career here on earth.

The Hebrew Sheol.

Such thoughts of the life after death left nothing for either fear or hope. In later centuries the Hebrews gave up the Babylonian conception of the future state for one more like that of ancient Persia. From the Jewish religion, in turn, Christianity has taken over its leading ideas of the resurrection of the dead and of a final judgment.

Later Hebrew ideas.

37. Literature

Religion inspired the largest part of ancient literature. Each Oriental people possessed sacred writings. Already venerable in 3000 B.C. was the Egyptian *Book of the Dead.* It was a collection of hymns, prayers, and magical phrases to be recited by the soul on its journey beyond the grave and before the judgment seat of Osiris. A chapter from this work usually covered the inner side of the mummy case.

The Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Much more interesting are the two Babylonian epics. The clay tablets which contain them were taken in thousands of fragments from a royal library at Nineveh. They are copies of original texts which may date back twenty centuries before Christ.[2]

The Babylonian epics.

The epic of the Creation tells how the god Merodach[3] overcame a terrible dragon, the symbol of primeval chaos, and thus established order in the universe. Then with half the body of the dead dragon he made a covering for the heavens and set therein the stars. Next he caused the new moon to shine and made it the ruler of the night. His last work was

Story of the Creation.

[1] *Job*, x, 21.

[2] The tablets containing the Deluge story date from about 660 B.C. But some texts in the private collection of the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan, containing fragments of the same legend, go back to about 1900 B.C. Even these are believed to be copies of still older records.

[3] See page 92.

the creation of man, in order that the service and worship of the gods might be established forever.

The Flood legend.

The second epic deals with the exploits of a hero called Gilgamesh. It contains an account of a flood, sent by the gods to punish sinful men. The rain fell for six days and nights and covered the entire earth. All men were drowned except the Babylonian Noah, his family, and his relatives, who safely rode the waters in an ark. This ancient narrative so closely resembles the Bible story in *Genesis* that we must trace them both to a common source.

THE DELUGE TABLET
British Museum

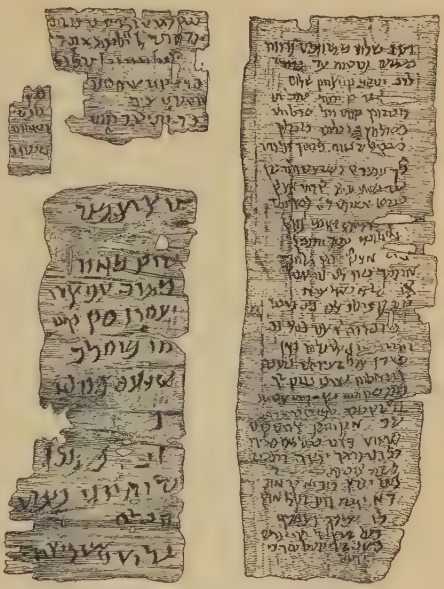
Contains the narrative of the flood as pieced together and published by George Smith in 1872. There are sixteen fragments in the restoration.

In addition to religious writings, many other forms of literature flourished in Egypt and Babylonia. Very entertaining are the *Precepts* of Ptah-hotep, a book of proverbial wisdom in which an ancient Egyptian sage sums up the experience of a long life. They may be compared with the *Proverbs* attributed to Solomon. Ptah-hotep advises his readers to obey their superiors in rank, to treat wives and children kindly, to show good manners at table, and to avoid tale bearing. Sometimes he rises to higher things. "If thou art a wise man," says Ptah-hotep, "train up a son who will be pleasing to God." The *Poem of Pentaur*, so called from the scribe who copied it, is a stirring description of the warlike exploits of Rameses II.[1] It forms the nearest approach to epic poetry made by the Egyptians. The short story or novel was known in Egypt.

Secular literature.

[1] See page 46.

One story recalls the Hebrew narrative of Joseph and his brothers. Another resembles the account of Sindbad the Sailor in the *Arabian Nights*. From both Egypt and Babylonia come many fables and folk-songs to help us in picturing the life and thought of the Oriental world.



ANCIENT HEBREW MANUSCRIPT
Cambridge University Library

A papyrus of the first century A.D., containing the Ten Commandments. It was discovered in Egypt.

All these writings are so ancient that their very authors are forgotten. The interest they excite is historical rather than literary. From Oriental antiquity only one great work has reached us that still has power to move the hearts of men — the Hebrew Bible.

The Hebrew Bible.

The sacred scriptures of the Hebrews, which we call the Old Testament, were the product of many authors whose writings extend over a very long period of time. Some of the earlier books may go back as far as the ninth century B.C.; some of the later books date from the third and second centuries B.C. The Old Testament includes nearly every kind of literature and makes up a library in itself. Sober histories, beautiful stories, exquisite poems, wise proverbs, noble prophecies are all gathered within this collection. Its influence on the Christian world for nineteen hundred years has been incalculable. We shall not be wrong in regarding the Old Testament as the most important

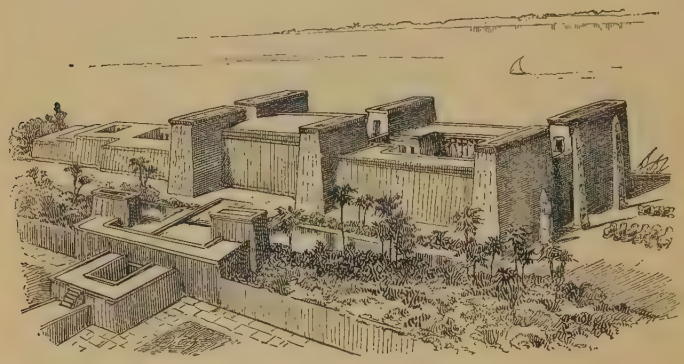
The Old Testament.

single contribution made by any ancient people to modern civilization.[1]

38. The Fine Arts

Architecture, in Egypt, was the leading art. The Egyptians were the first people who learned to raise buildings with vast halls supported by ponderous columns. Their wealth and skill, however, were not lavished in the erection of fine private mansions or splendid public buildings. The characteristic works of Egyptian architecture are the tombs of the kings and the temples of the gods.

Egyptian architecture.



Temple at Luxor (Restored)

We still possess, especially in the ruins of Thebes, extensive remains of the sacred architecture of Egypt. The reconstruction

[1] Besides the 39 books of the Old Testament, mostly composed in Hebrew, there are 14 other books written partly in Aramaic. These make up the Apocrypha. The Apocryphal writings, being considered less authentic than the other Hebrew scriptures, are sometimes omitted from the Bible. The Authorized Version of the Old Testament, used by Protestant churches in England and America, was made in 1611 during the reign of the English king, James I. For this reason it is known as the King James Version. In the Greek Church of Russia, the translation of the Old Testament employed is that called the Septuagint. The Latin version of the Bible known as the Vulgate was prepared by St. Jerome near the close of the fourth century A.D. It is the basis of the English translation called the Douay Bible used by Roman Catholics in English-speaking countries. A commission of scholars, appointed by Pope Pius X, is now labouring at Rome on the revision of the Vulgate.

of the great structure at Luxor, which Rameses II completed, will give some idea of an Egyptian temple. The building extended along the Nile for nearly eight hundred feet. A double line of sphinxes led to the only entrance, in front of which were two obelisks and four colossal statues of Rameses. The temple contained three huge gateways called pylons. Behind the first came an open court surrounded by a

Temples of Egypt.

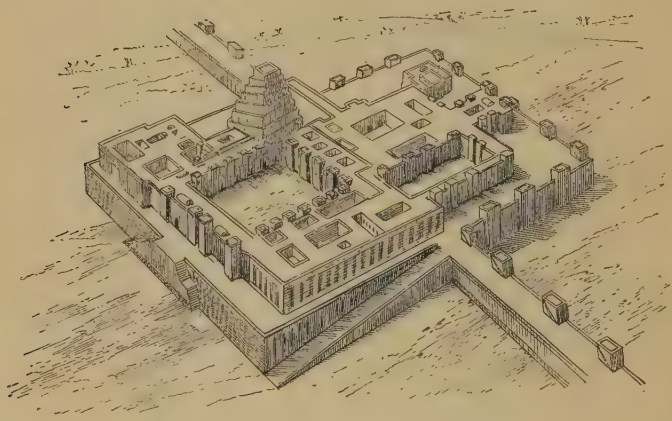
ROCK TEMPLE AT ABU-SIMBEL (IPSAMBUL)

The temple, built by Rameses II on the steep face of a cliff overlooking the Nile, has a façade containing four enthroned colossi of the Pharaoh. These gigantic statues, each about 65 feet high, are cut out of the solid rock. The interior chambers of the temple reach a depth of nearly 200 feet.

portico upheld by pillars. The second and third pylons were connected by a covered passage leading into another open court. Beyond this was a hypostyle hall, that is, a hall with a flat roof supported by columns. Lower rooms at the rear of the temple contained the "holy of holies," or sanctuary of the god. Only the king and priests could enter it. Special chambers for the priests were grouped about the main building. Such a mighty structure leaves upon the observer an impression of peculiar massiveness, solidity, and grandeur. It seems built, not for time, but for eternity.

The architecture of Babylonia and Assyria was totally unlike that of Egypt, because brick, and not stone, formed the chief building material. In Babylonia, the temple was a solid, square tower, built on a broad platform of sun-dried bricks. It consisted usually of seven stages, which arose one above the other to the top, where the shrine of the deity was placed. The different stages were connected by an inclined

Babylonian temples.



Assyrian Palace (Restored)

ascent. The four sides of the temple faced the cardinal points, and the several stages were dedicated to the sun, moon, and five planets. The architects made these buildings high enough, like the "Tower of Babel" itself, to over-top the severest inundation. On the flat land of Babylonia they must have been very conspicuous objects. The temple at Nippur, which has been recently excavated, affords a good example of such structures.

In Assyria the characteristic building was the palace. Sargon's royal residence near Nineveh was placed upon an earthen platform, held in on all sides by stone walls. It consisted of a series of one-storied rectangular halls and long corridors surrounding interior courts. They were provided with

Assyrian palaces.

imposing entrances, flanked by colossal human-headed bulls.[1] Enamelled bricks and alabaster slabs adorned with bas-reliefs lined the inner walls. The entire building covered more than twenty-three acres, and contained two hundred apartments and over three hundred open courts. Though such palaces were splendid enough in their day, the sun-dried brick which composed them lacked the durability of Egyptian stone buildings. Now their crumbling ruins rise like miniature mountains from the Mesopotamian plain.

AN ASSYRIAN WINGED HUMAN-HEADED BULL

The surviving examples of Egyptian sculpture consist of bas-reliefs and figures in the round, carved from limestone and granite, or cast in bronze. Many of the statues appear to our eyes very stiff and ungraceful. The sculptor never learned how to pose his figures easily or how to group them into an artistic whole. In spite of these defects, some Egyptian statues are wonderfully good portraits.

Egyptian sculpture.

Few examples have reached us of Babylonian and Assyrian sculpture in the round. As in Egypt, the figures seem rigid and out of proportion. The Assyrian bas-reliefs show a higher

[1] The images of bulls and lions with wings and human heads represented guardian spirits. The Biblical conception of the cherubim (*Ezekiel*, i, 5–11) seems to have been suggested by these strange monsters. The word "cherub" is itself a Babylonian term which comes to us through the Hebrew language.

development of the artistic sense, especially in the rendering of animals. The sculptures that deal with the exploits of the kings in war and hunting often tell their story in so graphic a way as to make up for the absence of written records.

Sculpture in Babylonia and Assyria.

AN ASSYRIAN STATUE
British Museum

The king, a rude heroic figure, stands upright before the god. He holds a club in the left hand, in the right a sickle or crook, emblematic of the shepherd of his people. The right arm is bare; the left is covered by a richly fringed mantle, thrown twice round the body.

Painting in the ancient East did not reach the dignity of an independent art. It was employed solely for decorative purposes. Bas-reliefs and wall surfaces were often brightly coloured. Different colours were used to represent different objects: men and women were painted red, prisoners yellow, water blue, birds green. The artist had no knowledge of perspective and drew all his figures in profile without any distinction of light and shade. Indeed, Oriental painting, as well as Oriental sculpture and architecture, made small pretence to the beautiful. Beauty was born into the world with the art of the Greeks.

Oriental painting.

39. Science

Scientific investigations among Asiatic peoples were seldom undertaken from the love of truth for its own sake. What knowledge was gained of nature's secrets grew out of efforts to solve, in the easiest manner, the problems of daily life. Oriental science was thoroughly practical in character. In spite of this defect, the Egyptians and Babylonians made noteworthy progress and handed over to neighbouring peoples the results of their inquiries.

Character of Oriental science.

Conspicuous advance took place in the exact sciences. The

leading operations of arithmetic were known. A Babylonian tablet gives a table of squares and cubes correctly calculated from 1 to 60. The number 12 was the basis of all reckonings. The division of the circle into degrees, minutes, and seconds (360°, 60′, 60″) was an invention of the Babylonians which illustrates this duodecimal system. A start was made in geometry. One of the oldest of Egyptian

Arithmetic and geometry.

AN ASSYRIAN HUNTING SCENE
British Museum
A bas-relief from a slab found at Nineveh.

books contains a dozen geometrical problems. This knowledge was afterwards developed into a true science by the Greeks.

In both Egypt and Babylonia, the cloudless skies and still, warm nights early led to astronomical research. At a remote period, perhaps before 4000 B.C., the Egyptians framed the solar year from which ours has come.[1] The Babylonians retained the primitive lunar months and lunar year,[2] but in some branches of astronomy they made remarkable progress. By the seventh century before our era they were able to trace the course of the sun through the twelve constellations of the zodiac,[3] and to distinguish five of the planets from the fixed

Astronomy.

[1] See page 19.

[2] The Babylonian names of the months were taken over by the Jews.

[3] At least seven of the twelve zodiacal signs found in our almanacs — lion, ram, scorpion, crab, fishes, archer, and twins — are of Babylonian origin.

stars. One of their greatest achievements was the successful prediction of eclipses. This was a very important matter to the Babylonians, since an eclipse of the moon formed an ominous sign threatening some disaster. Such astronomical discoveries must have required long ages of patient, accurate observation.

A Babylonian Arch

An arch at Nippur built of burnt brick laid in clay mortar. It formed part of a tunnel apparently designed for drainage purposes. This is the oldest example of a true arch in existence.

Cosmology.

The first ideas men had of the universe were of the simplest sort — the ideas of children. The Egyptians imagined the universe to be like a large box, with the earth forming the floor and Egypt in its centre. Four lofty mountain peaks supported the heavens. The earthward face of the sky was sprinkled with star lamps, carried by gods. The Milky Way formed a heavenly Nile, flowing through the land where the righteous dead lived in perpetual happiness under the rule of Osiris. The ancient Hebrews believed that the earth was the centre of the universe. Above the world came the solid firmament, supporting the waters "that are above the heavens."[1] Beneath the earth's surface lay "the great deep," from which all fountains and rivers sprang. Sheol, the abode of departed spirits, was situated under the deep.

Geographical ideas for a long time were equally primitive. An ancient map, scratched on clay, indicates that about eight centuries

[1] *Psalms*, cxlviii, 4. See also *Genesis*, i, 6–7.

before Christ the Babylonians had gained some knowledge, not only of their own land, but even of regions beyond the Mediterranean. The chief increase in man's knowledge of the world was due to the Phœnicians.[1]

Geography.

The skill of these ancient peoples as mechanics and engineers is testified by their success as builders. The great pyramids exactly face the points of the compass. The principle of the round arch was known in Babylonia at a remote period. The transportation of colossal stone monuments exhibits a knowledge of the lever, pulley, and inclined plane. Babylonian inventions were the sundial and the water clock, the one to register the passage of the hours by day, the other by night. The Babylonians also appear to have been acquainted with rude forms of the microscope and telescope.

Practical sciences.

A Babylonian Map of the World

A tablet of dark brown clay, much injured, dating from the 8th or 7th century B.C. The two large concentric circles indicate the ocean, or, as it is called in the cuneiform writing between the circles, the "Briny Flood." Beyond the ocean are seven successive projections of land, represented by triangles. Perhaps they refer to the countries existing beyond the Black Sea and the Red Sea. The two parallel lines within the inner circle represent the Euphrates. The little rings stand for the Babylonian cities in this region.

The natural sciences such as zoology, botany, and mineralogy

[1] See page 88.

received attention. Cuneiform tablets contain lists of animals, birds, insects, plants, and metals, so arranged as to indicate an effort at scientific classification. Both Babylonians and Egyptians had made some progress toward scientific medicine. A medical treatise found in Egypt distinguishes various diseases and notes their symptoms. Pre-

Natural sciences and medicine.

TRANSPORT OF AN ASSYRIAN COLOSSUS

A slab from a gallery of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh.

scriptions were made out which resemble those of a modern physician. Of Egyptian origin are those curious characters by which modern apothecaries indicate grains and drams. The practice of medicine, however, was everywhere mixed up with magic, just as astronomy, the scientific study of the heavens, was confused with astrology.

Humanity had to get rid of many errors and superstitions before true science should come into her own. Nevertheless, to these earliest students of nature by the Nile and the Euphrates, the

world owes a lasting debt. We who secure our knowledge from books, and thus easily enter upon the heritage of the past, can hardly realize the enormous difficulties under which they laboured. That they achieved so much is marvellous.

Importance of Oriental science.

40. Education

All scientific knowledge was confined to the upper classes. The ancient East had no system of public schools to bring education within reach of the common people. For most children, the home was the only school and parents were the sole teachers. What little training they provided dealt mostly with matters of religion and morals. It aimed to make good citizens, not to impart knowledge. As a rule, only the children of the well-to-do were able to attend a school where they could obtain the rudiments of learning.

Character of Oriental education.

The schools, in both Egypt and Babylonia, were attached to temples and were conducted by the priests. Writing was the chief subject of instruction. It took many years of patient study to master the cumbrous cuneiform symbols or the even more difficult hieroglyphics. "He who would excel in the school of the scribes," ran an ancient maxim, "must rise with the dawn." Writing was learned by imitating the examples supplied in copy-books. Some of the model letters studied by Egyptian boys of the twentieth century B.C. have come down to us. Reading, too, was an art not easy to learn. Dictionaries and grammars were written to aid the beginner. A little instruction might also be provided in counting and calculating.

The temple school.

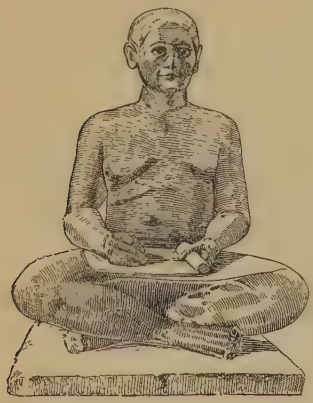
Having learned to read and write, the pupil was ready to enter on the coveted career of a scribe. In a community where nearly every one was illiterate, the scribes naturally held an honourable place. They conducted the correspondence of the time. When a man wished to send a letter he got a scribe to write it, signing it himself by affixing his seal. When he

The scribes.

received a letter, he usually employed a scribe to read it to him. The scribes were also kept busy copying books on the papyrus paper or clay tablets which served as writing materials. In Babylonia these tablets were deposited in libraries.

Every large city of Babylonia possessed a collection of books. The library, as well as the school, formed an adjunct of the temple. Several of the larger libraries have been discovered. At Nippur, in Babylonia, thirty thousand clay tablets were found. Another great collection of books was unearthed in an Assyrian palace at Nineveh. These libraries were classified by subjects and even provided with catalogues. They do not, however, appear to have been open to the public. Just as the schools, the libraries remained entirely under priestly control.

The temple library.



An Egyptian Scribe
Louvre, Paris

Learning and education were so closely limited to a few individuals that the mass of the people was sunk in deepest ignorance. Men could not pursue knowledge for themselves but had to accept everything on authority. Hence the inhabitants of these lands remained a conservative folk, slow to abandon their time-honoured beliefs, and very unwilling to adopt a new custom even when it was clearly better than the old. More than anything else, this absence of popular education made Oriental civilization unprogressive.

Widespread popular ignorance.

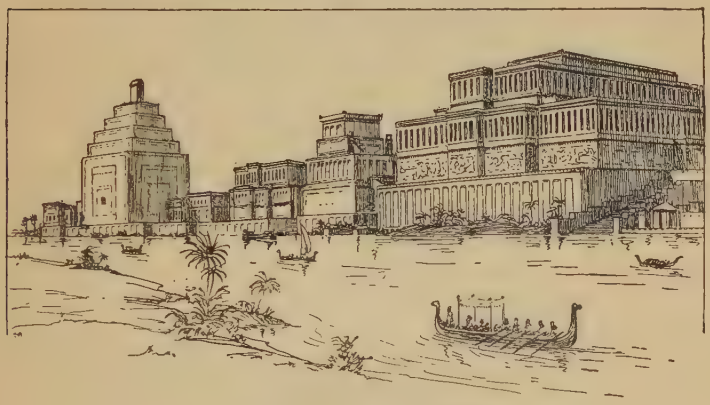
41. Oriental Contributions to Civilization

Our study of Oriental antiquity has been confined chiefly to its two great centres in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile.

The Babylonians and Egyptians were the first to rise from barbarism into civilization. For this reason they were the teachers of the ancient East. In time, their arts and sciences, spread by conquest, trade, and travel, became the common possession of the Oriental world.

Founders of Oriental civilization.

The rudiments of civilization passed from the East to the West. Three peoples, in particular, were agents in this process during



King's Palace at Babylon

historic times. The Phœnicians for many centuries carried the products and practical arts of western Asia to European lands. Phœnician influence was felt in every country washed by the waters of the Mediterranean. Another channel of influence lay through Asia Minor, the connecting link between Asia and Europe.[1] The Hittites, who from early times had spread themselves throughout the peninsula, learned much from their Semitic neighbours, and afterwards communicated their learning to the Lydians. From the Lydians it passed over to the Greeks. In these ways there filtered into Europe some knowledge of the Orient, long before the two regions had come into contact through war and conquest.

Transmitters of Oriental civilization.

[1] See page 34.

Our review of the Oriental period shows us that in every field of human activity it was an age of beginnings. In government and law, in religion and literature, in art and science, men had made much advance since they had emerged from the darkness of prehistoric times.

An age of beginnings.

At the end of the period which for us closes strictly Oriental history,[1] progress had apparently ceased. The Orient, indeed, had done its work. Ancient history was ready to enter on its second great stage in which classical peoples, first the Greeks, then the Romans, were to play the leading part in the civilized world. To them we may now turn.

Stagnation and decline.

[1] See page 66.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANDS OF THE WEST

42. Europe

The continent of Asia, projecting its huge bulk to the southwest between the seas, gradually narrows into the smaller continent of Europe.[1] The boundary between the two regions is not well defined. Ancient geographers found a convenient dividing line north of the Black Sea in the course of the river Don. Modern map-makers usually place the division at the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus. Each of these boundaries is more or less arbitrary. In a geographical sense, Europe is only the largest of the great Asiatic peninsulas.

Europe a peninsula of Asia.

But in physical features the two continents disclose the most striking contrasts. The sea, which washes only the remote edges of Asia, penetrates deeply into Europe, and forms an extremely irregular coast line with numerous bays and harbours. The mountains of Europe, seldom very high and provided with easy passes, present no such barriers to intercourse as the mightier ranges of Asia. We miss in Europe the extensive deserts and barren table-lands which form such a feature of Asiatic geography. With the exception of Russia, the surface generally is distributed into plains, hills, and valleys of moderate size. Instead of a few large rivers, such as are

Physical features of Europe.

[1] The name comes to us from the Greek Εὐρώπη, which in turn is derived from a Semitic word meaning "darkness," "evening," properly "sunset." Hence Europe is "the land of the setting sun."

found in Asia, Europe is well supplied with numerous streams that make it possible to travel readily from one region to another.

There is still another distinction of great importance. The climate of Europe, in consequence of the deep indentations of the sea, is more mild and equable than that of Asia. Of all parts of the world in the same latitudes, this continent enjoys the coolest summers, the warmest winters. There are no violent extremes of heat and cold to relax or to impede the energies of man.

Climate.

We may conclude, then, that the peculiar characteristics of Europe were likely to foster the independent existence and harmonious development of many different peoples. Nature herself seems to have intended the land to be the home of a fresh and vigorous race which should give to the world new ideals of civilized life. The supremacy of the Western nations is, indeed, in no small degree the outcome of their peculiar environment. The quickening of physical and mental activity in a bracing climate is one of the commonplaces of experience, and it can easily be understood that the recurrent influence of atmospheric conditions has played a large part in forming national character and determining national predominance. This theory should perhaps be taken into account in any consideration of the permanence of the present balance of power among the peoples of the world.

Europe in history.

43. Central and Northern Europe

The mountain systems and inland seas of Europe separate the continent into three distinct areas—a southern, a central, and a northern region. From east to west, from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, stretches an almost unbroken mountain chain. South of it the three peninsulas of southern Europe project into the

The three grand divisions of Europe.

PHYSICAL
MAP OF
EUROPE
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 600 800
ARCTIC OCEAN
Iceland
Kola Pen.
White Sea
Petchora R.
Ural Mountains
Ob R.
Dwina R.
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Gulf of Bothnia
Scandinavian Pen.
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Kama R.
Ural R.
Caspian Depression Below Ocean Level
ASIA
British Isles
NORTH SEA
Danish Pen.
Baltic Sea
Lowland Plain
St. George's Channel
English Channel
Thames R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Dnieper R.
Loire R.
Bay of Biscay
Carpathian Mts.
Don R.
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
85 ft. below Ocean Level
Mt. Elbruz 18,476
ALPS
Mt. Blanc 15,780
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Cevennes
Duero R.
Pyrenees
Ebro R.
Iberian Pen.
Tagus R.
Apennines
Adriatic Sea
Dinaric Alps
Danube R.
Balkan Mts.
Balkan Pen.
BLACK SEA
Corsica
Sardinia
ITALY
Str. of Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ASIA MINOR
Aegean Sea
Ionian Sea
Sicily
Grecian Pen.
Crete
AFRICA
REFERENCE TO COLOURING
Below Ocean level
0 to 500 ft.
500 to 3000 ft.
3000 to 9000 ft.
over 9000 ft.
ARCTIC OCEAN
Galdhöppigen 8,400
The Great Lowland Plain
Alps
Mt. Blanc 15,780
Mt. Elbruz 18,476
Caucasus
Section along Line A-B.
10° Meridian
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Mediterranean; north of it extend the lowlands of central Europe, broken up in the west by various ranges, but widening toward the east into the plains of European Russia. In the extreme north lies the peninsular region of Scandinavia and Finland, between the Baltic Sea and the Arctic Ocean.

The mountain chain which parts southern from central Europe reaches its greatest height in the majestic barrier of the Alps.[1] At the head of the Adriatic Sea, the Alps branch off to the southeast and finally merge into the Balkan range of European Turkey. The westward extension of the Alps, under the name of the Pyrenees, forms the northern boundary of the Spanish peninsula. Offshoots of the long Alpine chain make up the principal ranges of central Europe.

The Alpine chain.

Some of the important river systems of Europe are closely connected with the Alpine chain. The Rhone, the Rhine, and the Danube, though flowing in different directions into different seas, all rise in the snows of the Alps. These rivers have always been a great aid to communication between European lands. The Rhone, emptying into the Mediterranean, gives ready entrance to the plains of France. The Rhine and the Danube provide an almost continuous waterway from the German Ocean to the Black Sea. In antiquity, most of the great trade routes of Europe followed the course of these streams.[2]

River systems.

Twenty centuries ago central and northern Europe was an inhospitable and forbidding region with vast tracts of primeval forest in whose depths lurked fierce wild animals unknown to southern climes. Beyond the forests were desolate plains and marshes spreading out eastward into the steppes of Russia, and northward into the ice-

The country and its inhabitants.

[1] The Alps though high are not impassable. Between their snowy summits are numerous gateways opening from Italy into the regions of the Rhone, the Danube, and the Rhine. In recent years several railway tunnels have been driven through the very heart of the mountains. The most important is the Simplon tunnel, completed in 1905. It has a length of 12¼ miles and connects the valley of the Rhone in southern Switzerland with the Po valley in northern Italy.

[2] See the map, page 87.

bound hills of Scandinavia. The peoples who lived in these remote lands — Celts in the west, Germans or Teutons in the north, Slavs in the east — were men of Indo-European[1] race and speech. They were still barbarians. During ancient times, we hear little of them except as their occasional migrations in search of more pleasant and healthy abodes brought them into contact with the nations of the Mediterranean world.

44. Southern Europe: The Mediterranean World

The centre of classical history.

At the opening of historic times, the Greeks and the Romans were dwelling in the two peninsulas of southern Europe now called Greece and Italy. The Greeks, very early in their career, made many settlements along the Mediterranean coasts. Then followed the Romans, who conquered widely east and west of Italy and at last ruled over all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. The real home of classical civilization was the region about this great inland sea.

Significance of the Mediterranean.

The existence of the Mediterranean helps to explain why the Greeks and Italians were the first European peoples to become civilized. The sea was well suited for early commerce, because of its long and contracted shape and numerous islands. Sailors were seldom forced to proceed far from sight of land, or a great distance from good harbours. Though the Mediterranean storms are often fierce, they are usually brief, since a narrow western entrance shuts out the great waves of the Atlantic.[2] Thus the almost tideless Mediterranean naturally became an avenue by which everything that the older Eastern world had to offer could be easily passed on to the younger West. And the various European peoples themselves were able to exchange their products and communicate their ideas and customs along this "highway of nations."

Excepting Syria and Egypt, all the regions which border on the

[1] See page 25.

[2] Greek Ἀτλαντίς, from Mount Atlas at the northwestern extremity of Africa.

Mediterranean are much alike in the possession of a temperate climate, a fertile soil, and beautiful scenery. The southern and northern shores of the Mediterranean, however, differ widely in character. The African coast is no more than a strip of territory between the hill-lined desert and the sea. The land, though productive, is too narrow to support a large population. It has the misfortune, also, to possess few good bays and harbours. Hence the inhabitants, with the single exception of the Carthaginians, were unable to find in commerce a means of increasing their wealth and power.

Southern coast of the Mediterranean.

The European coast offered greater advantages for the development of civilization. Its three large peninsulas are cut up by numerous deep inlets and fringed with clustering islands. The mountain masses in the rear do not hem in this region too closely, and they open, not into a desert, but into rich, well-watered plains. These geographical conditions largely account for the greater importance in ancient times of the northern over the southern shores of the Mediterranean.

The northern coast.

The Mediterranean consists of a western and of an eastern basin. The boundary between the two occurs near the centre, where Africa and the island of Sicily almost touch each other across a shallow strait. The western basin containing, besides Sicily, the large islands of Sardinia and Corsica, is connected with the Atlantic by the Strait of Gibraltar.[1] Between these islands and the Italian coast is the wide expanse of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Western basin of the Mediterranean.

The eastern basin of the Mediterranean consists of three divisions. Between the Italian and Balkan peninsulas is the long, narrow gulf called the Adriatic. Between southern Italy and Sicily and the coast of Greece, the Adriatic widens into the Ionian Sea. The third division is formed by the Ægean Sea between Greece and Asia Minor. In the lands bordering the Ægean, classical history begins.

The eastern basin.

[1] Known to the Greeks as the Pillars of Hercules.

45. The Ægean Lands

The Ægean is an almost landlocked sea. The Balkan peninsula, narrowing toward the Mediterranean into the smaller peninsula of Greece, confines it on the west. On the east it meets a boundary in Asia Minor. On the south an outermost rim is formed by a chain of islands which almost unites the two continents. The only opening on the north is found in the narrow passage leading to the Black Sea. Thus the coasts and islands of the Ægean form a little world by itself. The Greeks, when their history opens, had made their homes everywhere in this region.

The centre of Greek history.

We may begin our survey of the Ægean world by noticing one of its most characteristic features — the islands. From the Greek mainland to the coast of Asia Minor, the traveller follows a route thickly studded with rocky isles, rising, like the peaks of sunken mountains, from the bright waters of the Ægean. Indeed, these islands are no more than the continuation into the Mediterranean of the mountain ranges of Greece and Asia Minor. They vary in size from tiny Delos, less than three miles in length, to the long and narrow ridge of Crete, which lies like a huge breakwater across the Ægean.

The Ægean islands.

The arrangement of the Ægean islands is really less confused than appears at first sight. They fall into several distinct groups. From the tip of southern Greece to Asia Minor extends the semicircular chain formed by several islands, of which Crete and Rhodes are most important. Two other chains, starting from the eastern coast of Greece, are prolongations of the mountains of Attica and Eubœa. About the centre of the Ægean, these two chains unite in the archipelago of the Cyclades. The name was appropriate because its members formed an irregular circle[1] about the island of Delos, sacred to the god Apollo. Between the Cyclades and the Asiatic coast is an-

The islands as "stepping-stones."

[1] Greek *κύκλος*, a word which appears in our English "cycle."

ANCIENT GREECE
AND THE AEGEAN
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
Longitude
East
22
20
40
38
36
MACEDONIA
Aegae (Edessa)
Pella
Sindus
Therma
Amphipolis
Stagira
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Potidaea
Thermaic Gulf
Mende
Scione
Pallene
Sithonia
Pierius Mt.
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Pellon
Larissa
THESSALY
Pherae
Cynoscephalae
Pagasaean Gulf
Pharsalus
Othrys Mt.
Lamia
Sciathos
Artemisium
Cerinthus
Corcyra
Corcyra
Dodona
Sybota
Taxus
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Actium Prom.
Leucas I.
Ithaca
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Strophades
EPIRUS
Thyamis
Acrocerauniam Mts.
Achelous R.
Pindus Mts.
Peneus R.
Cambunian Mts.
Ambracian Gulf
AETOLIA
Amphissa
Nappactus
Chalcis
LOCRIS
Cirrha
Antidyra
PHOCIS
Orchomenus
Delphi
Coronea
Aulis
BOEOTIA
Thebes
Thespiae
Platae
Decelea
Eleusis
Aegium
Patra
ACHAEA
Aegira
Leontium
Corinthian G.
Chaetonea
Lilaea
Eleon
Corinth
Megara
Salamis
Saronic Gulf
Aegina
Epidaurus
Troezon
Hermion
Hydrea
Argolic Gulf
Elis
ELIS
Pisa
Olympia
Gulf of Cyparissia
Lepreum
Ithome
Messene
MESSENIA
Corone
Pylos
Sphacteria I.
Methone
Messenian Gulf
Mantinea
Heraea
Tegea
Megalopolis
Thyrea
LACONIA
Sparta
Lacedaemon
Amyclae
Helos
Gythium
Laconian Gulf
Malea Prom.
Taenarum Prom.
Cythera
Peneus R.
Strymon R.

Greenwich
26
28
30
40
33
36
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Bosporus
Propontis
Dicaea
THRACE
Maronea
Abdera
Thasos
Aenos
Samothracia
Cyzicus
Lampsacus
Abydos
Imbros
ROUTE
Hellespont
Sigeum
Ilium or Troy
PHRYGIA
Tenedos
HELLESPONTICA
Mt. Ida
Macestus
Larissa
Assos
Adramyttium
AEOLIS
Bay of Adramyttium
MYSIA
Methymna
Heraclea
Mytilene
Pergamus
Lesbos
Elaea
Phocaea
Cyme
Hermus R.
LYDIA
Magnesia
Sardis
PHRYGIA
Chios
Smyrna
Erythrae
Clazomenae
Caystor R.
Teos
Colophon
Ephesus
Maeander R.
Andros
Tenos
Samos
Miletus
Priene
Myconos
Icaria
CARIA
ROUTE
Delos
Patmos
Halicarnassus
Paros
Naxos
Cos
Amorgos
CYCLADES
Cnidus
Thera
Rhodes
Lindus
Carpathus.
ROUTE
Gortyna
26
28

other group called the Sporades.[1] North of the Cyclades and the Sporades the islands grow less numerous, and the larger ones, such as Chios and Lesbos, lie close to the Asiatic mainland. Yet even here they are near enough together to permit the passage from one to another without losing sight of land. In this way the Ægean islands served as "stepping-stones" between Greece and Asia Minor.

Western Asia Minor is a land very much like Greece itself. Here is the same deeply indented coast, the same variety of scenery, the same mild and agreeable climate. The rich river valleys of this region are much more fruitful than those of the Greek mainland. We shall not be surprised, therefore, that the Greeks were quick to plant their settlements in this favoured country and to extend them along the coasts until they reached the Black Sea.

Coasts of Asia Minor.

In the northeast the Ægean is connected with the Black Sea by three narrow passages known in classical times as the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus. The Hellespont is a winding strait some forty miles in length and from one to three miles in width. It opens into the land-locked expanse of water called the Propontis, and this again leads by the still narrower strait of the Bosporus into the Black Sea. To the Greeks, who founded colonies along its northern and southern coasts, that stormy body of water was known as the Euxine.[2]

The Black Sea.

A long and narrow peninsula which shuts in the Hellespont on the north gives an entrance to the extensive territory of Thrace. This is a wild and mountainous region with so chilly a climate that the Greeks placed here the home of Boreas, the North Wind. But the thick forests and rich gold-mines of Thrace attracted colonists and led to the planting of towns and

Thrace.

[1] From the Greek *σπείρειν*, "to sow"; scattered, like seeds, so numerous were the islands. Hence comes our word "spores."

[2] The Greeks at first called it *Axeinos* (inhospitable), but when the shores were lined with colonies and made attractive to the stranger, this name was changed to *Euxeinos* (kind to strangers).

cities along its southern coasts. The Greeks never penetrated deeply into the interior of the country. Its barbarous tribes were considered quite outside the pale of classical culture.

Beyond the western boundary of Thrace lay Macedonia. The inhabitants were only partially civilized and for a long time played a minor part in ancient history. However, the trident-shaped peninsula of Chalcidice which projects from the Macedonian coast was early fringed with Greek colonies. Macedonia, half Greek in both physical features and population, forms the natural transition to Greece proper.

Macedonia and Chalcidice.

46. Northern Greece

Continental Greece, which we have already learned to regard as the southern extension of the Balkan peninsula, is a tiny country. Its greatest length is scarcely more than two hundred and fifty miles; its greatest breadth is only one hundred and eighty miles. Mountain ridges, offshoots of the Balkans, make up the greater part of its area. Into the valleys and deep gorges of the interior, the impetuous sea has everywhere forced a channel. The coast line, accordingly, is most irregular — a constant succession of sharp promontories and curving bays. The mountains, crossing the peninsula in confused masses, break it up into numberless valleys and glens which seldom widen into plains. The rivers are not navigable, being, indeed, no more than mountain streams; torrents when swollen by the melting snows of spring, but mere dry beds before the end of summer. The few lakes, hemmed in by the hills, have no outlets except by underground channels. In this land of the Greeks, no place is more than fifty miles from a mountain range, or more than forty miles from some long arm of the Mediterranean.

Physical geography of continental Greece.

The mountains and, more particularly, the indentations of the sea divide the peninsula into three distinct sections: northern, central, and southern Greece. Northern Greece contains two districts separated from each other by the

Epirus.

Pindus range. Epirus, on the west, is a wild, inhospitable land, penetrated in every direction by spurs of Pindus. It is watered by several rivers, among them the Acheron, "stream of woe," flowing through deep and dark ravines. The Greeks made Acheron one of the boundaries of the lower world. On its hither bank Charon, the grim boatman, met the spirits of the dead and ferried them across to the infernal regions.[1] Dodona, almost in the centre of Epirus, was the seat of the first known sanctuary of Zeus, the supreme deity of the Greeks.

Thessaly, the land east of Pindus, is very unlike Epirus in character. It forms a single great plain shut in on every side by mountains. In the northeast corner rises Mount Olympus, nearly ten thousand feet high. The Greeks supposed it to be the loftiest mountain in the world, and on its cloudy summit they fixed the abode of the gods. Not far away are the peaks of Ossa and Pelion, which in ancient story were piled one on the other by giants who sought to scale the heavens. Between Ossa and Olympus lies the Vale of Tempe, a picturesque defile forming the main entrance into Greece from the north. Through it flows the Peneus, copious even in the heat of summer, for the river drains the entire Thessalian plain. Legend relates that Thessaly was an inland sea until the god Poseidon, with a mighty stroke of his trident, split Ossa asunder from Olympus and opened an outlet for the landlocked waters into the Ægean.

Thessaly.

Thessaly was regarded by the Greeks as the original home of their race. Here they placed the home of Hellen, son of Deucalion, and the common ancestor of all Hellenic peoples. Hence, too, sprang great Achilles, the hero of the Trojan War. Although Thessaly was prominent during the mythical age of Greece, the country, in historic times, was more celebrated for its broad pastures and grainfields than for its cities. The people had little trade or industry, and in the refinements of life lagged behind the commercial states of Greece.

Thessaly in myth and history.

[1] Another dread river of the underworld was the Styx in Arcadia.

47. Central Greece

From Thessaly we enter central Greece through the Pass of Thermopylæ, the only convenient way by which access to this region could be gained by land. Central Greece is a long and narrow peninsula running out sharply to the southeast between deep inlets of the sea. Here the Pindus range breaks up into a multitude of ridges which cross and recross in every direction. This rugged, picturesque district was the true heart of ancient Greece.

Physical features.

Central Greece included eleven small states, chief of which were Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. Phocis contains the great mass of Mount Parnassus, rising eight thousand feet above the sea. The Greek narrative of the Flood[1] describes how the ark containing Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha rested at length on the height of Parnassus. In a deep glen on the southern face of the mountain stood sacred Delphi, a spot which the Greeks regarded as the centre of the entire world.

Phocis.

Bœotia, east of Phocis, is the second largest plain in Greece. In summer, the land lies hot and sultry under a blazing sun. In winter, the moisture arising from its damp soil fills the air with fogs. This oppressive climate gave the ancient inhabitants an ill-deserved reputation for dullness and rude manners. Bœotia, however, is not all a plain. In the southern part of the country, near the Corinthian Gulf, rises Mount Helicon, noted for its pleasant groves and fountains. It was the favourite haunt of the Muses, "who with their hymns delight the mighty mind of Father Zeus."[2] According to one legend, the walls of Thebes, the chief Bœotian city, were built, stone on stone, to the songs of the Muses.

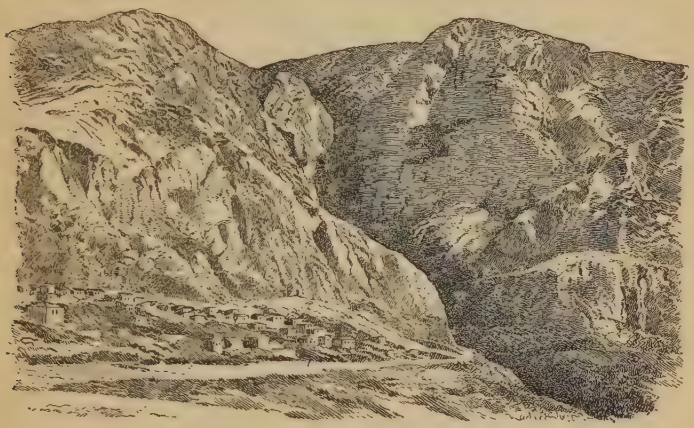
Bœotia.

The peninsula of central Greece ends in the triangular-shaped district of Attica. The ancient name, "shore-land,"[3] was appropriate, for two long sides of Attica are washed by the sea. The other

[1] See page 100.] [2] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 36–37. [3] From ἀκτή, "broken shore."

— the northern side — is shut off from Bœotia by mountain barriers. The backbone of the country is formed by the ranges of Pentelicus and Hymettus, the one full of brilliant white marble, the other still celebrated for its honey-bees. Though the Attic soil was thin and ungrateful, the extensive coast had excellent harbours which lured the inhabitants to the sea. They were early a maritime people. Contact with other nations helped

Attica.



DELPHI

to make them unusually enterprising and intelligent. The delightful surroundings of Attica with its clear, fresh atmosphere and charming views of ocean and mountain, refined their tastes and made them lovers of the beautiful. In time, Attica became the leading state of Greece, and Athens, its capital, the greatest of Greek cities.

48. Southern Greece

From Attica, by way of the Isthmus of Corinth, the traveller enters southern Greece. Its ancient name of the Peloponnesus[1]

[1] The modern name, Morea, was bestowed on the country because its general outline has some resemblance to the leaf of the mulberry tree.

— "Pelops' Island" — was derived from a legendary hero who settled there. It really much resembles an island, for it hangs to the mainland by only a narrow isthmus which in modern times has been pierced by a canal.[1] The Peloponnesus forms such a mass of mountains that it was happily described by an old geographer as the "citadel of Greece."[2]

Physical features.

The Peloponnesus falls into seven main divisions, of which the three on the eastern side had most importance in antiquity. First came Corinthia, located partly on the isthmus that bears its name. The city of Corinth possessed an unrivalled site for commerce. Her famous mountain fortress, the Acrocorinth, nearly two thousand feet high and more than a mile in circuit, commanded the isthmus and enabled the city to control all traffic by land between central and southern Greece. At the same time she held a position between two seas and so could trade equally well with the East and with the West. Thus situated, Corinth early became a luxurious and cosmopolitan city, one of the chief ornaments of Greece.[3]

Corinthia.

Argolis, south of Corinthia, was chiefly a mountainous peninsula running out into the Ægean. A broad plain at the head of the Argolic Gulf furnished the site for several prehistoric cities of wealth and power. During historic times the leading city was Argos. For ages it has lain in ruins.

Argolis.

The southeastern corner of the Peloponnesus was taken up by Laconia, a land destined to play a leading part in Greek history.

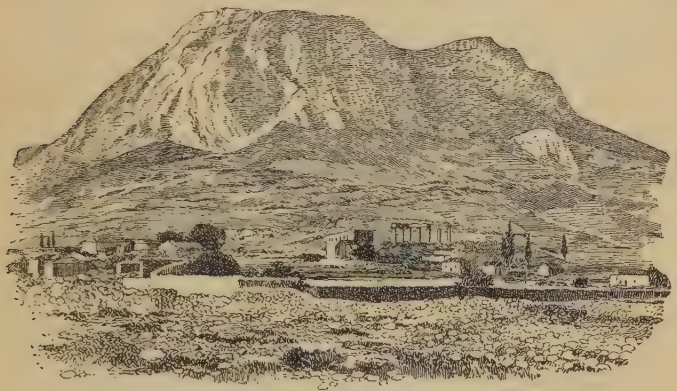
[1] The absence of a waterway in antiquity was not so inconvenient as might be supposed, since light ships could be dragged across the isthmus. The Roman emperor, Nero, during the first century A.D., began to cut through the isthmus, but soon abandoned the undertaking. The existing canal was begun in 1881 and completed in 1893. Unfortunately, it is too narrow to admit the larger ships now plying in the Mediterranean.

[2] Strabo, *Geography*, viii, 1, 3.

[3] The site of Corinth, now marked only by a few columns of the Temple of Apollo, lies buried thirty to forty feet deep. Excavations conducted since 1896 by the American School of Classical Studies have uncovered the remains of the ancient Agora, or public square. Near it was found the famous fountain of Pirene, which furnished the inhabitants with an inexhaustible supply of water.

Here was Sparta,[1] "low-lying among the caverned hills"[2] in the narrow but fertile valley of the Eurotas. The ancient town was unwalled, since it occupied a strong position, remote from the sea and surrounded by steep mountains. The Spartans used to declare that they had no need of walls; their brave soldiers were the city's best defence. Very early in Greek

Laconia.



CITADEL OF CORINTH

"Where, Corinth, are thy glories now —
Thy ancient wealth, thy castled brow,
Thy solemn fanes, thy halls of state,
Thy high-born dames, thy crowded gate?
There's not a ruin left to tell
Where Corinth stood, how Corinth fell.
The Nereids of thy double sea
Alone remain to wail for thee."

— *Antipater*, transl. Goldwin Smith.

history we find Sparta the rival of Argos for the supremacy of the Peloponnesus; at a later date she became the rival of Athens for the headship of all Greece.

Close to the west side of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, reaching from Zacynthus[3] off the coast of the Peloponnesus, to Corcyra[4] off the coast of Epirus. In the infancy of navigation, when sailors

[1] Greek Σπαρτή, "sown land." [2] *Odyssey*, iv, 1. [3] Modern Zante.
[4] Modern Corfu. Excavations on the site of the ancient city of Corcyra were begun in 1911 at the expense of the German Emperor, who owns a villa on the island.

avoided the open sea, Corcyra became an important station in Mediterranean travel. The Greeks were accustomed to follow the shore of Greece as far north as this island, and thence to depart westward on the short voyage to the heel of Italy.

The Ionian Islands.

49. Northern Italy

The shape of Italy is determined by the course of the Apennines. Branching off from the Alps at the Gulf of Genoa, these mountains cross the peninsula in an easterly direction, almost to the Adriatic. Here they turn sharply to the southeast and follow the coast for a considerable distance. The

The Apennines.

View of Modern Sparta with Mount Taÿgetus

plains of central Italy, in consequence, are all on the western slope of the Apennines. In the lower part of the peninsula the range swerves suddenly to the southwest, so that the level land is there on the eastern side of the mountains. Near the southern extremity of Italy, the Apennines separate into two branches which penetrate the "heel and toe" of the peninsula.

Italy may be conveniently divided into a northern, a central, and a southern section. These divisions, however, are determined by the direction of the mountains, and not, as in Greece, chiefly by inlets of the sea. Northern Italy,

Liguria.

between the Alps and the Apennines, contained three districts. Liguria, the first of these, lay at the head of the Tyrrhenian Sea. It was a rugged land inhabited by rude mountaineers.

Venetia included the territory about the head of the Adriatic. Its people have given their name to the modern city of Venice. The Venetians do not figure prominently in the ancient history of Italy. **Venetia.**

A more important region was Gallia Cisalpina.[1] This is a perfectly level plain two hundred miles in length, watered by the Po (*Padus*). The Romans called it the "king of rivers," [2] from its length and many tributary streams. **Gallia Cisalpina.** The chief of these carry off the waters of the great Italian lakes which lie at the foot of the Alps. On the shores of Como, Maggiore, and Garda, to give them their modern names, one finds an almost tropical climate in sight of the Alpine snows. Prehistoric men knew these beautiful lakes and raised pile dwellings upon them; the Romans built luxurious villas by their shores and celebrated them in verse as among the glories of Italy.

50. Central Italy

Central Italy, lying south of the Apennines, included seven districts, of which the three on the western coast were most conspicuous in classical history. First came Etruria, mostly an irregular, hilly country, watered in the northern part by the river Arnus. On its banks was situated the Roman city of Florentia, known to-day as Florence, the "lily of the Arno." The Etruscans, who gave their name to ancient Etruria as well as to modern Tuscany, possessed the earliest civilization in Italy. When Rome was young, they were already famous as sailors, soldiers, and builders. **Etruria.**

[1] The name, which means "Gaul on this (the Italian) side of the Alps," was used by the Romans to distinguish the country from "Gaul beyond the Alps," or Gallia Transalpina.

[2] Vergil, *Georgics*, i, 482.

From Etruria we cross the river Tiber and enter Latium. Rome, the capital city, lies in the centre of the Campagna, the modern name for an extensive plain, forty miles long and thirty miles wide, between the mountains and the sea. As far as the eye can reach extend broad pasture lands, bare and treeless to-day, but in former ages fertile and well cultivated. Everywhere on this classic soil rise the ruins of ancient monuments, silent witnesses to a once glorious past.

Latium.

Bay of Naples and Vesuvius

To the south of Latium lay Campania. Beautiful scenery and a genial climate made it the most delightful part of Italy. The Mediterranean contains no fairer spot than the Bay of Naples, shut in between two striking headlands and dominated by the volcanic cone of Vesuvius. The shores of the bay were in classical times crowded with the residences of wealthy Romans. From Naples one may drive to Pompeii, so completely overwhelmed eighteen centuries ago by an eruption of Vesuvius that its very site was forgotten. From Pompeii the road continues by the seashore to the peninsula of Sorrento, which shuts in the Bay of Naples on the south. Here a magnificent view is had of Capri (*Capreæ*), an island twelve miles in circuit. It was once the favourite resort of a Roman emperor, who crowned its rocky heights with a palace.

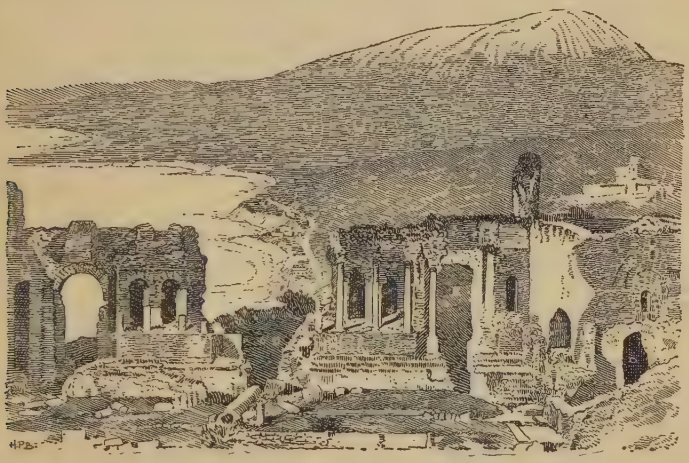
Campania; the Bay of Naples.

ANCIENT ITALY
AND
SICILY
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
Rhine R.
L. Venetus
RHAETIA
ALPS
VENETIA
Aquileia
ILLYRICUM
GALLIA
Po R.
Patavium
ADRIATIC SEA
Rubicon R.
Ariminum
Metaurus R.
Aesis R.
Sentinum
Arnus R.
Arretium
Clusium
Volsinii
Narnia
Asculum
Mt. Soracte
Rome
Caere
Veii
Ostia
Tusculum
Antium
Praeneste
LATIUM
Fregellae
Circei
Tarracina
Formiae
Cumae
Neapolis
Pompeii
Paestum
Venusia
Lucerin
Aufidus R.
Gannae
APULIA
Brundisium
CALABRIA
LUCANIA
Tarentum
Metapontum
Heraclea
Gulf of Tarentum
Iapygium Pr.
MAGNA
Laus
GRAECIA
Croton
Lacinian Pr.
BRUTTIUM
Messana
Mylae
Locri
Rhegium
Panormus
Drepana
Lilybaeum
SICILY
Aetna Mt.
Catana
Henna
Agrigentum
Gela
Syracuse
Pachynum Pr.
SICILIAN AND IONIAN SEA
CORSICA
Alalia
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
AFRICAN SEA
Calatha I.
Carthage
Pr. Mercurii
Utica
Cossyra
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
THE M.-N. WORKS
Longitude 12° East from 14° Greenwich

51. Southern Italy and Sicily

Southern Italy in ancient times comprised four districts. The country possesses a warmer climate and a more indented coast than the rest of the peninsula. It lies, too, nearer the Greek mainland. The Greeks planted so many colonies in southern Italy that their settlements there came to be known as Magna Græcia or Great Greece.

Southern Italy.



A Scene in Sicily

Taormina, on the Sicilian coast, 31 miles southwest of Messina. The ruins are those of the theatre founded by the Greeks, but much altered in Roman times. The view of Ætna from this site is especially fine.

The triangular-shaped island of Sicily[1] is separated from Italy by the Strait of Messina, a channel which, at the narrowest part, is only two miles wide. To the early navigator the passage was dangerous, because of a rocky promontory on the Italian shore, and a whirlpool made by the meeting of the currents in the narrow opening between the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas. Ancient poets personified these dangers

Relation of Sicily to Italy.

[1] The oldest name of Sicily, *Trinacria*, was derived from the three promontories at its three angles.

as the hideous sea monsters, Scylla and Charybdis. At one time Sicily must have been joined to the mainland. Its mountains, which rise to their highest point in the majestic volcano of Ætna, nearly eleven thousand feet above sea level, are a continuation of those of Italy.

Physical features of Sicily.

Nature has done much for Sicily. Its scenery is magnificent—a coast of rocky headlands washed by the bluest of seas, with here and there a valley opening up vistas of sunny, upland meadows, and, above all, snow-capped and smoking Ætna visible nearly everywhere in the island. The greater part of Sicily is remarkably productive, containing rich grain-fields and hillsides green with the olive and the vine. An ancient writer called the country the "nurse" (*nutrix*) of the Roman people.

Historic importance of Sicily.

Sicily lies in the centre of the Mediterranean and in the direct route of merchants and colonists from every direction. It has always been a meeting place of nations. In antiquity, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans all contended for the possession of this beautiful island. Indeed, for a period of some three thousand years (perhaps for much longer) Sicily has been the arena of racial strife. Many famous cities have risen upon its shores, and the ruins of the majestic temples of Acragas and Selinus are witness to civilizations probably unsurpassed for splendour in history.

52. Influence of Geographical Conditions on Classical History

Location of harbours and islands.

By its situation at the threshold of Europe Greece was brought into close touch with Asia. The best harbours and the most numerous islands are on the eastern coasts. Hence Greece was in a position early to receive and profit by all the culture of the Orient. Greece faced the civilized East. Italy, on the other hand,

fronted the barbarous West. Its best harbours, most numerous islands, and widest tracts of fertile land are on the western slope of the Apennines. Hence for a long time the Italian peoples came into closer touch with Gaul, Spain, and northwestern Africa, than with Greece and the Orient. Civilization, moving slowly toward the setting sun, reached Italy only at a late period of ancient history.

Distribution of mountains.

The mountain ranges which penetrate almost every nook and corner of the Greek peninsula broke it up into a number of tiny communities, separated from one another by natural ramparts. The passes between the mountains are few and difficult. It was not an easy task, therefore, for a powerful state to conquer its neighbours and gather them under a single government. In Italy, however, the mountains enclose many valleys and tablelands connected with one another by low passes, and, in addition, there are a number of navigable rivers which lead into the heart of the country. Thus the Italian peninsula offered no great obstacle to the formation of a large, closely knit state. Italy, much more than Greece, was fitted to become the centre of an extensive empire.

Going on Board

If the mountains shut up the Greeks into a number of petty states, they could always escape by way of the sea. Long inlets of the Mediterranean penetrate every part of the peninsula and give Greece a

length of coast out of all proportion to its area. Thus the Greeks, just as the Phœnicians,[1] naturally became sailors, and felt the quickening effects of intercourse with foreign peoples. Italy, on the contrary, has a more regular coast with fewer good harbours. The inhabitants, unlike the Greeks, were not driven into the arms of the sea. They remained a conservative folk who were slow to adopt the customs of other nations.

Character and extent of coast-line.

Greece cannot be described as a rich and fruitful territory. There are few tracts of sufficient extent to nourish a large population. Though the vine and olive thrive there vigorously, the land is not good for wheat and other grains. When the growth of population made it difficult to win a living from the soil, the people were compelled to emigrate in great numbers to more favoured regions, or else to devote themselves to industrial pursuits. Their manufactured commodities could then be exchanged for the food and raw materials produced in foreign countries. Trade and commerce in this way became an important part of Greek life. But Italy was a richer land. Its mountain pastures fed great flocks and herds; its forests yielded all manner of useful woods; and its plains supported the culture of the cereals and the vine.[2] As compared with Greece, Italy, "the land of cattle,"[3] was better adapted for agriculture and pastoral pursuits than for industry and commerce.

Fertility of Greece and Italy.

Both Greece and Italy enjoy on the whole a temperate climate. "Balmy and clement," sings an ancient Greek poet, "is our atmosphere. The cold of winter has no extremes for us, and the shafts of the sun do not wound." Indeed, the two peninsulas somewhat resemble California in their sunny days, their cool nights, and their wonderfully clear atmosphere. Yet the climate,

Climatic conditions in the two peninsulas.

[1] See page 50.

[2] Lemon trees and orange trees, which nowadays flourish in southern Italy, were not introduced until the Middle Ages.

[3] Aulus Gellius, xi, 1.

especially on the upland slopes, has a certain bracing quality which promotes vigour and energy. The people who lived under these favourable conditions were likely to be healthy and happy, quick of mind and strong of body, lovers of outdoor life, and sensitive to the varied aspects of nature. And such we shall find them as our story proceeds.

THE WRESTLERS

CHAPTER V

EARLY GREECE TO ABOUT 500 B.C.

53. Sources of Information: Ancient Myths and Legends

WHEN the Greeks first began to keep written records, perhaps as early as 750 B.C., their home had already been for centuries in the islands and peninsulas of the Ægean. The Greeks of historic times knew very little about their prehistoric period. In place of accurate knowledge, they had to rely on popular traditions, which afterwards, when writing became general, were preserved in poetry and song.

The Greek legends.

COIN OF ELIS SHOWING HEAD OF ZEUS

The Greeks believed that their myths and legends presented a faithful picture of the past. Famous authors and artists drew from them the inspiration for their masterpieces. An acquaintance with them formed a necessary part of the education of every citizen. We cannot enter into the spirit of old Greek life without some knowledge of Greek mythology—the most abundant and beautiful mythology produced by any people.

Importance of the legends.

Many of the myths describe the lives and adventures of the Greek divinities and teach us a good deal about early Greek religion. Some are found in two very ancient poems known as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The great storehouse of mythology, however, is a work called the *Theogony*, or "Origin of the Gods." It was supposed to be the production of Hesiod, a Bœotian poet who wrote, probably, in the eighth century B.C. How the earth arose from

Divine myths in Homer and Hesiod.

ATHENE

From an early vase painting.

Chaos, how the race of older deities was overthrown by the thunderbolts of Zeus, how each of the Olympian divinities came into existence—such were the poet's themes. Hesiod's account of the gods came to be a standard authority on Greek mythology.

Besides myths relating to deities, there are others which describe the exploits of the heroes—illustrious men of the olden time who after death were reverenced and often worshipped. Every city and tribe of ancient Greece had a protecting hero or demigod. Some of the heroes were believed

Hero myths.

to have come to Greece from foreign lands. Three of the leading Greek cities — Argos, Athens, and Thebes — ascribed their origin to emigrants from the Orient.

Argos was founded by the Egyptian Danaus. He had fifty daughters, of whom it was told that all save one slew their husbands on the wedding night. For this crime they were compelled to spend eternity in Tartarus, trying to fill a sieve with water. Descendants of Danaus made Argos one of the chief cities of the Peloponnesus.

Danaus, founder of Argos.

Athens, likewise, looked to Egypt for its first king, called Cecrops. He fixed his abode on the steep rock afterwards known as the Acropolis. In his reign two deities, Athena and Poseidon, waged a peaceful contest for the possession of the new city. The gods decreed that it should be the prize of the one who provided a gift most useful to mortals. Poseidon gave the horse; Athena planted the olive tree. Athena won, and from her the capital received its name.

Cecrops, founder of Athens.

Another famous legend tells of a third stranger from the East who founded a great city. Cadmus the Phœnician, searching far and wide for his sister, whom Zeus had stolen away, at length reached Greece and the Bœotian plain. Here he built the city of Thebes, whose citadel, the Cadmea, preserved the memory of his name. He was said to have introduced into Greece the art of writing. Hence the earliest Greek alphabet became known as the "Cadmean letters."

Cadmus, founder of Thebes.

Many other myths clustered about the beginnings of Greek cities, tribes, and lands. We read of Pelops, who came from Asia Minor and gave his name to southern Greece.[1] We hear of Theseus, who united the twelve independent communities of Attica into a single state with Athens at its head. He it was who delivered the Athenians from the tribute of seven youths and seven maidens that King Minos of Crete demanded as a sacrifice to his man-eating bull, the Minotaur. We learn about Heracles

Other heroic myths.

[1] See page 126.

and his prodigious labours for mankind; about Jason, prince of Thessaly, who led the Argonauts in the good ship Argo to steal the "golden fleece" from distant Colchis on the Euxine; about Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, who gathered the Greek chieftains for the siege of Troy. All their adventures and heroic deeds form a treasury of classic mythology which can never lose its charm.

Students of Greek history long suspected that these and other famous tales had some foundation in fact. They were evidence of intercourse with the cultured Orient—with Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor—at a period when the Greeks were still in the darkness of the prehistoric age.

Historical value of the myths.

EXCAVATIONS AT TROY

The great northeast tower of the sixth city. The stairs to the right date from the eighth city.

Yet if we had only such confused legends to guide us, we should know but little of prehistoric Greece. In our own day, however, a series of remarkable excavations has disclosed the remains of a widespread and flourishing civilization in times so distant that the historic Greeks had lost all sight of it. As in the Orient,[1] the labours of modern scholars are yearly adding to our knowledge of ancient life.

Modern discoveries.

[1] See page 76.

54. Sources of Information: Modern Explorations

The man who did most to reveal the prehistoric civilization of Greece was a wealthy German merchant named Heinrich Schliemann. An enthusiastic lover of Homer, he believed that the stories of the Trojan War related in the *Iliad* were no idle fancies, but real facts. In 1870 he began to test his beliefs by excavations at a hill called Hissarlik, on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor. Here tradition had always fixed the site of ancient Troy.

Schliemann's excavations at Troy.

Schliemann's discoveries and those of later explorers proved that at Hissarlik at least nine successive cities had come into existence, flourished, and passed away. At the bottom of the mound was a rude village, belonging to the Stone Age. Above came the ruins of a second settlement with massive walls and a palace of sun-dried brick. Hidden away within a secret recess Schliemann uncovered a great treasure of vessels and ornaments in gold and silver, together with spearheads, axes, daggers, and cups, wrought in bronze.[1] Schliemann himself believed this city to be the Troy of the *Iliad*. The civilization revealed here did not agree, however, with the descriptions in the Homeric poems. Excavations completed in 1892 have shown that the sixth city in order from the bottom was the one of which Homer sang. It also had powerful walls defended by towers, well-fortified gates, and palaces of stone. The marks of fire throughout the ruins show that the city must have perished in a disastrous conflagration.

Discovery of buried cities.

THE SWASTIKA, A PREHISTORIC SYMBOL

Cover of a vase found at Troy.

The remarkable disclosures at Troy encouraged Schliemann to

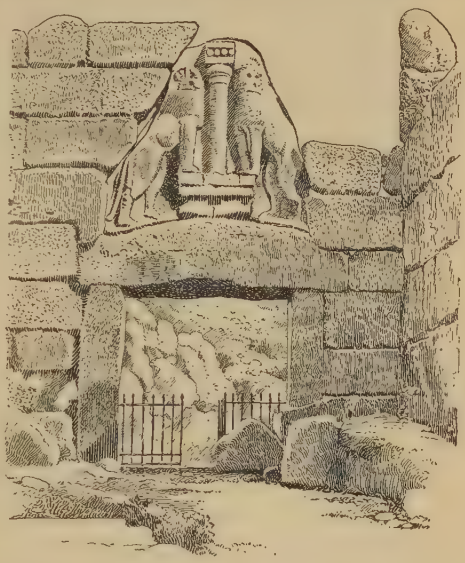
[1] Schliemann's entire collection of objects discovered at Hissarlik is now in the Royal Museum of Berlin.

begin work on the site of another Homeric city. In the *Iliad* we hear much of Mycenæ, "rich in gold." It was the far-famed residence of Agamemnon, whence he ruled over "many islands and all Argos."[1]

Mycenæ.

Some evidences of the former glory of Mycenæ were still in existence. The hill on which the citadel arose was surrounded by a massive circular wall. Its principal entrance lay through the celebrated Lions Gate, one of the oldest examples of Greek sculpture. Below the hill were eight underground buildings, the largest of which was the so-called "Treasury of Atreus." They had served as tombs for prehistoric Mycenæan kings.

Existing remains of Mycenæ.



LIONS GATE, MYCENÆ

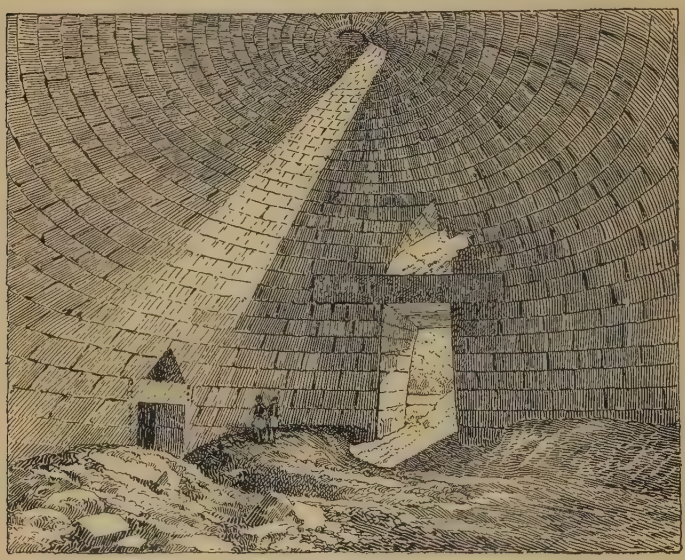
The stone relief of triangular shape, represents two lions (or lionesses) facing each other on opposite sides of a pillar. The heads of the animals have been lost.

These imposing structures were already known when, in 1876, Schliemann started excavations within "Agamemnon's Circle," the inclosure on the summit of the hill. Here he laid bare six rock-hewn graves, buried many feet beneath an accumulation of earth and rubbish. They contained the skeletons of nineteen persons, men, women, and children. Thin masks of gold, found in several graves, probably once covered the faces of the dead. Their bodies were

Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ.

[1] *Iliad*, vii, 180; ii, 108.

decked with gold diadems, bracelets, and pendants. No less than one hundred pounds' weight of gold was taken from the graves. The other funeral offerings included gold rings, silver vases, and a variety of bronze weapons — daggers, swords, spearheads, and axes.



"Treasury of Atreus," Mycenæ

A view showing the central vault which is shaped like a beehive. The tomb was approached by a long, horizontal passage cut through the hillside.

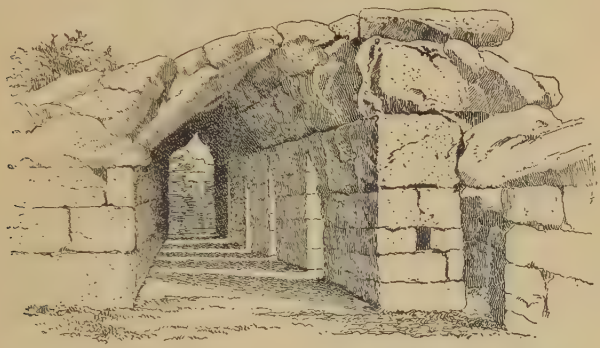
It is clear that these sepulchres belonged to a kingly race of great wealth and power. Schliemann, in his enthusiasm, announced that he had found the very tomb of Agamemnon, even as at Troy he believed that he had brought to light Priam's royal palace.

One other great discovery is associated with Schliemann's name. This was made at Tiryns, a prehistoric capital of Argolis and perhaps the oldest city in Europe. The Homeric poems refer to it as "well-walled Tiryns"[1] because of its massive fortifications built of enormous, roughly dressed stones.

Tiryns.

[1] *Iliad*, ii, 559.

The wall, in some places, reaches a thickness of fifty-seven feet and contains entire galleries and chambers. The Greeks of historic times viewed this huge masonry with astonishment and believed it to be the work of giants called Cyclopes.



GALLERY AT TIRYNS

The gallery roof is formed by pushing the successive courses of stone farther and farther inward from both sides until they meet. The result is, in form, a vault, but the principle of the keystone arch is not employed.

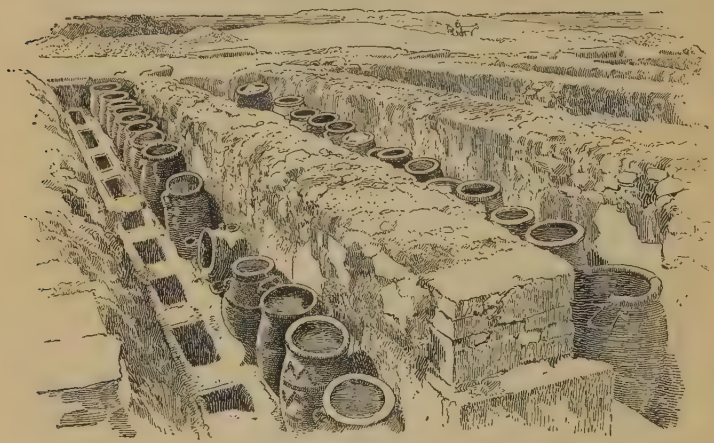
Within the citadel of Tiryns, Schliemann uncovered in 1884–1885 the ruins of an extensive structure with gateways, open courts, and closed apartments. Characteristic of this edifice were the separate quarters occupied by men and women, the series of storerooms for provisions, and such a modern convenience as a bathroom with pipes and drains. Some of the palace courts are paved with mosaics; the walls of some of the rooms are covered with frescoes. In short, the palace at Tiryns gives us a clear and detailed picture of the home of an Homeric prince. Imagination readily peoples it with the heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Schliemann's excavations at Tiryns.

But the fame of even Schliemann's discoveries has been somewhat dimmed by the recent "finds" in Crete. That island, a sort of natural bridge between Egypt and Greece, was celebrated in very early times. Myth made it the birthplace of Zeus, who there wedded Europa, the daughter of man.

Excavations in Crete.

Minos, their son, received from his divine father a code of laws, and grew so famous for wisdom that after death he became a judge in the lower world. Still another legend represented Minos as a powerful sea-king who ruled from Crete over all the Ægean. The poet Homer also knows Crete and describes it as lying "in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair land and rich, begirt with water, and therein are men innumerable, and ninety cities."[1] Such a



Storerooms in the Palace at Gnossus

region promised rich rewards to explorers. They have not been disappointed. The researches conducted in this island since 1900 have revealed an astounding civilization in prehistoric times.

Discoveries at Gnossus.

Some of the most remarkable excavations were made on the site of Gnossus, the ancient capital of Crete. Here an Englishman, Sir Arthur Evans, has uncovered the remains of settlements which date back to the Stone Age. Later comes an enormous palace belonging to the Bronze Age. Greek legend knew of it as the Labyrinth, the habitation of King Minos and his bull, the Minotaur. Like the dwellings of Assyrian kings, the building has a bewildering arrangement of courts, passages,

[1] *Odyssey*, xix, 172–174.

and apartments in which it is difficult not to lose one's way. Here is the royal council-chamber with the very throne on which the king once sat. Here are the royal magazines, still filled with huge earthenware jars for the storage of provisions. A great number of brilliant pictures — hunting scenes, landscapes, portraits of individuals — cover the palace walls. At one of the main entrances the visitor sees a row of cupbearers painted in life size. Another wall bears a representation of men and women, thickly crowded together as if witnessing a performance, perhaps a bull-fight. The costumes of the women, with their flounced skirts, puffed sleeves, and low-cut bodices, are remarkably modern in appearance. One would never think of the Cretans as a prehistoric people.

A Cretan Cupbearer

Museum of Candia, Crete

A fresco-painting from the palace of Gnossus. The youth carries a silver cup ornamented with gold. His waist is tightly drawn in by a girdle; his hair is dark and curly; his profile is almost classically Greek.

55. The Ægean Age (to about 1100 B.C.)

The prehistoric civilization thus brought to light within the last quarter of a century was at first called Mycenæan, after Mycenæ, where excavations were so abundantly rewarded. The Cretan finds, however, point to an earlier and more highly developed culture on that island. Other evidences of prehistoric culture have been found along the eastern coast of Greece, especially in Attica and Bœotia, and among some of the islands, as Rhodes and Cyprus. Hence it is now usual to speak of an Ægean civilization, since it prevailed throughout the entire area of this basin of the Mediterranean.

Area of Ægean civilization.

These discoveries in the Ægean enable us to place another venerable centre of civilized life by the side of Babylonia and Egypt. As early as 3000 B.C., the primitive inhabitants of the Ægean were giving up the use of stone tools and weapons for those of metal. Copper was found in great quantities on the island of Cyprus, where a true Copper Age came into existence. In Crete, the place of pure copper was soon taken by bronze. This alloy of copper and tin came into general use, as is shown by the excavations at Troy and Mycenæ. The five centuries between 1600 and 1100 B.C. appear to have been the time when the Bronze Age culture reached its greatest splendour.

Antiquity of Ægean civilization.

THE VAPHIO GOLD CUPS

National Museum, Athens

These beautiful objects were found in 1888 within a "bee-hive" tomb at Vaphio in Laconia. The two cups are of beaten gold, ornamented with designs in *repoussé* work. The first scene represents a wild-bull hunt. The companion piece pictures four tame bulls under the care of a herdsman.

The civilization of the Ægean world during these five centuries shows several marked characteristics. The people were no longer wandering hunters or herdsmen, but settled farmers. They lived in villages and cities, where the frowning fortress of the chief or king looked down on the humble dwellings of common men. The monarch, as in the Oriental world,[1] was doubtless a thorough despot, whose subjects toiled to build the great palaces and tombs. If life was hard and cheerless for them, it must have been pleasant enough for court ladies and gentlemen, who occupied luxurious apartments, wore fine clothing and jewellery, and enjoyed such exhibitions as bull-fighting and the contests of pugilists.

Features of Ægean civilization.

SILVER FRAGMENT FROM MYCENÆ

National Museum, Athens

A siege scene showing the bows, slings, and huge shields of Mycenæan warriors. In the background are seen the masonry of the city wall and the flat-roofed houses.

Remarkable progress was made in some of the fine arts. In architecture, we find imposing palaces, often splendidly adorned and arranged for a life of comfort. Wall paintings, plaster reliefs, and fine carvings in stone excite our admiration. Ægean artists made beautiful pottery of many shapes and cleverly decorated with plant and animal forms. They carved ivory, engraved gems, and excelled in the working of metals. Some of their productions in gold, silver, and bronze were scarcely surpassed by Greek artists a thousand years later.

Art.

Some form of recording thoughts had been secured. The earlier records, having been largely on perishable materials, such as bark or hides, may never be recovered. The excavations in Crete, however, show that its inhabitants

Writing.

[1] See page 78.

had passed from picture writing to the use of symbols for sounds. Buried in the remains of the palace at Gnossus were thousands of clay tablets with inscriptions as yet unread. About seventy characters appear to have been in common use. They probably denote syllables and indicate a decided advance over both Babylonian and Egyptian scripts. These Cretan signs date back several centuries before the earliest known appearance of the "Phœnician" alphabet. It is not impossible that they were the source whence the Phœnicians took at least a number of their letters.[1]

Commerce.

Everything indicates much intercourse throughout the Mediterranean during this period. Products of Ægean art are found as far west as Sicily, Italy, and Spain. Ægean pottery has been frequently discovered in Egyptian tombs. Some objects unearthed at Nippur in Babylonia are apparently of Ægean workmanship. In those ancient days, Crete was mistress of the seas. Cretan merchants preceded the Phœnicians as carriers between Asia and Europe. Thus trade and commerce opened up the Mediterranean world to all the cultural influences of the Orient.

Downfall of Ægean civilization.

Ægean civilization did not penetrate beyond the shores of Asia Minor, the islands, and the coasts of continental Greece. The interior regions of the Greek peninsula remained the home of barbarous tribes which had not yet learned to build cities, to create beautiful objects of art, or to traffic on the seas. By 1100 B.C., their destructive inroads brought the Ægean Age to an end.

56. The Greek Conquests and Migrations

Coming of the northern barbarians.

The invaders who plunged the Greek mainland and islands once more into barbarism seem to have entered the peninsula from the north. They were still a nomadic people, fond of war and the chase, and dependent for food mainly upon their flocks and herds. In course of time many of these

[1] See pages 14–15.

immigrants gave up their wandering life and made permanent settlements. Sometimes they must have exterminated or enslaved the earlier inhabitants of the land. More often, perhaps, they settled peaceably in the sunny south, taking to themselves wives from the daughters of the native princes. Thus the two peoples mingled

their blood and so produced the one Greek race which is found at the dawn of history.

These migrations and invasions continued, we may believe, for many centuries. Some of them, dimly remembered in later days, gave rise to myths. One famous legend told how rude Dorian tribes, headed by the descendants of the hero Heracles, entered the Peloponnesus and overran Argolis and Laconia. The warlike Dorians, it is probable, were only the last of those northern peoples who gradually had been getting a foot-

The "Dorian invasion."

hold in Greece. Apparently it was some such invasion as this which destroyed Mycenæ and Tiryns.

The Dorian invasion and other movements of population did not stop at the Greek mainland. Asia Minor, either at this time or still earlier, received many emigrants from Greece. Those who settled on the northwestern shore of the Asiatic peninsula were known as Æolians. From Attica and Argolis came the Ionians. They planted many colonies on the central coast and gave the land their name — Ionia. The Dorians, too, passed over from the Peloponnesus, establishing themselves in Crete and Rhodes, and extending their colonies along the southwestern coast of Asia Minor.

Greek settlements in Asia Minor.

When these colonizing movements came to an end, the Greeks were found everywhere in the Ægean. The mainland of Greece, the islands, and the coast of western Asia Minor formed the early Greek world. The inhabitants — Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians — were the chief divisions of the Greek race.

Divisions of the Greek race.

57. The Homeric Age (about 1100–750 B.C.)

Several centuries lie between the end of the Ægean Age and the opening of historic times in Greece. This period is usually called the Homeric Age, because some features of its civilization are reflected in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, epic poems probably composed in Ionia and attributed to Homer.

The Homeric epics.

The literature of Greece, and with it the literature of Europe, begins with epic poetry. An epic may be defined as a long narrative in verse dealing with some large and noble theme. The earliest epic poetry of the Greeks was inseparable from music. Wandering minstrels sang at feasts in the palaces of kings and accompanied their lays with the music of the clear-toned lyre. After a time, as his verse reached a more artistic character, the singer was able to give up the lyre and to depend for effect solely on the poetic power of his narrative. Finally the

Origin of the epics.

scattered lays were combined into long poems in hexameter verse.[1] Two of these have come down to us — the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The *Iliad* is a poem dealing with the Trojan War. According to the story, Troy, or Ilium, was besieged for ten long years by all the chieftains of Greece. They sought to avenge the seizure of Helen, wife of Menelaus of Sparta, by the handsome but faithless Paris, son of the Trojan king. Their leader was Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus, and ruler of Mycenæ. The *Iliad* relates the events of only a few days during the last year of the war. The poem might perhaps as well have been called the *Achilleid*, for its real hero is the mighty Achilles, whose wrath against Agamemnon brought unnumbered woes to all the Greeks.

The Iliad.

The *Odyssey* has for its hero Odysseus, wisest of the princes who fought against Troy. After the fall of that city, Odysseus set sail for his island kingdom of Ithaca. He wandered far and wide for ten years, visiting strange countries and peoples, and meeting with many remarkable adventures. Thus the *Odyssey*, as contrasted with the *Iliad*, is a story, not of war and battle, but of exploits on land and sea. It is a sort of geographical romance.

The Odyssey.

The Greeks themselves, almost without exception, believed that these epic poems were composed by a blind bard whom they called Homer. Seven cities, among them Chios and Smyrna, contended for the honour of having been Homer's birthplace. Nowadays, many scholars regard the *Iliad* as older than the *Odyssey*, and therefore as the production of a different author.

Authorship of the epics.

[1] As an example of hexameter verse, take these lines from an English translation of Homer:

> "Clearly the rest I behold of the dark-eyed sons of Achæa;
> Known to me well are the faces of all; their names I remember;
> Two, two only remain, whom I see not among the commanders,
> Castor, fleet in the car, — Polydeuces, brave with the cestus."
>
> — *Iliad*, iii, 234–237.

No one can tell with certainty when the Homeric poems first took their present shape. Since the discoveries at Troy, Mycenæ, and Gnossus, it has become easier to believe in the great antiquity of the two epics. The form and decoration of palaces as described by the poet, the art of the goldsmith, the use of chariots in war, the bronze weapons, the shape and size of the huge Homeric shield, all correspond with objects revealed by the excavations in Greece and in Crete. On the other hand, many Homeric customs are not those of the Ægean Age. The Ægean peoples buried their dead, used no tools or weapons of iron, and, as a rule, fought either naked or clad in nothing more than a loin cloth. Homer's Greeks burn their dead, placing the bones in lofty mounds of earth, possess iron implements, and go to battle encased in suits of heavy armour. The dress of a Cretan lady consisted of entirely separate garments for the upper and lower parts of the body, but the Homeric woman wears a one-piece dress without separate skirt or bodice. The chief deity of the Ægean world was a nature goddess, a Great Mother of all life, often represented by a female figure crowned with snakes. In the Homeric world the principal object of adoration is a male deity, the heaven god Zeus. All these are striking differences, not easily reconciled.

Antiquity of the epics.

ÆGEAN SNAKE GODDESS

If we assume that the two epics took their existing shape soon after the Greek invasion, we can understand why they should include many traditions of the earlier Ægean Age. Its glories at that time had not entirely faded from the minds of men. In the main, however, the poems must picture a life which the authors saw with their own eyes. Hence the references in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to

Historical value of the Homeric poems.

industry and art, to law, religion, and morality, give us some idea of the culture which the historic Greeks received as their inheritance.

58. Society during the Homeric Age

The Homeric Greeks were in a transitional stage between the life of shepherds and that of farmers. Wealth consisted largely of flocks and herds, though nearly every freeman owned a little plot of land on which he cultivated grain and cared for his orchard and vineyard. There were few skilled workmen, for almost everything was made at home. A separate class of traders had not yet arisen. Commerce was little followed. The Greeks depended on Phœnician sailors to bring to their shores the commodities which they could not produce themselves. In their sheltered valleys the common people led simple lives, remote from the busy centres of trade and industry in the Oriental world.

Industry.

The fine arts show little evidence of such splendid development as existed in Ægean times. Architecture was unpretentious. The palaces described in the Homeric poems were the residences of Ægean princes. We hear of no statues. Objects made of the precious metals and bronze, such as bowls and vases, necklaces and armour, were usually the creations of Phœnician craftsmen. Iron was known and used, for instance in the manufacture of farm tools. During Homeric times, however, that metal was still something of a rarity and had not yet displaced copper and bronze.[1]

Art.

Round the king there was a class of nobles who lived in the towns or on their farms. In the middle class we may include priests, minstrels, surgeons, and skilled workmen, whose occupations were all held in high esteem. Beneath them came the peasant landowners and a small body of landless men who served as hired labourers on the estates of the nobles. Prisoners taken in war or slaves purchased from Phœnician

Social classes.

[1] See page 9.

traders formed a part of every wealthy household. The number of slaves was far less than in later times, and they appear to have been well treated.

Social life was primitive. Princes tended flocks and built houses; princesses carried water and washed clothes. Agamemnon, Odysseus, and other heroes were not ashamed to be their own butchers and cooks. The Homeric knights did not ride on horseback, but fought from chariots. They sat at table instead of reclining at meals, as did the later Greeks. Coined money was unknown. Trade was by barter, values being reckoned in oxen, or in lumps of gold and silver. Wives were bought by making gifts of cattle to the parents. The art of writing is mentioned only once in the Homeric poems, and doubtless was little used.

Social life.

The times were rude. Wars, though petty, were numerous and cruel. The vanquished suffered death or slavery. Piracy, flourishing upon the unprotected seas, was considered an honourable occupation. It was no insult to inquire of a seafaring stranger whether he was pirate or merchant. Murders were frequent. The murderer had to dread, not a public trial and punishment, but rather the personal vengeance of the kinsmen of his victim. He must either flee the country or pacify the avengers by the payment of a fine. In their dealings with one another, men often appear tricky and deceitful. Deceit and trickery, when cleverly carried out, were rather admired than condemned. The Homeric Greeks, in these respects, exhibit the usual defects and vices of barbarous peoples.

Law and morality.

In some other respects Homeric society presents an attractive picture. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* contain many charming descriptions of family life. Monogamy prevailed. Children were tenderly cared for. Parents received deep reverence and affection. An especially honourable position was occupied by married women. "There is nothing mightier and nobler," sings the poet, "than when man and wife are of one

The family.

heart and mind in a house, a grief to their foes, to their friends great joy, but their own hearts know it best."[1]

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* disclose a considerable acquaintance with peninsular Greece and the coasts of Asia Minor. Cyprus, Egypt, and Sicily are also known in part. The poet conceives of the earth as a sort of flat shield with Greece lying in the centre. The Mediterranean, "The Sea," as it is called by Homer, and its continuation, the Euxine, divide the world into two equal parts. Surrounding the earth was "the great strength of the Stream of Ocean,"[2] a river, broad and deep, where all the waters of earth had their source.

Homeric geography.

The dark underworld of Hades lay beneath the surface of the earth. As far below Hades as earth is below heaven was the prison house of Tartarus. Those who had committed great crimes were confined in this deep and sunless abyss, closed by gates of brass and iron.

Hades and Tartarus.

The poets who followed Homer imagined also a happy home for heroes especially favoured by the gods. It lay in the Elysian Plain at the western end of the world, or on the Islands of the Blest, bathed by the last rays of the setting sun. "No snow is there, nor yet great storms, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill west to blow cool on men."[3]

Elysium.

59. Early Greek Religion

We may learn from the Homeric poems what were the religious ideas held by the early Greeks. The greater gods and goddesses were not numerous. Less than a score everywhere received worship under the same names and in all the temples. Twelve of the chief deities formed a select council which was supposed to meet on the top of snow-crowned Olympus. The Greeks, however, did not agree as to what deities should be included in this august assemblage.

The Olympian council.

[1] *Odyssey*, vi, 182–185. [2] *Iliad*, xviii, 607. [3] *Odyssey*, iv, 566–568.

Many Olympian deities were simply personifications of natural phenomena. Zeus, "father of gods and men," appears as a heaven god who gathers the clouds in storms and hurls the lightning bolt. The thunder is his sign; the rainbow and the eagle are his messengers. Apollo, a mighty god of light who wards off darkness and evil, became the ideal of manly beauty, and the patron of music, poetry, and healing. Ares, possibly a storm god, presided over war and battle. Hephæstus, god of fire, had in charge the working of metals and all useful mechanic arts. Hermes was the herald and wing-footed messenger of the gods. He cared for inventions, trade, and commerce. Dionysus was worshipped as the deity of sprouting and budding nature. As the guardian spirit of the vine, he became lord of the wine cup and the revel. Poseidon, brother of Zeus, ruled the seas and the waters of earth.

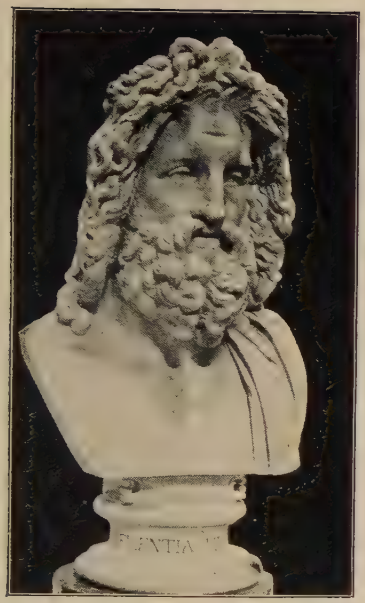
Attributes of the Olympian gods.

A similar personification of natural forces is true of many female divinities. Hera, the consort of Zeus, represented the female principle in nature. Hence she presided over the life of women, as Zeus over that of men. The sacred rites of marriage belonged to her. Athena, who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, embodied the idea of wisdom and all womanly virtues. Artemis appears as a divinity of the moonlight, as a goddess of woods and wild animals, and as a patroness of the chase. Aphrodite, born of the white sea-foam, was the goddess of love and beauty. Demeter, the great earth-mother, watched over seed-time and harvest. Hestia, the goddess of fire, had under her protection hearth and home, and the sanctities of family life.

Attributes of the goddesses.

In addition to the Olympian divinities, there were many local gods and heroes, the guardians of every little village or city. Still other deities, such as the Nymphs and Satyrs, peopled the mountains, forests, seas, and streams. Nine Muses, daughters of Zeus, presided over music, poetry, and song. The Fates ruled human destinies. The

Minor deities.



ZEUS OTRICOLI
Vatican Gallery, Rome

HERA
Ludovisi Villa, Rome

APOLLO OF THE BELVEDERE
Vatican Gallery, Rome

APHRODITE OF CNIDUS
Glyptothek, Munich

Furies avenged such crimes as murder and sacrilege. A long list could be drawn up of the supernatural beings to whom popular superstition or poetic fancy gave birth.

The Greeks made their gods after themselves. The Olympian deities are really magnified men, subject to all human passions and appetites, but possessed of more than human power, and endowed with immortality. Homer's divinities enjoy the banquet, where they feast on nectar and ambrosia; they are moved by jealousy, love, and hatred; they take part in the struggles of the battlefield; and they often visit in disguise the humble dwellings of men. Morally, the gods were no better than their worshippers. Indeed, the Olympian deities, so frequently represented as deceitful, dissolute, and cruel, furnished poor examples for imitation.

Early conceptions of the gods.

As the Greeks improved in civilization, they reached more elevated conceptions. Their divinities came to be considered as the guardians of morality, punishing such crimes as perjury, parricide, and oppression of the stranger, and rewarding the good man who tried to lead his life aright. Even Homer could say, "Verily the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men."[1]

Later conceptions.

It was natural for the Greek, with his familiar ideas of the gods, to think of them and consult them in almost everything he did. Provided they were duly satisfied with prayers and offerings, the worshipper felt sure of securing their assistance. So sacrifices of meat and wine were furnished for the nourishment of the gods; beautiful temples were provided for their dwelling places; and splendid festivals were held in their honour.

Worship of the gods.

If we looked merely at the rites of Greek religion, we might suppose that it bore only a bright and cheerful character. But Greek ideas of the other world were dismal in the extreme. For the

[1] *Odyssey*, xiv, 83–84.

majority of mankind, the after-life in Hades was a shadowy, joyless copy of the earthly existence. In Hades the shade of great Achilles exclaims sorrowfully, "Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death. Rather would I live on earth as the hireling of another, even with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead."[1] It was not until several centuries after Homer that happier notions of the future life were taught, or at least suggested, in the Eleusinian mysteries.[2]

Gloomy ideas of the other world.

60. Religious Institutions: the Oracles

The Greeks believed that the gods showed their purposes toward men by signs and portents: in thunder and lightning, in the flight of birds, in the appearance of the entrails of animals offered for sacrifice. Communications from the gods were also received from certain inspired persons at places called oracles. Such sacred places were visited by all who wished to learn the divine will.

Intercourse with the gods.

The oldest of Greek oracles was that of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus. Here an oak tree sacred to Zeus rose in a gloomy vale between the mountains. The rustling of its leaves, when stirred by the wind, formed the message which the god gave to man. Recent excavations at Dodona have disclosed many questions written on sheets of lead by inquirers at the oracle. It was a place of resort as late as the fourth century of our era.

Oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphi enjoyed the utmost veneration. It lay within a deep cave on the rocky side of Mount Parnassus. Out of a chasm rose a volcanic vapour which had a certain intoxicating power. The Pythia, or prophetess of Apollo, sat on a tripod over the steaming cleft and inhaled the gas. The words she utterèd in delirium were supposed to come from the god. They were taken down by the attendant

Oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

[1] *Odyssey*, xi, 488–491. [2] See page 513.

priests, written out in hexameter verse, and delivered to the suppliants. In the earlier period of its history, the oracle could be consulted only once a year. After it grew in favour and importance, it gave replies usually on the seventh day of each month.

The fame of Apollo as the patron of inspiration and prophecy spread throughout Greece and penetrated to foreign lands. Every year thousands of visitors made their way in chariots, on mules, and on foot, to Apollo's shrine. Sick men prayed for health, childless men for offspring. Statesmen wished to learn the fate of their political schemes; ambassadors sent by kings and cities sought advice as to weighty matters of peace and war. Above all, colonists came to Delphi in order to obtain directions as to the best country in which to settle. Some of the noblest cities of the Greek world, Cyrene and Byzantium for example, had their sites fixed by Apollo's guidance.

Inquiries at the oracle.

The priests who managed the oracle and its responses were usually able to give good advice to their inquirers because news of every sort streamed into Delphi. When the priests were doubtful what answer to give, the prophecy of the god was sometimes expressed in such ambiguous fashion that, whatever the outcome, neither Apollo nor his servants could be charged with deceit. For instance, when Crœsus, the Lydian king, was about to attack Cyrus, he learned from the oracle that "if he warred with the Persians he would overthrow a mighty empire"[1] — but the mighty empire proved to be his own.[2]

Character of the responses.

During the early period of Greek history, the Delphic oracle exerted a most beneficial influence. It helped to spread among the Greeks ideas of justice and right. Through its responses it taught mercifulness to the conquered, respect for the life of slaves, the strict fulfilment of treaties, the wickedness of perjury and murder. The oracle endured for over a thousand years. It was still honoured as late as

Importance of the Delphic oracle.

[1] Herodotus, i, 53.

[2] See page 64.

A.D. 393, when a Roman emperor, after the adoption of Christianity, silenced it for ever.[1]

61. Religious Institutions: the Games

Athletic games were held in different parts of Greece from a remote period. Each city possessed contests to which its citizens alone were admitted. Afterwards it became customary for a group of cities to join in a common celebration of athletic festivals. By the beginning of the sixth century B.C., four sets of games, open to all Greeks, were regularly given — one at Delphi (the Pythian games), one on the Isthmus of Corinth, and two in the Peloponnesus. The most famous was the Olympian festival, held in honour of Zeus at Olympia in Elis.

Origin of athletic games.

The Olympic games took place every fourth year, in midsummer.[2] A sacred truce was proclaimed for an entire month in order that the thousands of spectators from every part of Greece might arrive and depart in safety. Woe betide the man who harmed one of the pilgrims on his sacred journey! Zeus himself, the protector of strangers, would visit with divine wrath the impious offender.

The Olympic games.

The festival was in charge of judges appointed by the people of Elis. One of their most important duties was an examination of the athletes who wished to enter the various contests. No one not of Greek blood, no one convicted of crime or of the sin of impiety, could be admitted. The candidates had also

The contestants.

[1] In classical times, Delphi possessed a splendid temple of the Pythian Apollo, enriched with offerings from every part of the Greek world. Its site was carefully excavated during 1893–1901 by the French School of Classical Studies. Before the work could begin, it was necessary to clear away a village that had grown up on the site of ancient Delphi.

[2] The first recorded celebration occurred in 776 B.C. The four-year period between the games, called an Olympiad, became the Greek unit for determining dates. Events were reckoned as taking place in the first, second, third, or fourth year of a given Olympiad. For example, 490 B.C. was the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad, 21 A.D. the first year of the two-hundredth Olympiad, and so on.

to prove that they were qualified for the severe tests by a long and hard training. Once accepted as competitors, they could not withdraw. The man who shrank back when the hour of trial arrived was considered a coward and punished with a heavy fine.

The games occupied five days, beginning with the contests in running. There was a short-distance dash through the length of the Stadium,[1] a quarter-mile race, and also a longer race, probably of two or three miles. Then followed a contest consisting of five events: the long jump, hurling the discus, throwing the javelin, running, and wrestling. It is not known how victory in these five events taken together was decided. In the long jump, weights like dumb-bells were held in the hands, the swing of the weights being used to assist the spring. The discus, which weighed about twelve pounds, was sometimes hurled more than one hundred feet. The javelin was thrown either by the hand alone or with the help of a thong wound about the shaft and held in the fingers. In wrestling, three falls were necessary for a victory. The contestants were free to get their grip as best they could. Boxing was a favourite competition. In the brutal contest called the *pancratium*, a mixture of boxing and wrestling, nothing was forbidden except gouging out the eyes. The struggle went on until one of the competitors acknowledged himself as beaten. There were also numerous horse races, with jockeys riding their steeds bareback, and the very popular chariot races, which even kings thought it an honour to win. Then, as now, athletes and spectators liked a dangerous sport. We are

The contests.

THE DISCUS-THROWER (DISCOBOLUS)

Lancelotti Palace, Rome

Marble copy of the bronze original by Myron, a fifth century sculptor.

[1] The Stadium was about 210 yards long.

told of a chariot race in which forty chariots entered, and only one escaped collision and reached the goal. Women were apparently excluded from the games, yet they were allowed to enter horses for the races, and to set up statues in honour of victory.

The Olympian festival, in spirit and principle, was profoundly religious. The display of manly strength was considered a spectacle most pleasing to the gods. For this reason a Greek athlete could gain no higher honour than a victory in the games. Though rewarded at Olympia with only a wreath of wild olive, the conqueror returned home to receive the gifts and veneration of his fellow-citizens. Poets celebrated his victories in noble odes. Sculptors reproduced his triumphs in stone and bronze. To the end of his days he was a distinguished man.

The victor's reward.

ATHLETE USING THE STRIGIL (APOXYOMENUS)
Vatican Gallery, Rome

Marble copy of the bronze original by Lysippus, a fourth century sculptor.

The regular celebration of the Olympic games helped to preserve a sense of fellowship among the widely scattered divisions of the Greek race. There were few Greeks who at least once in their lives did not attend the festival. The crowds that gathered before and after the games turned the camp into a great fair, at which merchants set up their shops and money changers their tables. Poets recited their lines before admiring audiences, and artists exhibited their masterpieces to intending purchasers. Heralds read treaties recently formed between Greek cities, in order to have them widely known. Orators addressed the multitude on subjects of vital interest. Thus the Olympic games provided an occasion when all Greek peoples could meet in brilliant company.

Significance of the games.

Recent excavations at Olympia have revealed traces of the

GENERAL VIEW OF OLYMPIA (RESTORATION)

splendid structures which once covered the site.[1] The existing ruins, together with the descriptions of ancient travellers, enable us to gain some idea of the wealth of architecture in this religious centre of the Greek world.

Excavations at Olympia.

The nucleus of all the buildings was the Altis, or sacred precinct of Zeus. It was enclosed by a wall with several entrances. Within

THE OLYMPIEUM AT ATHENS

stood a magnificent temple, containing a gold and ivory statue of Zeus forty feet high. About the temple were grouped many smaller shrines, treasure houses, altars, and statues of victors in the games. An arched passage opened from the Altis into the Stadium, where forty thousand spectators could witness the foot races and other athletic contests. Near it was the Hippodrome for chariot races. There were also numerous porticoes to house the visitors at the games, a gymnasium for competitors, and halls for officials and priests. All these magnificent buildings, erected during the course of many centuries, were allowed to fall into ruins after the abolition of the Olympic games.[2]

Description of the buildings.

[1] The work at Olympia (1875–1881) is Germany's contribution to the memory of ancient Greece, just as that at Delphi is a monument to France, and that at Corinth to America.

[2] The games were finally abolished at the close of the fourth century after Christ. In 1894 a movement was set on foot for their revival, and the new series began in 1896. Under this scheme each meeting takes place in a different country. The Greeks also held the games independently at Athens in 1906.

Earthquakes and inundations completed the work of destruction. Until the excavations, the place remained deserted and desolate, with scarce a vestige of its former glory.

62. Religious Federations

Religion formed a most important bond of union among the Greeks. Everywhere they worshipped the same gods and performed the same sacred rites. Religious influences were sometimes strong enough to bring about local unions known as amphictyonies, or leagues of neighbours. The people living around a famous sanctuary would meet to observe their festivals in common and to guard the shrine of their divinity.

Amphictyonic leagues.

The little island of Delos was the centre of an important amphictyony. Every spring its members held a meeting to commemorate the god Apollo, who had been born, so men believed, on that Ægean isle. "There in thy honour, Apollo, the long-robed Greeks assemble, with their children and their gracious dames. As often as they hold thy festival, they celebrate thee, for thy joy, with boxing and dancing and song." [1]

Delian Amphictyony.

The Delphic Amphictyony was the most noteworthy of these local unions. It included twelve tribes and cities of central Greece and Thessaly. They established a council which took Apollo's shrine under its protection and superintended the Pythian games at Delphi. One of the regulations binding on the members was intended to lessen the horrors of war: "We will not destroy any amphictyonic town; we will not cut off any amphictyonic town from running water." Their solemn oath did not prevent the members of the league from fighting with one another, or from making attacks on their neighbours. We even read of a "Sacred War" which the amphictyony waged against two cities of Phocis whose inhabitants had annoyed pilgrims on the way to Delphi. This league lasted as long as Greek history.

Delphic Amphictyony.

[1] *Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, 146–148.

63. The Greek City-State

Most Greek cities sprang from little village settlements made in prehistoric times. Sometimes a village conquered its less powerful neighbours and compelled them to unite with it. Sometimes a number of villages lying close together combined for the possession of a hill of refuge, called the citadel or acropolis. About its rocky sides the people made their homes. Gradually the hill settlement would expand into a walled town, the seat of religion and government for all the surrounding region.

Rise of the city.

Each of these numerous cities was an independent, self-governing community. It formed a city-state. Just as a modern nation, it could declare war, arrange treaties, and make alliances with its neighbours. Such a city-state included not only the territory within its walls, but also the surrounding district where many of the citizens lived. It was usually of small size. A Greek philosopher once said that "a city could not consist of ten men, nor again of one hundred thousand."[1] By this he meant that a city ought not to be so small that no community life was possible in it, yet not so large that a man could not know many of his fellow-citizens.

The city-state.

The members of a Greek city-state were very closely associated. The citizens believed themselves to be descended from a common ancestor and so to be all related. They were united, also, in the worship of the patron god or hero who had them under his protection. These two ties, the tie of supposed kinship and the tie of common religion, made citizenship a great privilege which came to an individual only by birth and which he lost by removal to another city. Elsewhere he was only a foreigner without legal rights — a man without a country.

The citizens.

We can now realize why the Greek loved his city as we love our native land. He was jealous of its independence. He could not

[1] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ix, 10. Our word *politics* comes from the Greek word for city (*polis*) and means, literally, the public affairs of the city.

take kindly to the thought of uniting with neighbouring communities. This strong city feeling, this civic patriotism, coupled with the physical barriers of mountain walls and inlets of the sea, prevented the Greeks from ever becoming a single nation. To its very end, the history of Greece remained the history of separate, and often hostile, city-states.

Civic patriotism.

64. Government of the City-State

The Homeric poems, which give us our first view of the Greek city-state, also contain the most ancient account of its government. Every little community had a king, "the shepherd of the people,"[1] as Homer calls him. He was the general, and led the army to battle. A king who shirked fighting, who could not hold his own with spear and sword, would not have been tolerated. He was the chief priest, and on behalf of his people offered sacrifices of cattle to the immortal gods. He was the judge, and sat in the market place with his nobles about him, deciding disputes and punishing offenders against time-honoured custom. The king had privileges as well as duties—the seat of honour at feasts, the largest share of booty taken in war, a royal palace and royal domains.

The king.

The king did not possess absolute authority. He was surrounded by a council of nobles, chiefly the great landowners of the community. They helped the king in judgment and sacrifice, followed him to war, and filled the principal offices.

The council of nobles.

Both king and nobles were obliged to consult the common people on matters of great importance. For this purpose the ruler would summon the citizens to the market place to hear the deliberations of his council and to settle such questions as making war or declaring peace. All men of free birth — the "freemen" — could attend the assembly, where they shouted assent to the decision of their leaders, or showed

The assembly of freemen.

[1] *Iliad*, ii, 243.

disapproval by contemptuous silence. This public assembly of the freemen had little importance in the Homeric Age, but it contained the seeds of later Greek democracy.

About the middle of the eighth century B.C., when historic times began in Greece, we find very interesting changes taking place in the government of the city-states. In some of them, as Thebes and Corinth, the nobles became strong enough to abolish the kingship altogether. Monarchy, the rule of one, thus gave way to aristocracy,[1] the rule of the nobles. In other states, as Sparta and Argos, the kings were not driven out, but their power was much weakened. Some states came under the control of usurpers whom the Greeks called "tyrants." A tyrant was a man who gained supreme power by force and governed for his own benefit without regard to the laws. There were many tyrannies in the Greek world during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Still other states went through an entire cycle of changes from kingship to aristocracy, from aristocracy to tyranny, and last of all, from tyranny to democracy, or popular rule.

Rise of tyrannies.

The isolated and independent Greek communities thus worked out many different solutions of the problem of government. To study them all would be a lengthy task. It is better to fix our attention on the two city-states which held the principal place in Greek history, and at the same time presented the most striking contrasts in government and social life. These were Dorian Sparta and Ionian Athens.

Sparta and Athens as types of the city-state.

65. The Rise of Sparta (to 500 B.C.)

The Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesus who settled in the district of Laconia founded there the city of Sparta.[2] It grew in power,

[1] *Aristocracy* means, literally, the "government of the best." The Greeks also used the word *oligarchy* — "rule of the few" — to describe a government by citizens who belong to the wealthy class.

[2] There was an earlier and prehistoric Sparta during the Ægean Age. The excavations completed in 1911 by the British School of Classical Studies have shown that this ancient city was destroyed by fire, presumably by Dorian invaders,

conquered its neighbours, and at length became the only independent city of Laconia. Then the Spartans turned to the west—to the fruitful land of Messenia—and after a hard struggle brought that country under their sway. Henceforth all the southern half of the Peloponnesus formed one state, called Lacedæmon, ruled by one city, Sparta.

Spartan conquest of Laconia and Messenia.

The Spartans now proceeded to make their influence felt in other parts of the Peloponnesus. By the close of the sixth century B.C., they succeeded in establishing a strong confederacy known as the Peloponnesian League. It included all the states of southern Greece except Argolis and Achæa. The members of the league did not pay tribute, but they furnished troops to serve in war under Spartan kings, and they looked to Sparta for guidance and protection. Thus this single city became the foremost power throughout the Peloponnesus.

Sparta head of the Peloponnesian League.

It is clear that the Spartans, to win all these successes, must have been an extremely vigorous and warlike race. Their city, in fact, formed nothing less than a military camp, garrisoned by picked and disciplined soldiers, whose whole life was passed in war and in preparation for war.

Sparta a purely military state.

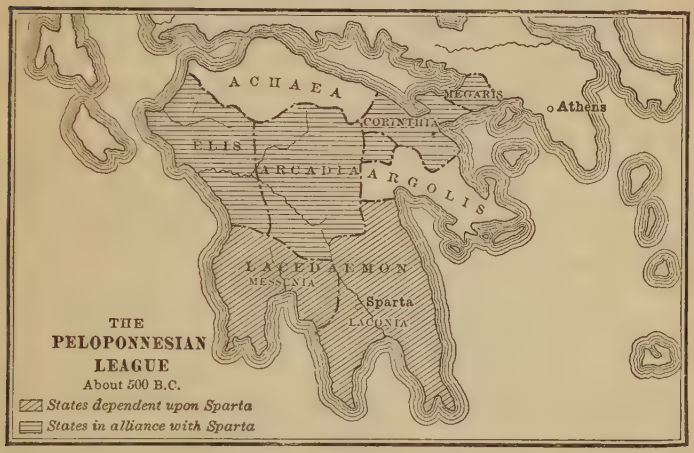
The Spartans were not a numerous people. At the period of their greatest strength they numbered only about ten thousand citizens, or heads of families. They were able to devote themselves to a military career because they possessed a large number of serfs, called helots, who were descendants of the conquered Laconians and Messenians. The helots tilled the lands of the Spartans and gave up to their masters the entire produce of their labour except what was necessary for a bare subsistence.

Servitude of the helots.

Since the helots greatly outnumbered the Spartans, the latter lived in constant fear of an uprising. They tried to overawe their serfs and keep them down by force. It was lawful for any Spartan to kill a helot without trial. We even hear of wholesale mas-

sacres. Once, when Sparta was engaged in a dangerous struggle with Athens and it was feared that the helots might seize their chance to revolt, the Spartans selected two thousand of the bravest and most high-spirited men and promised them their freedom. The helots were crowned with garlands and led in procession around the temples; "they were supposed to have received their liberty; but not long after-

Treatment of the helots.



wards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any of them came by his end."[1]

The government of Sparta was organized for war. Democracy there never gained such a foothold as at Athens and in some of the other Greek states. To the end of her national existence, Sparta retained the kingly rule. However, there were always two kings reigning at once, and so neither of them could become very powerful. The kings were assisted by a council of nobles and by a popular assembly of all free Spartans.

Government of Sparta.

The real direction of the state lay in the hands of five officers,

[1] Thucydides, iv, 80.

called ephors, or overseers, who were elected every year by the popular assembly. Two or more ephors accompanied the kings in war and directed their actions;[1] they guided the deliberations of both council and assembly; superintended the education of the young; and had general oversight of the private life of the Spartan citizens. While in office there was no check upon their powers. The ephors could be called to account for their conduct only after their terms had expired. The placing of so much authority in the hands of a few men made for an efficient management of public affairs. This Spartan system has been unconsciously imitated by some American cities which have adopted what is known as a "commission government."

The ephors.

Spartan education had a single purpose — to produce good soldiers and obedient citizens. A sound body formed the first essential. Hence a Spartan father was required to submit his son, soon after birth, to an inspection by the elders of his tribe. If they found the child puny or ill-shaped, they ordered it to be left on the slopes of Mount Taygetus, to perish from exposure. At the age of seven, a boy was taken from his parents' home and placed in a military school. Here he was trained in marching, sham fighting, and gymnastics. He learned to sing warlike songs and in conversation to express himself in the fewest possible words. Spartan brevity of speech became proverbial. Above all he learned to endure hardship without complaint. He went barefoot and wore only a single garment, winter and summer. He slept on a bed of rushes gathered from the banks of the Eurotas. Every year he and his comrades had to submit to a flogging before the altar of the goddess Artemis, and the hero was the lad who could bear the whipping longest without giving a sign of pain. It is said that

Training of the Spartan boy.

[1] A curious rule permitted the ephors to depose a king at the end of eight years if, during their vigil on a clear and moonless night, they saw a meteor or shooting star. The dread of such a heavenly portent is shared by many barbarous peoples at the present day. Doubtless the Spartans inherited the superstition from their prehistoric ancestors.

boys sometimes died under the lash rather than utter a cry.[1] Such ordeals are still a feature of savage life to-day.

On reaching the age of twenty, the youth was considered a warrior. He did not live at home, but passed his time in barracks, as a member of a military mess to which he contributed his proper share of food, wine, and money. The money consisted of iron bars so bulky that no one was tempted to accumulate much of it; the food was a thick soup, "black broth"; the wine, doubtless, was much mixed with water. If they suffered no want, the Spartans knew no luxury. They had neither poverty nor riches.

The Spartan as a young man.

At the age of thirty years, the young Spartan became a full citizen and a member of the popular assembly. He was then compelled to marry in order to raise children for the state. But marriage did not free him from attendance at the public meals, the drill ground, and the gymnasium. A Spartan, in fact, enjoyed little home life until his sixtieth year, when he became an elder and retired from actual service. Thus for the average citizen, all the period of manhood was claimed by the strict, harsh discipline of a soldier's career. As a sarcastic Athenian once remarked, "A Spartan's life is so unpleasant that it is no wonder he throws it away lightly in battle."

Later life of the Spartan.

This exclusive devotion to military pursuits accomplished its object. The Spartans became the finest soldiers of antiquity. "All the rest of the Greeks," says an ancient writer, "are amateurs; the Spartans are professionals in the conduct of war."[2] Though Sparta never produced great thinkers, poets, or artists, her military strength made her the bulwark of Greece against foreign foes. The time was to come when Greece would have need of this disciplined Spartan soldiery to retain her liberty and her national existence.[3]

Excellence of the Spartan soldiery.

[1] Excavations in 1906 revealed the remains of the Temple of Artemis.

[2] Xenophon, *Polity of the Lacedæmonians*, 13.

[3] The Spartans believed that their military organization was the work of a great reformer and lawgiver named Lycurgus. He was supposed to have lived early in

66. The Rise of Athens (to 500 B.C.)

From the story of the growth of Sparta, we now turn to recount the development of her neighbour and rival, the city of Athens.

Significance of Athenian history.

The history of Athens, it has been said, is for us the history of Greece. In art, in literature, in social and intellectual life, Athens was to represent the highest and best in Greek culture. We shall deal, in later chapters, with these contributions of the Athenian genius to civilization. For the present we must confine ourselves to the Athenian achievement in creating the first really democratic government in antiquity.

Athens as a city-state.

The district of Attica, though smaller than many an English county, was early filled with a number of independent city-states. It was a great step in advance when, long before the dawn of Greek history, these several communities were united with Athens.[1] The inhabitants of the Attic towns and villages gave up their separate governments and became members of the one city-state of Athens. Henceforth a man was an Athenian citizen, no matter in what part of Attica he lived.

Decline of the kingship.

At an earlier period, perhaps, than elsewhere in Greece, monarchy at Athens began to give way before the rising power of the nobles. Kingly rule, which Oriental peoples never succeeded in abolishing, disappeared from Athens before its recorded history begins.

Oppressive rule of the nobles.

The rule of the nobility bore harshly on the common people. Popular discontent was especially excited at the administration of justice. There were at first no written laws, but only the long-established customs of the community. Since all the judges were nobles, they were tempted to decide legal cases in favour of their own class. The people, at

the ninth century B.C. We do not know anything about Lycurgus, but we do know that some existing primitive tribes, for instance, the Masai of East Africa, have customs almost the same as those of ancient Sparta. Hence we may say that the rude, even barbarous, Spartans only carried over into the historic age the habits of life which they had formed in prehistoric times.

[1] See page 138.

length, began to clamour for a written code. Every one then could know just what the laws were.

After much agitation, an Athenian named Draco was employed to write out a code for the state. The laws, as published, were very severe. The penalty for most offences, even the smallest theft, was death. The Athenians used to declare that the Draconian code had been written "not in ink, but in blood." However, its publication was a popular triumph, and the first step toward the establishment of Athenian democracy.

Draco's code, 621 B.C.

The second step was the legislation of Solon. This celebrated Athenian was accounted among the wisest men of his age. The people held him in high honour and gave him power to reform the government. One of Solon's laws did away with the custom of selling debtors into slavery. Henceforth no Athenian was ever sold for debt. Another law admitted even the poorest citizens to the popular assembly, where they could vote for magistrates and judge of their conduct after their year of office was over. By giving the common people a greater share in the government, Solon helped forward the democratic movement at Athens.

Legislation of Solon, 594–593 B.C.

Solon's reforms satisfied neither the nobility nor the commons. They continued to struggle, the one class against the other, until the disorder of the times enabled an ambitious politician to gain supreme power as a tyrant.[1] He was Solon's own nephew, a noble named Pisistratus. This man was very popular at Athens because of his exploits in war, his pleasant speech and engaging manners, and his championship of the poor against the rich. One day Pisistratus came into the market place and showed the people his body bleeding from many wounds. Hired assassins, he declared, had tried to take his life. The people voted their favourite a bodyguard of fifty men, armed with clubs. Pisistratus quietly increased their

How Pisistratus became tyrant, 560 B.C.

[1] See page 167.

number, gave them spears instead of clubs, and then seized the Acropolis. Before long he was master of Athens. The tyrant had a chequered career. Twice the Athenians drove him into exile, but each time he returned, and at length firmly established his authority.

How Pisistratus ruled.

Pisistratus used the tyrant's power with moderation. The laws made by Solon were not overthrown. The people still went through the form of electing their magistrates, but Pisistratus took care that the offices should be held by his relatives and personal friends. Through them he could collect the taxes and enjoy all the profits of his position. This is precisely the method followed by the "boss" of a modern American city.

Athens under Pisistratus.

The long and peaceful rule of Pisistratus meant much for Athens. At home, he fostered agriculture by dividing the lands of banished nobles among the peasants. Abroad, his alliances with neighbouring states encouraged the rising commerce of Athens. The city itself was adorned with handsome buildings, among them a great temple to Olympian Zeus, which, however, remained unfinished for nearly seven centuries. Pisistratus invited to his court prominent architects, sculptors, and poets from all parts of Greece. Athens, under his tyranny, became one of the most flourishing cities in the Greek world.

Hippias and Hipparchus.

On the death of Pisistratus (527 B.C.), his sons Hippias and Hipparchus took control. At first they continued the wise policy of their father. Hipparchus, however, was soon killed in a private quarrel. Though his murderers were put to death, the Athenians set up statues to them and looked upon them as martyrs. To slay a tyrant was felt to be a praiseworthy act. Hippias, the survivor, fearing for his own safety, now became a cruel and suspicious despot. Then the Athenians began to plot his downfall.

Among the nobles exiled by Pisistratus there was a certain Clisthenes. His family had gained a great reputation throughout

Greece by rebuilding on a magnificent scale Apollo's temple at Delphi.[1] Where the contract called for only coarse stone, they had used the finest Parian marble. It was not surprising, therefore, that the priests who managed the Delphic oracle were ready to help Clisthenes in expelling Hippias. After this, whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, they got no answer to any inquiry but "Athens must be freed." The Spartans were not at enmity with Hippias, but they did not wish to disregard what they believed to be the command of Apollo. At length a Spartan army invaded Attica and drove out the tyrant. But this was not the last of Hippias. We shall meet him again.

Expulsion of Hippias, 510 B.C.

The downfall of the tyranny and the return to Athens of the nobles threatened to revive the old strife between the aristocrats and the common people. It was fortunate for Athens that Clisthenes, who had become the popular leader, was a true statesman. One of his most important reforms extended Athenian citizenship to many foreigners and emancipated slaves or "freedmen" then living in Attica. This liberal measure swelled the number of citizens and helped to make the Athenians a more progressive people.

Clisthenes, the new lawgiver, 508–507 B.C.

Clisthenes has also the credit of establishing the peculiar institution called "ostracism." Every year, if necessary, the citizens met in assembly and voted against any persons whom they thought dangerous to the state. If as many as six thousand votes were cast, the man who received the highest number of votes had to go into honourable exile for ten years.[2] Though ostracism was intended as a precaution against tyrants, it was soon used also to remove unpopular politicians.

Ostracism.

There were still some steps to be taken before the rule of the people was completely secured at Athens. But, in the main, the

[1] See page 160, note 1.

[2] The name of an individual voted against was written on a piece of pottery (Greek, *ostrakon*), whence the term *ostracism*.

Athenians by 500 B.C. had established a truly democratic government. The hour was now rapidly approaching when this young and vigorous democracy was to prove its worth before the eyes of all Greece.

Athens a democratic state.

67. Colonial Expansion of Greece (about 750–500 B.C.)

While Athens, Sparta, and their sister states were working out the problems of popular government, another movement of great significance was going on in the Greek world. The Greeks, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., began to plant numerous colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Black Sea. The great age of colonization covered more than two hundred years.[1]

The great age of colonization.

Several reasons led to the founding of colonies. Trade was an important motive. The Greeks, just as the Phœnicians,[2] could realize large profits by exchanging their manufactured goods for the food and raw materials of other countries. Land hunger was another motive. The poor soil of Greece could not support many inhabitants, and when population increased, emigration afforded the only means of relieving the pressure of numbers. A third motive was political and social unrest. Greek cities at this period contained many men of adventurous disposition who were ready to seek in foreign countries a refuge from the oppression of nobles or tyrants. They hoped to find in their new settlements more freedom than they had at home.

Reasons for founding colonies.

A Greek colony was not only a trading post; it was a centre of Greek life. The colonists continued to be Greeks in customs, language, and religion. Though quite independent of the parent state, they always regarded it with reverence and affection: they called themselves, pathetically, "men away from home." Mother city and daughter colony traded with each other, and in time of danger helped each other.

Character of the Greek colony.

[1] See the map facing page 88. [2] See page 87.

EARLY GREEK CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD

A symbol of this unity was the sacred fire carried from the public hearth of the old community to the new settlement.

Not all the Greek cities were equally zealous in the work of colonization. Neither Athens nor Sparta, for instance, was a conspicuous founder of cities. It was rather such places as Chalcis on the island of Eubœa, Corinth and Megara on the mainland, and Miletus and Rhodes in Asiatic Greece, which were most distinguished for their colonizing activities.

Leading centres of colonization.

Greek colonization in the northern Ægean led to many settlements on the three-pronged peninsula of Chalcidice,[1] which took its name from the parent city of Chalcis. Farther to the east, colonies were established along the Thracian coast and on both sides of the long passage between the Mediterranean and the Euxine. Among these was the great city of Byzantium on the Bosporus. The Delphic oracle is said to have advised the people of Megara to found their colony there. It was good advice, for Byzantium, afterwards known as Constantinople, is still one of the great capitals of the world.

Colonies in the northern Ægean.

The inhabitants of Miletus were the first to plant settlements along the shores of the Black Sea. Their enterprise was a bold one, since the wide expanse of the Euxine and its stormy character made it the terror of sailors. The great attraction of this region lay in the rich natural resources. The cities founded here were centres from which the Greeks drew their supplies of fish, wood, wool, grain, metals, and slaves. The immense profits to be gained by trade made the Greeks willing to live in a cold country so unlike their own and among still barbarous peoples.

Settlements in the Euxine.

The West furnished far more attractive sites for colonization. The Greeks could feel at home in southern Italy, where the genial climate, pure air, and sparkling sea recalled their native land. At a very early date, they founded

The Italian colonies.

[1] See page 122.

Cumæ, on the coast just north of the Bay of Naples. Cumæ, in turn, had a daughter city, the famous Neapolis (Naples), which in Roman times formed a home of Greek culture and even to-day possesses a large Greek population. To secure the approaches from Greece to these remote colonies, two strongholds were established on the Strait of Messina: Rhegium on the Italian shore and Messana[1] on that of Sicily.

"Temple of Neptune," Pæstum

Pæstum, the Greek Poseidonia, was a colony of Sybaris. The malarial atmosphere of the place led to its desertion in the ninth century of our era. Hence the buildings there were not used as quarries for later structures. The so-called "Temple of Neptune" at Pæstum is one of the best preserved monuments of antiquity.

Among the other colonies in southern Italy were Tarentum and Sybaris. Tarentum was founded by Spartans in the innermost angle of the deep gulf between the "heel and toe" of Italy. A Roman poet called it "the most charming corner of the world."[2] The great city of Sybaris lay on the western shore of the same gulf. So famous were its inhabitants for luxurious living that the word "sybarite" has come to mean a voluptuary.

Tarentum and Sybaris.

[1] Messana was settled by Messenians from the Peloponnesus. They changed the name of the earlier Greek colony there to Messana, to remind them of their fatherland. The modern city of Messina has suffered repeatedly from earthquakes. The last and most terrible earthquake (December 28, 1908) converted Messina into a heap of shapeless ruins, swept by fire and flood. Of its 90,000 inhabitants, fully five-sixths perished. The neighbouring city of Reggio (ancient Rhegium) was also nearly ruined in the same disaster.

[2] Horace, *Odes*, ii, 6, 13.

Greek settlements in Sicily were mainly along the coast. Expansion over the entire island was checked by the Carthaginians, who had numerous possessions at its western extremity. The most celebrated colony in Sicily was Syracuse, established by emigrants from Corinth. It became, in time, the largest of Greek cities.

The Sicilian colonies.

In Corsica, Sardinia, and on the coasts of Gaul and Spain, Carthage also proved too obstinate a rival for the Greeks to gain much of a foothold. The city of Massilia (modern Marseilles), at the mouth of the Rhone, was the chief Greek colony in this part of the Mediterranean. On the southern shore of the Mediterranean were Cyrene, west of Egypt, and Naucratis, in the Delta of the Nile.[1] From this time many Greek travellers visited Egypt to see the wonders of that strange old country.

Other Mediterranean settlements.

Thus in little more than two centuries, the energetic Greeks, the greatest colonizers of antiquity, had founded settlements from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. "All the Greek colonies," says an ancient writer, "are washed by the waves of the sea, and, so to speak, a fringe of Greek earth is woven on to barbarian lands."[2] Even the most distant settlements remained Greek in blood, speech, manners, and religion. To distinguish themselves from the foreigners or "barbarians"[3] about them, the Greeks began to call themselves by the common name of Hellenes. Hellas, their country, came to include all the territory possessed by Hellenic peoples. The life of the Greeks, henceforth, was confined no longer within the narrow limits of the Ægean. Wherever rose a Greek city, there was a scene of Greek history.

Results of colonization.

[1] In 1910 the Archæological Institute of America began excavations on the site of Cyrene. Explorations there were interrupted by the war between Italy and Turkey. British archæologists have conducted researches at Naucratis, the site of which was discovered in 1884.

[2] Cicero, *De republica*, ii, 4.

[3] Greek *barbaroi*, an onomatopoetic word, meaning "men who say *ba*, *ba*." Similarly, the Hebrews referred to all foreigners as Gentiles.

68. Language and Literature as Bonds of Union among the Greeks

The Greek colonies, as we have seen, were independent communities. In Greece itself the little city-states were just as jealous of their liberties. Nevertheless, ties existed, not of common government but of common interests and ideals, which helped to unite the scattered sections of the Greek world. The strongest bond of union was, of course, the one Greek speech. Everywhere the people used the same beautiful and expressive language. It is not a "dead" language, for it still lives on the lips of nearly three million people, not only in the Greek peninsula, but throughout the Mediterranean and even in remote America. From the days of Homer to our own time, Greek has enjoyed a continuous existence — at once the oldest and yet the youngest of the world's great tongues.

Language as a unifying force.

We must not forget, however, that the Greek language included a variety of popular dialects. Every little isolated community as a rule had its own characteristic idiom. The practice of writing, which became general after 750 B.C., did not break down all these differences in speech. There still remained four important dialects, Æolic, Doric, Ionic, and Attic. The Attic dialect, as spoken by the Athenians, became the most cultivated and elegant of all the varieties of Greek.

The four great dialects.

Greek literature, likewise, made for unity. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were sung and recited in every Greek village for centuries. They formed the principal textbook in the schools; an Athenian philosopher calls Homer the "educator of Hellas." It has been well said that these two epics were at once the *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Arabian Nights*, the Bible and the Shakespeare, of the Greek people.

Literature as a unifying force; Homer.

The writings of Hesiod, an early Bœotian poet, were second only to Homer's as a unifying force. He was the author of two long poems, the *Theogony*, already mentioned, and the *Works and*

Days. The latter composition abounds in wise precepts and moral reflections: "Hard work is no shame; the shame is idleness." "There is no prize like a good wife; nothing that makes you shudder like a bad; she roasts you without fire, and brings you to a raw old age." The poem ends with a calendar or list of what days of the month are lucky or unlucky for certain actions. "Sometimes a day is a stepmother, sometimes a mother," says Hesiod, pithily.[1]

Poetry of Hesiod, about 750–700 B.C.

Homer had told fascinating narratives about the adventurous lives of Greek warriors and kings. Hesiod, in much soberer verse, describes the toilsome existence of a farmer in one of the inland parts of Greece. He gives us the shadows of a picture which the genius of Homer had so brilliantly lighted up.

Contrasts between Homer and Hesiod.

Somewhat later than Hesiod, the Greeks began to mature a new form of literary expression — lyric poetry. In its beginnings, the lyric was the creation of the gifted Ionian race, but both Æolians and Dorians contributed to its later development. The new poetry gave utterance to the fresh thoughts and vivid emotions which stirred all Greek peoples at this time. In short poems, accompanied by the music of the flute or the lyre, the Greeks found a medium for the expression of personal feelings which was not furnished by the long and cumbrous forms of the epic.

Lyric poetry.

Sappho, writing in the Æolian dialect, achieved a distinction which the Greeks throughout their history never granted to any other woman. So highly was her poetry esteemed that she was reckoned with Homer. "Violet-weaving, pure, softly smiling Sappho," so another poet calls her.[2] Sappho's genius expressed itself in passionate love-songs, full of tenderness and melody. Only two of her poems have reached us intact. The rest survive in fragments — mutilated, indeed, yet tantalizing in their perfect loveliness.

Sappho, about 600 B.C.

[1] *Works and Days*, 825. [2] Alcæus, in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, i, 9.

The Dorian lyric is best represented by the poems of Pindar. He was a native of Thebes in Bœotia. His verses were so popular that he became the "poet laureate" of Greece. **Pindar, 518–446 B.C.** During a long and prosperous lifetime, Pindar wrote with great success almost every kind of lyric poetry. We still possess forty-four of his odes, composed in honour of the winning athletes at the Olympic and other national games.[1] These odes were sometimes sung at the place where the contests were held; sometimes after the victor's return to his native city, at the triumphal procession and banquet that honoured his deeds. As with all Greek lyrical poetry, the loss of music to which the odes were written deprives us of a great aid to their proper appreciation.

To this period, also, belongs the collection of moral stories about animals, which we know as *Æsop's Fables*. Æsop is said to have been a crippled slave who lived in Samos about 550 B.C. **Fables of Æsop.** He may have written some of the fables which pass under his name, but many of them probably arose in India, whence they were brought to the Greeks of Asia Minor. These short tales, in which beasts behave like men, were as popular in antiquity as to-day.

69. Progress of Culture during the Seventh and Sixth Centuries

The seventh and sixth centuries before Christ form a noteworthy epoch in Greek history. Commerce and colonization were bringing their educating influence to bear upon the Greeks. **A new age.** Greek cities were rising everywhere along the Mediterranean shores. A common language, literature, and religion were making the people more and more conscious of their unity as opposed to the "barbarians" about them.

The rise of philosophy at this time is striking evidence of the awakening of the Greek mind. Thinkers in Ionia, Italy, and Sicily, then in Greece itself, began to speculate about the nature

[1] See page 162.

of the universe. These persons were the first philosophers, the first men who loved knowledge for its own sake. They were not content to follow the poets who declared that the gods caused such things as changes of night and day, the succession of the seasons, thunderstorms, and other phenomena. The philosophers sought a natural origin for everything. Thales of Miletus taught that the earth was formed from water or moisture. Another thinker substituted air for water. Another thought fire was the universal first substance. These philosophers, by their efforts to understand the world, instead of simply repeating the myths about it, began an intellectual movement that has continued to our own time.

Rise of philosophy.

Philosophical speculation sometimes paved the way for scientific knowledge. Thus Thales was not only the first Greek philosopher but also the father of Greek science. His astronomical lore, gathered partly in Egypt, enabled him to predict a celebrated eclipse of the sun.[1]

Rise of science; Thales, about 640–562 B.C.

Another early philosopher and scientist was Pythagoras, who taught in Magna Græcia. He, too, had lived in Egypt, where he must have gained some of his knowledge of mathematics. Pythagoras is said to have proved the geometrical theorem that the square on the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the sides. This famous proposition still bears his name.

Pythagoras, about 580–500 B.C.

The colonizing activity of the Greeks naturally brought acquaintance with many new lands and strange peoples. Geographical knowledge took the place of the fancies of Homer and Hesiod. About 500 B.C., Hecatæus of Miletus wrote the first geography. His map shows the world divided roughly into two continents, Europe and Asia, with the river Ocean encircling them. From this map it is evident that the knowledge of the Greeks concerning the earth had increased much since the days of Homer.

New geographical knowledge; Hecatæus.

[1] See page 62.

Greek history has now been traced from its beginnings to the close of the sixth century before Christ. It is the history of a people, not of one country or of a united nation. Yet the time was drawing near when all the Greek communities were to be brought together in closer bonds of union than they had ever before known. Faced by the growing peril from the East, Hellas was to find that her sole hope lay in national consolidation.

The Greek world, 500 B.C.

CHAPTER VI

EAST AND WEST IN CONFLICT: THE PERSIAN AND CARTHAGINIAN WARS, 546–479 B.C.

70. The Perils of Hellas

THE history of Hellas for many centuries had been uneventful—a history of the uninterrupted expansion of the Hellenic race over barbarian lands. On the Greek peninsula, in Sicily and southern Italy, along the coasts of Asia Minor, among the islands of the Ægean, enterprising, adventurous Greeks had planted their colonies and founded their cities. Hellenic civilization, spread by colonization and commerce, promised to penetrate every region of the Mediterranean.

Expansion of Hellas.

The middle of the sixth century B.C. witnessed the approach of a crisis in Greek history, a crisis, also, in the history of the world. The time had arrived when the independent and isolated Greek communities were to come into touch with the great despotic empires of Asia. Orient and Occident, for so many centuries sharply sundered, began now to draw together. Their contact produced the Persian and Carthaginian wars—the first episode in the long and still unfinished contest of the East against the West.

Approaching struggle with the Orient.

To any onlooker the impending struggle must have appeared desperately unequal. On the one side were all the populous, centralized countries of Asia; on the other side, the small, scattered, disunited states of Greece. In the East was the boundless wealth, in men, money, and equipment, of a world-wide empire. In the West were the feeble

Character of the struggle.

resources of a few petty communities which had never learned to work together for common ends. Nevertheless, Greece won. The story of her victory forms an imperishable record in the annals of human freedom.

71. Advance of Persia to the Mediterranean, 546–499 B.C.

So far the great empires of the East had not come into direct contact with the Hellenic world, although doubtless in Ionia and Greece itself much had been heard of the vast armies and cities of Babylonia and Assyria. **The first contest.** The contest with the Orient arose in eastern or Asiatic Hellas, about fifty years before the other parts of the Hellenic world were involved. It began with the conquest, by Lydia, of the Greek cities along the coast of Asia Minor. Crœsus, the last and the most famous of the Lydian monarchs, was able to bring the Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian colonies under his sway.

Consulting the Oracle at Delphi

The rule of Crœsus did not press harshly upon the Greeks. He contented himself with exacting a yearly tribute, and allowed his new subjects to manage their local concerns without interference. Crœsus, in spirit, was half a Greek. He honoured Greek sanctuaries in Ionia, welcomed Greek travellers to his court, and even sent rich offerings to the shrine of the Delphic Apollo. Under his peaceful policy one might have looked for the gradual union of Greeks and Lydians, perhaps

even for the spread of Hellenic civilization throughout all Asia Minor.

These results were not to occur. At this very period there arose in the lands of the distant East a remarkable man whose sweeping conquests were to change the course of Oriental history. We need not tell again the story of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian Empire. His annexation of Media began a victorious career which did not cease until his arms had been carried throughout all western Asia. Lydia soon felt the Persian attack. Sardis, the capital, fell in 546 B.C., and the sovereignty of the Lydian kings passed away for ever.

Cyrus the Great conquers Lydia, 546 B.C.

The change from the rule of Crœsus to that of Cyrus brought a greater measure of subjection for the Asiatic Greeks. Besides paying taxes, they had to provide troops and ships at the will of the king. The system of tyrannies which Cyrus set up in many of the cities proved to be especially vexatious. The tyrant was in each case a Greek, but a Greek who naturally favoured the interests of his Persian overlord. In these circumstances, it seemed unlikely that the liberty-loving Ionians would long remain obedient subjects of their Persian masters.

Harsh rule of Cyrus.

The subjugation of Lydia and the Greek seaboard by Cyrus the Great extended the Persian Empire to the Mediterranean. The conquest of Phœnicia and Cyprus by Cambyses added the Phœnician navy to the resources of the mighty empire. Persia had now become a sea power, able to cope with the Greeks on their own element. The subjection of Egypt by the same king led naturally to the annexation of the Greek colonies on the north African shore. Thus Hellas found the entire coast of the eastern Mediterranean under the control of a new, powerful, and hostile state.

Additional conquests by Cambyses, 529–522 B.C.

The accession of Darius to the Persian throne only increased

the dangers that overshadowed Hellas. The new ruler's aim was to complete the work of Cyrus and Cambyses by extending the empire wherever a natural frontier had not been reached. Though we shall never know just what were the plans of Darius in his invasion of Europe, it is not difficult to believe that they embraced a colossal scheme for the conquest, first of Thrace and Macedonia, and then of European Greece. The ambitious monarch may have intended to bring all the northern shores of the Mediterranean under Persian sway.

Darius, the world-conqueror.

CRŒSUS ON THE PYRE

Painting on an Athenian vase of about 490 B.C. The king sits enthroned upon the pyre, with a laurel wreath on his head and a sceptre in one hand. With the other hand he pours a libation. He seems to be performing a religious rite, not to be suffering an ignominious death.

The attack of Darius began with his celebrated Scythian expedition. Its purpose was probably the conquest of Thrace as far as the Danube. The Great King, however, is said to have marched beyond that river into the territory of the savage Scythians. Never before had the silence of their northern wilderness been disturbed by the tramp of an invading host. The enterprise, apparently, was a great success. Even the Scythians learned to tremble at the name of Persia's king. After the return of Darius to Asia, his lieutenants conquered the Greek settlements on the Hellespont and extended Persian sway over Thrace and Macedonia. The realm of Persia was thus brought to the very doors of Greece. The attack on that country did not take place, however, till about twenty years later. It was provoked by a revolt of the Ionian Greeks.

Scythian expedition, about 512 B.C.

72. The Ionian Revolt, 499–493 B.C.

The Ionian cities of Asia Minor, though chafing under the Persian yoke, failed to take advantage of the favourable opportunity for revolt presented by the absence of Darius in Scythia. When the outbreak occurred, a few years later, the Asiatic Greeks found themselves forced to meet almost single-handed the entire resources of Persia. Sparta, at that time the great military power of Greece, refused to aid the Ionians, in spite of the entreaties of Aristagoras, the former tyrant of Miletus. Aristagoras urged that it was a disgrace for the Ionians to be slaves, a disgrace which the Greeks ought not to tolerate, especially the Spartans who were the leaders of Greece. But the Spartans were not convinced, even when Aristagoras described in alluring language the wealth and weakness of Persia. "The barbarians," said he, "are not valiant in fight, whereas you show the greatest valour in war. Their fighting is after this fashion, namely, with bows and arrows and a short spear, and they go into battle wearing trousers and with caps on their heads. Thus they are easily conquered. Then again, they have good things in such quantity as not all the other nations of the world together possess; first gold, then silver and bronze and embroidered garments and beasts of burden and slaves. All these things you Spartans might have for yourselves, if you so desired." [1]

The Spartans refuse to aid Ionia.

Aristagoras fared better at Athens. To the cities of Ionia, Miletus especially, the Athenians were attached by the closest of commercial and social ties. Moreover, Athens at this time was not on good terms with Persia. Hippias, her banished tyrant,[2] had been welcomed by the satraps of Asia Minor. The Athenians feared lest Hippias should return with a Persian army and get himself restored to power. For these reasons they gladly responded to the appeals of Aristagoras, and sent twenty ships to help the

Why the Athenians sent aid to Ionia.

[1] Herodotus, v, 49.

[2] See page 175.

Ionians. Even little Eretria, on the island of Eubœa, contributed five ships to fight in the cause of Greek freedom.

Although the allied forces gained some temporary successes and burned Sardis,[1] the old capital of Lydia, there was slight hope of a prolonged resistance to the Persian arms. The Athenians finally withdrew from the unequal struggle, leaving the disunited Ionian cities to withstand their enemies as best they could. The capture and destruction of the great seaport of Miletus by the Persians marked the beginning of the end. One by one the cities of Ionia fell again into Persian hands. Thus the first serious effort of the Asiatic Greeks to recover their independence ended in a complete failure. The feelings of the Athenians at the unhappy outcome of the revolt are well illustrated in a story told by Herodotus. "The Athenians," he says, "showed themselves beyond measure afflicted at the fall of Miletus. In many ways they expressed their sympathy, and especially by their treatment of Phrynichus. When this poet brought out upon the stage his drama of the *Capture of Miletus*, the whole audience burst into tears; and the people sentenced him to pay a fine of one thousand drachmas[2] for recalling to them their own misfortunes. They likewise made a law that no one should ever again exhibit that piece."[3]

Failure of the rebellion.

73. First Persian Expedition against Greece, 492 B.C.

The charming story-teller whom we have just quoted declares that Darius was consumed with rage when tidings came of the burning of Sardis by the Ionians and Athenians. "'Who are these Athenians?' he asked, and, being informed, called for his bow, and placing an arrow on the string, shot upward into the sky, saying, as he let fly the shaft — 'Grant me, Zeus, to revenge myself on the Athenians!'

Anger of Darius at the Greeks.

[1] See page 64.

[2] The drachma was the commonest silver coin current among the Greeks. Its value was about ninepence. See page 230, note 2.

[3] Herodotus, vi, 21.

After this speech he bade his cupbearer to repeat three times every day, when his dinner was spread, these words to him — 'Master, remember the Athenians.'" [1]

Destruction of a Persian armament, 492 B.C.

No sooner was quiet restored in Asia Minor than Darius began preparations for the punishment of Athens and Eretria. The restless Thracians and Macedonians also needed attention. A large land and naval armament like that which Darius himself had led into Europe was intrusted to Mardonius, the youthful son-in-law of the king. Mardonius expected to conquer the entire Greek peninsula, but only retook Thrace and Macedonia. The Persian fleet on which he depended for provisions was partly wrecked off the promontory of Mount Athos. In consequence of this disaster Mardonius did not continue the invasion, but returned with his troops to Asia Minor.

The Great King renews his efforts.

This partial failure of the expedition only led to renewed exertions by Darius. His plans now comprehended the subjection of all Greece. Persian heralds were sent to every Greek city to demand "earth and water," the customary symbols of submission. All the island states and many on the mainland were terrified into an acknowledgment of the Persian claims. But at Athens and Sparta, the unfortunate heralds were thrown into pits and wells and bidden to take what they wanted. By these acts, in violation of the sanctity of ambassadors, Athens and Sparta put themselves beyond the reach of the Great King's grace. It was to be war to the bitter end.

74. Second Persian Expedition: Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

Early in the year 490 B.C., a Persian fleet, bearing an army of perhaps sixty thousand men, set out from Ionia for Greece. The commanders were Datis and Artaphernes, with whom went the aged Hippias, who hoped to rule once more over Athens. The

[1] Herodotus, v, 105.

GREECE
at opening of the
PERSIAN WARS
490 B. C.
Greek States submitting to the Persians up to 490 B. C.
Greek States submitting to the Persians between 490-480 B. C.
Greek States in conflict with the Persians 480-479 B. C.
Neutral Greek States
MACEDON
THRACE
Byzantium
Propontis
Hellespont
Thasos
Acanthus
CHALCIDICE
Potidaea
Mt. Athos
CHERSONESE
Abydus
Sigeium
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
EPEIRUS
Corcyra
Olympus Mt.
PIERIUS
Tempe
THESSALY
ACHAIA PHTHIOTIS
Thermopylae
Artemisium
Ambracian Gulf
Leucas
AETOLIA
DOLOPES
Delphi
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
BOEOTIA
Chalcis
Eretria
EUBOEA
Thespiae
Thebes
Plataea
ATTICA
Eleusis
Marathon
Athens
Peiraeus
Salamis
ACHAEA
Corinth
ELIS
Olympia
Argos
Tegea
Aegina
Ceos
Delos
Paros
Naxos
MESSENIA
Sparta
LACONIA
Cythera
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Lesbos
Chios
Teos
Colophon
Ephesus
Samos
Mycale
CARIA
Miletus
Cnidus
Rhodes
DORIS
ROUTE OF ARMY OF MARDONIUS
ROUTE OF ARMY OF XERXES
ROUTE OF FLEET OF XERXES
ROUTE OF FLEET OF MARDONIUS
ROUTE OF IONIAN FLEET
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
THE M.-N. WORKS
20° 22° Longitude East 24° from Greenwich 26° 28°

route this time led straight across the Ægean. The island states on the way were quickly subdued. The little city of Eretria was betrayed into the hands of the Persians and utterly destroyed. Athens had next to feel the wrath of the Great King. Could she hope to escape?

The Persians destroy Eretria.

Acting upon the advice of Hippias, the Persians crossed the narrow strait between Eubœa and Attica, and landed on the plain of Marathon. Here, if the Greeks should make a stand, the level country would be suitable for the excellent Persian cavalry. It is likely, however, that Datis and Artaphernes did not want to fight at Marathon. Their landing

The landing at Marathon.

GREEK SOLDIERS IN ARMS

From a Greek vase of about the time of the battle of Marathon.

seems to have been a mere feint to attract the Greek forces as far as possible from Athens. That city, they thought, contained many people who would welcome the restoration of Hippias, even by means of Persian soldiers. Datis and Artaphernes probably intended to leave enough troops at Marathon to hold the Greeks in check, and then to sail with the rest of their army to Athens. The Persian commanders doubtless believed that there were traitors in Athens, as in Eretria, who would surrender the city without a struggle.

The situation of the Athenians was indeed desperate. Including a detachment from the patriotic town of Platæa, they had scarcely ten thousand men with whom to face an army far more numerous and hitherto invincible. As soon as news came that the

Persians had landed, the Athenians sent Phidippides, a long-distance runner, to Sparta to ask help. He reached Sparta, one hundred and fifty miles distant, on the second day and delivered his message. "Men of Sparta," he said, "the Athenians beg you to assist them, and not allow their state, the most ancient in Greece, to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already reduced to bondage, and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city." The Spartans promised aid, but not at once. One of their religious laws, they pleaded, forbade their going to war before the full moon.[1] So the Spartans waited, and the Athenians and Platæans had to meet the invader alone.

The Spartans delay their aid.

But even better, perhaps, than a Spartan army was the genius of Miltiades. He was an Athenian noble who had been formerly a tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus. The Persian advance on the Hellespont forced him to return to Athens, where he became one of the Athenian generals. When news of the arrival of the Persians reached Athens, the popular assembly adopted the suggestion of Miltiades, not to await the coming of the enemy, but to send the little army at once to Marathon. The supreme control of the forces was vested, of course, in the commander-in-chief of the Athenian troops. He and the other generals, however, deferred to Miltiades, whose experience of Persian warfare and well-known military ability marked him out for leadership.

Miltiades.

The account of the battle of Marathon has been much obscured by legends from which it is difficult to disentangle the truth. For several days the two armies faced each other, the Persians on the lower plain, the Greeks above, in a mountain valley which commanded the main roads to Athens. The Persians were expecting a favourable signal from their friends

The Greek victory at Marathon.

[1] A related belief was that of the ancient Germans, who, according to Julius Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, i, 50), despaired of victory if they joined battle before the new moon. Similar superstitions are held by some savage peoples of modern times.

at Athens, before sailing to the attack of the city. The signal did not come, and at last Datis and Artaphernes decided to delay no longer, but at once to advance on Athens from the sea. They had already embarked the cavalry and part of the infantry when, to their surprise, they saw themselves being charged by the enemy. Acting on the advice of Miltiades, the Greeks had determined to strike the first blow. The heavy-armed soldiers (hoplites) crossed the plain at the quick step, and in the face of a shower of arrows came to close quarters with the barbarians. The issue of the conflict soon justified the confidence which Miltiades had placed in Greek discipline and Greek valour. The Persians were driven to their ships with heavy loss.[1]

GRAVESTONE OF ARISTION
National Museum, Athens

Found near Marathon in 1838. Belongs to the late sixth century B. C. Incorrectly called the "Warrior of Marathon."

The invaders, though defeated, did not abandon hope of capturing Athens. Part of the Persian fleet now rounded the promontory of Sunium, with the purpose of descending on the city in the absence of its defenders. But Miltiades and his men made a forced march to Athens, and when the Persians arrived, they found the heroes of Marathon awaiting them on the shore. Datis and Artaphernes wisely decided not to attempt a landing. Back to Asia went the splendid expedition, with half of its errand of vengeance unfulfilled.

The Persians are foiled before Athens.

Marathon has been often reckoned among the decisive battles in the world's history. It did not, indeed, conclude the struggle

[1] The story goes that immediately after the battle a fleet runner was dispatched from Marathon to Athens with tidings of the result. Onward he sped over the difficult roads, never stopping for rest until he had rushed into the market place of the city and gasped out the eventful words, "Rejoice; the victory is ours" (χαίρετε

between Asia and Europe. The Persians were to make one more effort to conquer Greece. But after Marathon they delayed another invasion for a full decade, and thus gave the Greeks a breathing spell in which to prepare themselves for even more determined resistance. The defeat of a powerful armament by a small force of resolute soldiers was a wonderful encouragement to those who bade Greece refuse the Persian yoke and strike a blow for freedom. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "were the first who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear."[1]

Why Marathon was a decisive battle.

75. The Interval of Preparation, 490–480 B.C.

Many Greeks believed that Darius would now abandon all hopes of subduing them. Far-sighted men, however, felt certain that the real crisis was yet to come. The Athenians, especially, began to make preparations to meet another attack. And it was the Athenians who, during the ten years between the second and third Persian invasions, became the real leaders of Greece.

The Athenians to the fore.

The great victory of Marathon made Miltiades a popular hero. The Athenians were so confident of his abilities that they gave him the command of a fine fleet of seventy ships, nearly their entire navy at this time. With this he was to punish the island states of the Ægean which had aided Persia in the recent struggle. By snatching control of the Ægean

An effort to recover the Ægean.

νικῶμεν). Then, overcome by his tremendous exertions, he sank, dying, to the ground. The modern Greeks still cherish this tale of the old heroic days. At the revival of the Olympian games, in 1896, the Marathon race attracted competing athletes from all parts of the world. To the great and appropriate joy of every Athenian, the event was won by a young Greek peasant. He covered the distance — 26 miles, 385 yards — in a little less than 3 hours.

[1] Herodotus, vi, 112.

from Persian hands, the Athenians aimed at forming an outer circle of defence against a future invasion.

The high hopes of the Athenians were destined to be blasted. Miltiades sailed first to the island of Paros, which had furnished a ship to the Persian fleet. He besieged the city of Paros without success, and then returned to Athens, wounded and discouraged. His enemies among the democratic party now accused him of deceiving the people. They had him tried and heavily fined. Soon after his condemnation, Miltiades

End of Miltiades.

THE MOUND AT MARATHON

Near the southern extremity of the plain of Marathon rises a conical mound, 30 feet high. It covers the remains of the 192 Greeks who fell in the battle. Excavations undertaken in 1890-1891 disclosed ashes, human bones, and fragments of pottery belonging to the era of the Persian wars.

died in disgrace, but he left a son who in after days was to revive the fame of his father's house.

Since the reforms of Clisthenes[1] the nobles had been steadily losing ground at Athens. The death of Miltiades deprived them of their most conspicuous champion. The way lay open for new democratic leaders. Among these were the celebrated statesmen, Aristides and Themistocles. Both men were able and patriotic, but they could not agree as to the best plan for Athens to follow in order to defend herself against the Persians.

New leaders at Athens.

[1] See page 175.

Aristides represented the less radical members of the democratic party. He had been the friend of that conservative reformer, Clisthenes. Aristides believed in the Spartan military system, and looked on a trained body of soldiers as the chief bulwark of the state. Let the Athenians increase their army, he urged, and meet the Persians on land. In support of this argument, he pointed to the glorious victory of Marathon, won by the army, and to the inglorious failure of the fleet before Paros. Such words had all the more weight, coming as they did from one who enjoyed a great reputation for wisdom and integrity.

Aristides; his character and policy.

Themistocles was a man of very different aims and temper. From early youth he showed a decided bent for public affairs. He did not spend his holidays in play or idleness, as other children, but practised speech-making and declamation instead. His schoolmaster, seeing him thus occupied, would sometimes remark, "You, my boy, will be nothing *small*, but great one way or another, either for good or for bad." Themistocles fought bravely at Marathon, but so envied the victor of that battle as to declare that the "trophies of Miltiades" robbed him of sleep. Without wealth or influential friends, nevertheless his consuming ambition and brilliant intellect soon brought him into prominence at Athens. And though, as he said of himself, "he knew nothing of music and song, he did know how to make a small city great and glorious." [1]

Themistocles.

Themistocles, as the head of the more radical democrats, proposed a policy which, if adopted, meant a great departure for Athens. He would sacrifice the army to the navy and make his city the strongest sea power in Greece. The safety of Athens, he believed, lay in her ships.

Policy of Themistocles.

Fortunately for Athens and for Greece, the proposals of Themistocles gained the day. The opposing statesmen were put to the test of ostracism. Themistocles triumphed, and Aristides went

[1] Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 2.

into exile. At the time of the voting, an illiterate citizen who was a stranger to Aristides, requested him to write down that statesman's name on the ballot. "Why," said Aristides, doing as he was asked, "do you wish to ostracize him?" "Because," said the fellow, "I am tired of hearing him everywhere called the Just."[1]

Ostracism of Aristides, about 483 B.C.

Themistocles was now master of the situation. Already he had carried in the popular assembly a measure for the fortification of Piræus, a port with three harbours, four miles distant from Athens.[2] The work was begun, but it was not completed until after the Persian wars. Themistocles was also able to persuade the citizens to use the revenues from some silver mines recently discovered in Attica, for the upbuilding of their fleet. When the Persians came, the Athenians were able to oppose them with nearly two hundred triremes[3] — the largest navy in Greece.

Naval program of Themistocles.

A Themistocles Ostrakon

British Museum

A fragment of a potsherd found in 1897, near the Acropolis of Athens. This ostrakon was used to vote for the ostracism of Themistocles, either in 483 B.C. when he was victorious against Aristides, or some ten years later, when Themistocles was himself defeated and forced into exile.

The time was approaching when Greece must meet a third and even more terrible invasion from Persia. In the face of the common danger, some of the Greeks surrendered their rivalries and united in measures of defence. In 481 B.C., upon the suggestion of Themistocles, a congress of representatives from the patriotic states assembled on the Isthmus of Corinth. At this gathering, Sparta was put in command of the allied fleet and army. The Athenians, whose claim to the leadership of the fleet was far better than that of the

Congress of Corinth, 481 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, *Aristides*, 7.

[2] See the map, page 203.

[3] The trireme had three tiers or banks of oars, placed one above the other. Each tier thus required an oar about a yard longer than the one immediately beneath it. There were about 200 rowers on a trireme.

Spartans, generously remained in the background. We shall see later how great were their services to the Greek cause.

"Ten years after Marathon," says a Greek historian, "the barbarians returned with the vast armament which was to enslave Hellas."[1] Darius was now dead, but his son Xerxes had determined to complete the father's unfinished task. The Persian realm resounded with the din of preparation. Vast quantities of provisions were collected; the Hellespont was bridged with boats; and the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, where a previous fleet had suffered shipwreck, was pierced by a canal. An army of several hundred thousand men was brought together from all parts of the Great King's domain. He evidently intended to crush the Greeks by sheer weight of numbers.

Preparations of Persia.

Xerxes did not have to attack a united Greece. His mighty preparations frightened many of the Greek states into giving tokens of submission, when Persian heralds came a second time, demanding "earth and water." The Thessalians, most of the Bœotian cities, and the smaller peoples of central Greece whose territory would be first invaded by the enemy bowed to the Persian yoke. Some of the other states, such as Thebes, which was jealous of Athens, and Argos, equally jealous of Sparta, did nothing to help the loyal Greeks throughout the struggle. But Athens and Sparta remained joined for resistance to the end. No Persian heralds had come to them with promises of peace. Those cities were singled out for vengeance.

Neutral and "Medizing" states of Greece.

76. Third Persian Expedition: Thermopylæ and Salamis, 480 B.C.

In the spring of the eventful year 480 B.C., the army of Xerxes crossed the Hellespont and entered Europe. The immense host slowly moved through Thrace and Macedonia and at length

[1] Thucydides, i, 18.

reached the borders of Thessaly. The Greeks had at first determined to dispute the further advance of the Persians in the Vale of Tempe.[1] When, however, the soldiers posted there learned that their position could easily be turned, they at once retreated from Thessaly. Xerxes met no resistance till he reached the Pass of Thermopylæ,[2] commanding the entrance to central Greece.

The Persian advance.

In 480 B.C., the pass was a position of great natural strength, which a small body of resolute men could hold almost indefinitely against a large army. Here the Greeks decided to offer their first resistance to Xerxes. The Spartans dispatched their king, Leonidas, with a few thousand troops to hold the pass until the Olympian games and other festivals which the Greeks were celebrating had been concluded. Then they promised to take the field with their entire army. This failure on the part of the Greeks to post a stronger force at Thermopylæ was the most serious mistake that they made in the course of the war. Yet, as it was, the defence of the pass came very near to being successful.

Persians and Greeks at Thermopylæ.

The story of the heroic stand of the Greeks at Thermopylæ has been told, once for all, in the glowing pages of Herodotus. For two successive days, Xerxes hurled his best troops against the enemy, only to find that numbers did not count in that narrow defile. Xerxes, from a lofty seat expressly provided for him, witnessed their humiliating repulse. "Three times," says the historian, "did the king spring from his throne, in agony for his army."[3]

The struggle for the pass.

There is no telling how long this handful of Greeks might have held their position had not treachery come to the aid of Persia's monarch. A traitor Greek, named Ephialtes, revealed to Xerxes

[1] See page 123.

[2] "Hot-Gates," so called from the local *thermai* or hot springs, and the *pylai* or fortified gateways. In the course of twenty-four centuries, the receding sea has widened the once narrow defile into a plain nearly two miles wide.

[3] Herodotus, vii, 212.

the existence of an unfrequented path leading over the mountain in the rear of the pass. It was a narrow track which could have been easily held by the Greeks, but, with gross carelessness, only a small body of soldiers had been set to guard it. The Persian troops marched over the trail by night, brushed aside its defenders, and then began the descent of the mountain. The Greeks, though taken by surprise, had still time to make their escape. The greater number withdrew southward: only Leonidas, with three hundred Spartans and perhaps two thousand allies, remained to face the Persian multitudes.

The Greeks are taken in the rear.

Herodotus declares that Leonidas and his men devoted themselves to certain death because it did not become a Spartan soldier to desert his post before the enemy. And Leonidas remembered, it was said, the prediction of the Delphic oracle, how either Sparta herself or one of her kings must fall a victim to the barbarians. Modern historians refuse to accept this stirring tale, and believe that Leonidas and his men remained behind, not to sacrifice themselves uselessly, but because they still hoped to hold the pass. If such was their hope, it was not realized. After a desperate struggle Xerxes gained Thermopylæ — but only over the bodies of its heroic defenders. Years later, a monument to their memory was raised on the field of battle. It bore the simple inscription: "Stranger, go tell the Spartans that we lie here in obedience to their commands."[1]

End of the struggle.

The contrast between East and West, between the Oriental and the Greek, was never more marked than at Thermopylæ. Persian officers provided with whips lashed their men to battle; Leonidas and his Spartans fought till spears and swords were broken, and only hands and teeth remained as weapons. Their desperate resistance to the end must have shown the Persians that the conquest of Greece would be no easy task. A few days after the battle, word was brought to Xerxes that the Greeks were at that moment busy with the celebration of

Moral results of Thermopylæ.

[1] Herodotus, vii, 228.

the Olympian games. "What prize does the victor receive?" he asked. "A wreath of olive," was the answer. Then one of the Persian nobles could no longer restrain himself, even in the royal presence, and exclaimed, "Good Heavens! What manner of men are these against whom you have brought us to fight! Men who contend with one another, not for money, but for honour!"[1]

THE VICINITY OF ATHENS

While these tragic events were taking place at Thermopylæ, the Greek fleet at Artemisium had been engaged with the Persian navy. For two days they withstood the Persian vessels which sought to enter the narrow strait between Eubœa and the mainland. But when news of the land battle reached the Greek admirals, they at once sailed to the south and anchored near the island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf. **Sea fight off Artemisium.**

Artemisium was a drawn battle; Thermopylæ was a massacre. Central Greece lay helpless before the Persians. Nearly all its states now submitted without a struggle. Xerxes passed rapidly through Bœotia and Attica, and reached a deserted Athens. Acting

[1] Herodotus, viii, 26.

on the advice of Themistocles, the non-combatants had been removed to places of safety, and the entire fighting force of the city had embarked upon the ships. In after years the story went that the Delphic oracle, whose priests fully realized the strength of Xerxes, had foretold how all Attica would be destroyed, except its "wooden wall." Some timorous spirits thought that this was the barricade about the Acropolis, but Themistocles pointed to the fleet, his own creation, as the true refuge of Athens, and declared it to be the "wooden wall" of which the oracle had spoken. His fiery eloquence persuaded his countrymen to abandon their homes and to place all their hopes in the fleet. The policy was both bold and wise. Xerxes could capture the Athenian city, but the men of Athens on the ships at Salamis were still unconquered.

The Persians overrun central Greece.

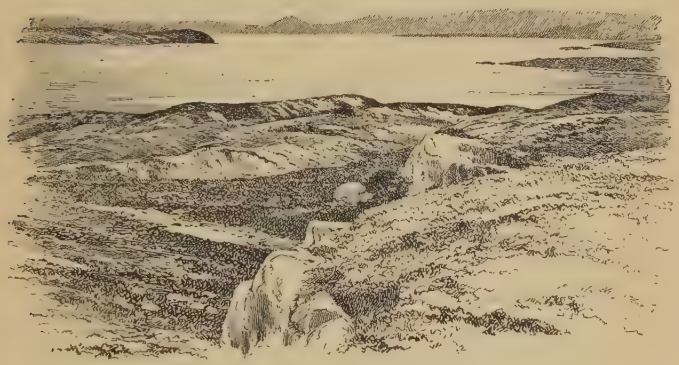
The opposing navies remained very unequal in size. The Persians had over six hundred ships, the Greeks had less than four hundred. The Spartan commanders believed that the fleet should retreat to the Isthmus of Corinth and there await the Persian attack. They felt that in case of defeat it would yet be possible to fall back on the Peloponnesus, whereas at Salamis they would be entirely cut off. Themistocles, however, thought that the decisive engagement should take place at Salamis. He was convinced that the smaller Greek fleet could fight to better advantage in the narrow waters of the Strait of Salamis than in the open bay of the isthmus, where the superior speed and number of the enemy's ships would be sure to tell in their favour.

The Greeks at Salamis.

According to Herodotus, when all the arguments of Themistocles failed to dissuade the admirals from ordering a retreat, that wily Athenian made use of a stratagem. He sent a secret message to Xerxes, pretending friendship and informing him that the Greek fleet was about to forsake its position and effect a junction of the land and naval forces. The Great King must attack at once if the prize was not to escape. Xerxes, to whom the betrayal of the patriotic cause was no novelty,

Stratagem of Themistocles.

believed the message and at once acted upon it. He determined to blockade the Greek ships as they lay at anchor within the Strait of Salamis. By night a strong detachment of the Persian fleet was sent to bar the western end of the strait, while their main body took up a position across the eastern channel in front of the Greek forces. When morning broke, the Greek admirals, with Persians before them and behind, had no choice but to fight.



THE BAY OF SALAMIS

The battle of Salamis affords an interesting example of naval tactics in antiquity. The trireme was regarded as a missile to be hurled with sudden violence against the vulnerable parts of the opposing ship in order to sink or disable it. A sea fight became a series of manœuvres; and victory depended more on the skill of the rowers and steersmen than on the bravery of the soldiers. No smoke or dust hid the combatants, as in a modern battle. Xerxes and his courtiers, from the slope of Mount Ægaleus, could witness every movement of the rival fleets. The Phœnicians and Ionians, whose ships composed the larger part of the Persian navy, fought stubbornly under the eyes of their royal master. But the very numbers of the Persians proved to be a disadvantage; the ships, closely crowded together, could not be navigated properly, and even wrecked one

Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.

another by collision. The Greeks, in an all-day fight, are said to have destroyed more than two hundred Persian vessels; the rest, to avoid capture, fled out of the strait. Such was the victory of Salamis.[1]

77. Platæa and Mycale, 479 B.C.

Salamis, as well as Marathon, has sometimes been called a decisive battle. It crippled the Persian fleet so thoroughly that henceforth the invaders lost command of the sea. Xerxes, in consequence, found it difficult to keep his huge force supplied with provisions. It was necessary to withdraw the greater number of soldiers without delay. So Xerxes, who must have had his fill of fighting, led the bulk of the army back to Asia and left to Mardonius the glory of subjugating Greece.

Consequences of Salamis.

Mardonius, with a strong body of picked troops, passed the winter quietly in Thessaly, preparing for the coming campaign. During this interval, the crafty Persian made every effort to detach the Athenians from their associates. He promised to restore their city which Xerxes had ravaged, and to make them the rulers of Greece. It was a tempting offer, but the men of Athens knew their duty. "As long as the sun keeps his present course," they proudly answered, "we will never join alliance with Xerxes. Nay, we shall oppose him unceasingly, trusting in the aid of those gods and heroes whom he has so lightly esteemed, whose houses and whose images he has burnt with fire."[2]

A tempting offer.

In spite of Athenian loyalty, Spartan selfishness was once more to place the Greek cause in jeopardy. The spring of 479 B.C. saw the Persians a second time in Attica. The Athenians, dis-

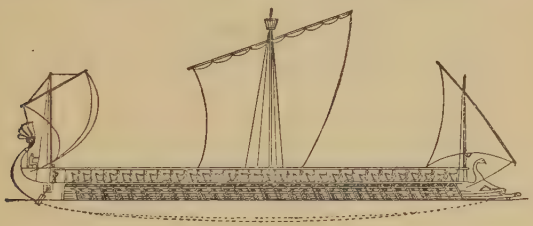
[1] Modern Greeks still cherish the memory of Salamis. Even on the walls of boot-blacking establishments kept by Greeks in the United States one may see gaily coloured pictures of the battle bearing the legend in classical Greek:

Η ΕΝ ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΙ ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑ, "The sea fight of Salamis."

[2] Herodotus, viii, 143.

appointed in their expectation of help from Sparta, were again obliged to abandon their city to the enemy. Stung to fury by this betrayal, the Athenians at length intimated that, unless Sparta promptly took the field, they would be obliged to come to terms with the Persians. Of what value, they pointed out, would the wall be which the allies were raising on the Isthmus of Corinth, if the Athenian fleet should unite with the Persian army? Even Spartan obstinacy could not resist this argument. Sparta at last put forth all her strength. A

The Greeks make a final effort.



AN ATHENIAN TRIREME (Reconstruction)

strong force was placed under command of Pausanias, serving as regent for the young son of Leonidas. As the Spartans marched from the Peloponnesus to seek Mardonius, they were joined by the Athenians and other allies. The Greeks now possessed the largest army they had ever put into the field.

The opposing forces met near the little town of Platæa in Bœotia. When battle was joined, the heavy-armed Greek infantry made short work of the inferior, though more numerous, Persian troops. Mardonius himself fell, and his fall proved the signal for the flight of his army. The defeat became a butchery from which only a few thousands of the enemy escaped with their lives. Greece was at length rid of the Persians.[1]

Battle of Platæa, 479 B.C.

[1] A memorial of this victory is still in existence. The Greeks set up at Delphi a thank-offering, consisting of a gold tripod upon a lofty pillar of three brazen serpents. On it were engraved the names of the various states which had sent soldiers to Platæa. The pillar, though mutilated, stands to-day in Constantinople.

On the same day as the battle of Platæa, so the story ran, what remained of the Persian fleet suffered a crushing defeat at Mycale, a promontory off the Ionian coast. The battle of Mycale was the first step toward freeing Asiatic Hellas from the yoke of Persia.

Battle of Mycale, 479 B.C.

These two victories so thoroughly destroyed the Persian power on sea and land that the war virtually came to an end. There was still some fighting to be done before all the Greek cities about the Ægean, the Hellespont, and the Euxine could recover their liberties. But Platæa and Mycale at once removed all danger of another invasion. Never again was Persia to make a serious effort to recover her dominion over European Greece.

Results of the two battles.

78. The Carthaginian Invasion of Sicily: Battle of Himera, 480 B.C.

While these stirring events were taking place on the Greek mainland, the Greeks of Sicily were also engaged in meeting a foreign foe, almost as terrible, perhaps, as the Persian himself. The Phœnician city of Carthage,[1] by the beginning of the fifth century B.C., had become the leading power in the western Mediterranean. It now remained for Carthage to extend her sway over the rich island of Sicily, where Phœnician colonies had existed from a remote period. The favourable moment seemed to have arrived in 480 B.C., when Xerxes made his memorable expedition. The Carthaginians were to put forth all their strength to overcome the Sicilian Greeks at the very time when the Great King was leading the hosts of Asia against the motherland. There is reason to believe that Persians and Carthaginians had a common understanding and planned to attack simultaneously their common enemy.

Carthaginian designs on Sicily.

At this period all the Greek Sicilian cities had come under the rule of tyrants. The most splendid and powerful of these rulers

[1] See page 89.

was Gelon of Syracuse. He made Syracuse the largest and strongest city on the island, and gradually built up a kingdom in southeastern Sicily. **Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse.**

It was this Gelon who in western Hellas fought and won the battle of Greek freedom. At Himera, in Sicily, on the same day as Salamis, so it was believed, the motley array of Carthaginian soldiers, collected from every part of their wide dominions, went down in utter defeat. **Battle of Himera, 480 B.C.** Legend told how throughout the battle the Carthaginian leader had remained apart from his host, offering victim after victim on the altar, and how at last, when his army turned to flee, he threw himself into the flames, a living sacrifice to the angry fire god.

The victory at Himera has enjoyed less fame in after times than that at Platæa. It was due rather to a tyrant's skilful management of hired soldiers than to the patriotic devotion of a liberty-loving people. Still, Gelon and Himera are worthy of remembrance as well as Themistocles and Salamis, Pausanias and Platæa. **Significance of Himera.**

79. Victorious Hellas

The Greek victory in the struggle against Persia does not appear so surprising when we study the opposing forces. The Persians from the first showed themselves no match for their foes. The enormous masses of their infantry, provided, for the most part, merely with bows and arrows, in hand-to-hand fighting could make little impression upon the heavy-armed Greek soldiers with their long spears, huge shields, and powerful swords. The excellent Persian cavalry, so effective on the level plains of Asia, was of little service in the narrow valleys and mountain passes of Greece. Even the fleet of Persia, though it surpassed that of the Greeks in numbers, contained few vessels so large and well equipped as the Greek triremes. **Persian inferiority in equipment.**

In discipline and leadership, the advantage lay also with the

Greeks. They were defending their homes, their families, and their gods. The Persian troops, mostly barbarian levies from all parts of the empire, were waging a spiritless struggle for a despot king. Except where sheer force of numbers might win, the Orientals had no chance against the athletic and hardy men led by Miltiades, Themistocles, and Pausanias. With a better general than the weakling Xerxes, the Persian multitudes might, perhaps, have gained the day. It was fortunate for the cause of Hellas that the Greeks had not to face a Cyrus or a Darius.

Persian inferiority in discipline and leadership.

This Persian war was much more than a conflict between two rival states. As we remarked at the outset, it was a struggle between East and West; between Oriental despotism and Occidental freedom. The struggle formed also a turning point in history. It marked the transfer of political supremacy from Asia to Europe. Greece became a world power and its people the leading race for nearly three centuries. Inspired with new enthusiasm and energy, the men of Hellas embarked on that brilliant career, the events of which we shall chronicle in the following chapters.

Importance of the Persian war.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGE OF THE CITY-STATES: ATHENS, SPARTA, AND THEBES, 479–362 B.C.

80. Growth of Athenian Supremacy

THE patriotic Greeks under the pressure of the Persian attack had entered into a temporary union at the Congress of Corinth. Sparta, Athens, and other allied states were willing, for the moment, to forget their jealousies and fight valiantly in a common cause. When all danger from Persia vanished, it was soon found impossible to continue a working system of federation. The ancient hatreds between rival cities arose again in all their vigour. Not many years after Platæa, united Greece split into discordant halves.

No permanent union of the Greek states.

An observer of the situation in 479 B.C. might have reasoned that not Athens but Sparta was likely to secure the chief place in Greek affairs. The military excellence of Sparta was universally admitted. She was at the head of the powerful Peloponnesian League. Her leadership had been recognized throughout the Persian wars. The Greek world seemed to lie at her feet. But of all Greek states, Sparta was the most conservative. She could not rise to the responsibilities of the new position in which she found herself. Her ambitions did not extend beyond the Peloponnesus. In that larger life which was now dawning on the Greek world she had not, nor did she wish to have, a part.

Position of Sparta.

The hopes of Greece lay with Athens. Her situation made the city a natural centre for the Greek communities widely scattered throughout the Ægean. Her citizens were energetic and progressive; her government was a democracy;

Ascendancy of Athens.

her navy was the largest in Greece. She had made rapid strides since the days of Draco and Solon. In the eyes of patriotic Greeks, the Athenians had suffered most in the Persian wars, and had gained most glory from their outcome. Herodotus well expresses this feeling when he calls the Athenians the saviours of Greece. "For they truly held the scales; and whichever side they took must have carried the day. They too it was who, when they had determined to maintain the freedom of Greece, roused up that portion of the Greek nation which had not gone over to the Medes; and so, next to the gods, *they* repulsed the invader."[1]

81. Themistocles and the Revival of Athens

After the battle of Platæa the Athenians, with their wives and children, returned to Attica and began the restoration of their ruined city. Their first care was to raise a wall so high and strong that Athens in future would be impregnable to attack. Upon the suggestion of Themistocles, it was decided to include within the fortifications a wide area where all the country people, in case of another invasion, could find a refuge.

Rebuilding the Athenian walls, 479 B.C.

THEMISTOCLES

Some of Sparta's allies grew very jealous when they saw the rising walls of the new Athenian city. Fearful lest Athens should soon again surpass them in power, they vigorously urged the Spartans to put a stop to the work. An embassy was accordingly sent to Athens to suggest that, rather than restore their walls, the Athenians should join the Spartans in removing the fortifications from all Greek cities outside the Peloponnesus. Then a Persian army, invading Greece, would find no walled town in which to place its quarters.

Themistocles realized that in their defenceless condition the

[1] Herodotus, vii, 139.

Athenians could not openly defy the wishes of the Peloponnesian states. So he persuaded the citizens to cease working on the fortifications while the envoys remained at Athens. He himself went to Sparta to discuss the situation. The ambassadors at length returned home; Themistocles kept the Spartans busy with negotiations; and in the meantime the Athenians, using whatever material they could find, toiled night and day to complete the walls. When these were of sufficient height to resist attack, Themistocles boldly declared the truth, telling the Spartans "that Athens was now provided with walls and could protect her citizens; henceforth, if they or their allies wished at any time to negotiate, they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was for their own and the common good."[1]

Themistocles outwits the Spartans.

It was not enough that the city at the foot of the Acropolis should be provided with strong defences. Athens was now a naval power. Her real strength, as the Persian wars had shown, lay in her fleet. So Themistocles found it easy to persuade his countrymen to complete the fortification of Piræus. A massive wall, seven miles in circuit, was raised about the harbour on the land side. Many thousands of foreign merchants and artisans now settled at the port of Piræus and helped to make it a great centre of manufacture and trade.[2] Athens speedily became one of the most flourishing commercial cities of the Mediterranean.

Fortification of Piræus.

These were the last services Themistocles rendered to his native city. For a few years after the Persian wars he was the most prominent man in Greece. There is a story how, when he appeared at the Olympian games in 476 B.C., the people neglected the contests to gaze at the hero all day long and to point him out to strangers. On that

Brief popularity of Themistocles.

[1] Thucydides, i, 91. There are still in existence some portions of this wall.

[2] Piræus still remains the port of Athens, with which it is connected by an electric railway.

occasion, as he confessed to a friend, he reaped in full measure the harvest of his toils on behalf of Hellas.

But the popularity of Themistocles did not endure. A few

THE EXILE OF THEMISTOCLES

years later he was ostracized. What were the charges brought against him is not known. Almost certainly they arose from the jealousy of political opponents. The exiled statesman took up his abode in Argos. Then his Spartan enemies accused him, unjustly, we may feel sure, of conspiring with Persia against his native country. Rather than face the charge, Themistocles fled for his life. After many wanderings he reached Susa, the Persian capital. The king (son of Xerxes) received him kindly and gave him the government of a province in Asia Minor. Three cities, it was said, were to supply his table; one was to furnish bread, a second wine, a third meat. An ancient biographer pictures him sitting down to a splendid meal: "My children," exclaimed the exile, "how much we should have lost, had we not been ruined!"[1] After the death of

Exile and death of Themistocles.

[1] Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 29.

Themistocles, the Athenians came to regret their ingratitude toward him. He was remembered in later times as the statesman who had done most to make Athens greatest among Hellenic cities.

82. Aristides and the Confederacy of Delos

While the Athenians were rebuilding their city, important events were taking place in the Ægean. After the battle of Mycale the Hellenic states in Asia Minor and on the islands once more rose in revolt against the Persians. Athens and Sparta this time lent their aid in a final effort to rid the Greek world of the barbarians. In 478 B.C., an expedition under Pausanias overran the island of Cyprus, one of the most important Persian strongholds, and then moving northward, captured Byzantium,[1] a city which commanded the entrance to the Euxine. Although these successes removed the immediate danger of further attack by Persia, it was clearly necessary for all the Greek states to continue in close alliance. Without the support of the continental Greeks, the Asiatic and Ægean communities would find it difficult to preserve their independence.

The war against Persia continued.

It seemed at this moment as if Sparta might have gained the headship of the maritime Greeks and have formed them into a league like that of the Peloponnesians on the mainland. But Pausanias,[2] the Spartan leader, proved to be unfitted for such a task. His arrogant and brutal demeanour, in striking contrast to the kindliness and courtesy of the Athenian captains, made the Ionian Greeks unwilling to have any more dealings with him. The Ionians, accordingly, requested the Athenians to take charge of the allied fleet. At this juncture Pausanias was recalled to Sparta to meet charges of treasonable dealings with Persia. A new admiral was sent in his place, but the allies preferred Aristides. The Spartans then sailed away and left the Athenians and Ionians to continue the war. Sparta, by this act,

Withdrawal of Sparta.

[1] See page 178.

[2] See page 207.

gave up her presidency of the maritime states of Greece. She became, once more, simply the head of the Peloponnesian League.

Formation of the Delian League, 477 B.C.

After the departure of the Spartans the allies set to work to organize a confederacy. During the year 477 B.C., the famous Delian League came into existence. Its membership included the cities of Ionia and Æolis which had been freed from Persian rule, as well as many of the island states. All these communities looked to Athens as their natural leader. As head of the Delian League, Athens now had an opportunity of winning a supremacy in the Ægean which should match the rule of Sparta over the Peloponnesus.

Constitution of the league.

This new confederacy was the most promising step which the Greeks had yet made in the direction of federal government. The model for it was furnished by the ancient Delian Amphictyony.[1] Like the latter, it was a purely voluntary association. The larger cities in its membership agreed to provide ships and crews for the allied fleet. The smaller cities were to make their payments in money. Athenian officials collected the revenues and placed them in a common treasury on the island of Delos. The allies evidently intended to form a lasting union. They ratified their solemn oaths by sinking heavy lumps of iron in the sea. The oaths were to be binding till the iron should reappear.

Services of Aristides.

Aristides took the leading part in the formation of the Delian League. As the commander of the Athenian fleet after the departure of the Spartans, the Ionians had naturally turned to him for protection. He prepared the plan of union just described, and fixed the number of ships and the amount of money that each state had to furnish. Aristides' reputation for honesty and discretion made the allies ready to accept his arrangements without question. They remained in force for more than fifty years.

[1] See page 164.

After these important services to Athens and to Greece, Aristides seems to have retired into the background. Younger statesmen were now pushing to the front in Athens. We may well believe that his closing years were made happy by the esteem and reverence of his fellow-citizens. Unlike his great rival Themistocles, Aristides died in poverty—an honourable distinction in those days when few public men hesitated to soil their hands with bribes. Succeeding generations could furnish no nobler example of civic virtue than Aristides the "Just."

Death of Aristides, about 468 B.C.

A very different fate befell Pausanias. When in command of the allied fleet at Byzantium, he entered into negotiations with Xerxes and offered to betray his countrymen, if the king would make him tyrant of Greece and give him a Persian princess in marriage. Rumours of his attempted treachery reached the Spartan ephors, who recalled him to stand trial. At first Pausanias was able to escape punishment. Later, when overwhelming proof of his guilt was secured, he took refuge in a temple of Athena. It was a sacrilege to remove a suppliant from a temple, so the ephors walled up the doorway and allowed the traitor to starve to death. Such was the disgraceful end of a man whom all Greece at one time had delighted to honour.

End of Pausanias, about 471 B.C.

83. Cimon and the Athenian Naval Empire

Among the new leaders who came forward at this time was Cimon, son of the hero of Marathon.[1] While yet a young man his gallantry at Salamis gained him a great reputation, and when Aristides introduced him to public life, the citizens welcomed him gladly. He soon became the leader of the aristocratic or conservative party in the Athenian city. Plutarch, his biographer, tells many anecdotes of Cimon's winning manners and lavish generosity. He had the fences about

Cimon.

[1] See pages 194, 197.

his gardens pulled down that his neighbours might freely enjoy the fruit. He kept a simple table, but any poor townsman was welcome to sit at it with him. When he went about in public, he was accompanied by well-dressed slaves who were to exchange their warm tunics for the threadbare garments of those who seemed in want. People said of him that he got riches only that he might use them, and used them only that he might obtain distinction.

Military exploits of Cimon.

It was this Cimon whom the Delian League now entrusted with the war against Persia. The choice was fortunate, for Cimon had inherited his father's military genius. No man did more than he to humble the pride of Persia. As the outcome of Cimon's successful campaigns, the southern coasts of Asia Minor were added to the Delian League, and the Greek cities at the mouth of the Black Sea were freed from the Persian yoke. Thus, with Cimon as its leader, the confederacy completed the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks.

End of the Persian wars, about 448 B.C.

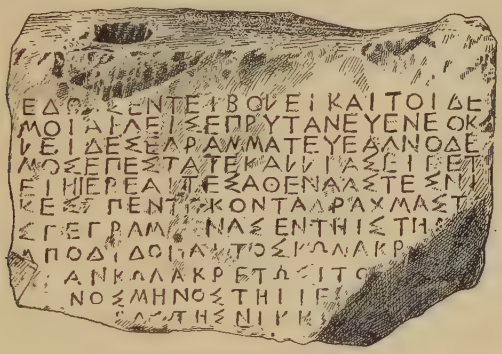
Some years after these events the long struggle between Persia and Greece came to an end. The Great King appears to have recognized the independence of the cities in Asia Minor and the Ægean. The danger to their political liberties was henceforth to come, not from Persia, but from the leader of Greece against Persia — from Athens herself.

Changed character of the Delian League.

While the Greeks were gaining these victories against the common foe, the character of the Delian League was being transformed. Many of the cities, instead of furnishing ships, had taken the easier course of making all their contributions in money. The change really played into the hands of Athens, for the tribute enabled the Athenians to build the ships themselves and add them to their own navy. They soon had a fleet powerful enough to coerce any city that failed to pay its assessments or tried to withdraw from the league.

It was not long before the Delian cities had a foretaste of the fate in store for them. Only a few years after the union had been formed, the powerful island of Naxos seceded from the league. It was speedily subdued, deprived of its independence, and made a mere subject of Athens. From time to time, other members of the confederacy suffered a like fate. Athens took away their fleets, pulled down their walls, and compelled them to furnish soldiers for her armies.

The league subject to Athens, about 454 B.C.



AN ATHENIAN INSCRIPTION

A decree of the Council and Assembly dating from about 450 B.C.

Soon there were only three island states which kept their old independence. Eventually, the common treasury was transferred from Delos to Athens. The date of this event (454 B.C.) may be taken as marking the formal establishment of the Athenian Empire.

Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies viewed with growing jealousy this rapid rise of Athens. As long, however, as Cimon remained at the head of affairs in Athens, there was little danger of a break with Sparta. He desired his city to keep on good terms with her powerful neighbour: Athens should be mistress of the seas, and Sparta should be mistress on the mainland. A contest between them, Cimon foresaw, would work lasting injury to all Greece.

Cimon's policy toward Sparta.

The policy championed by Cimon did not long prevail. In

464 B.C., a terrible earthquake laid Sparta in ruins and killed many of the citizens. The helots[1] judged this a favourable opportunity to recover their freedom, and everywhere rose in revolt. Sparta, in great distress, asked aid from Athens. At first the Athenians were inclined to meet the request with a curt refusal. But Cimon persuaded them to send a body of troops to the aid of Sparta. "We must not leave Hellas lame," he said; "we must not allow Athens to lose her yokefellow."[2] The Athenian soldiers, however, accomplished little, and at length the Spartans ungraciously sent them home.

Athens aids Sparta and receives a rebuff.

The Athenians were deeply offended at this display of Spartan arrogance. Cimon naturally received all the blame, and the citizens showed their feelings by ostracizing him (461 B.C.). Though Cimon afterwards returned to his native city, he never recovered his great influence over the people. When he died (449 B.C.), the policy for which he stood had been for ever abandoned. New men and new measures henceforth prevailed in the Athenian state.

Decline of Cimon's influence.

84. Pericles

The ostracism of Cimon deprived the aristocratic or conservative party of its most prominent representative. The democratic or liberal party now came into complete control of public affairs. Their leader and champion was Pericles, whose personality dominated Athenian politics for more than a generation.

A new democratic leader.

Few ancient Greeks are better known to us than this Athenian statesman. By birth he belonged to a noble and eminent family. His mother was a niece of the reformer Clisthenes; his father was the Athenian commander at the battle of Mycale. Pericles received the best education in literature, art, and philosophy that Athens could afford. He early came under the influence of the philosopher Anaxagoras, the successor of

Training of Pericles.

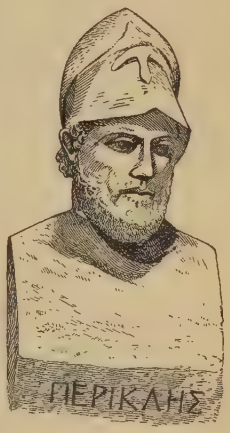
[1] See pages 168–169.

[2] Plutarch, *Cimon*, 16.

Thales, and the first Greek thinker to declare that mind, not matter, rules the universe. To the teachings of Anaxagoras, Pericles probably owed his lofty moral tone, his freedom from the vulgar superstitions of the age, and the serenity of temper which he displayed throughout a long and stormy career. Friends and enemies alike called him the Zeus of Athens.[1]

Personal traits of Pericles.

The character of Pericles presented a striking contrast to that of Cimon, his great rival. Cimon was a jovial, free-handed sailor, who sang a capital song and was equally ready to drink, gossip, or fight. Pericles was grave, studious, reserved. He never appeared on the streets except when walking between his house and the popular assembly or the market place, kept rigidly away from dinners and drinking bouts, and ruled his household with strict economy that he might escape the suspicion of enriching himself at the public expense. He did not speak often before the people, but came forward only on special occasions; and the rarity of his utterances gave them added weight. Though a perfectly fluent orator, we are told that he wrote out his speeches with the utmost care before delivering them. His manner on the platform was the reverse of dramatic; scarcely a gesture or a movement ruffled the folds of his mantle. None of his orations have come down to us, but the comic poets of Athens, in general very unfriendly to Pericles, refer with admiration to his oratory; "persuasion sat on his lips, such was his charm," says one of them.



PERICLES
British Museum

The bust is probably a good copy of a portrait statue set up during the lifetime of Pericles on the Athenian Acropolis. The helmet possibly indicates the office of General held by Pericles.

[1] The dramatist Aristophanes speaks of the "Olympian Pericles" (*Acharnians*, 530).

Pericles was a thorough democrat, but he used none of the arts of the demagogue. He scorned to flatter the populace. His power over the people rested on his majestic eloquence, on his calm dignity of demeanour, above all on his unselfish devotion to the welfare of Athens. "He was able," said a contemporary historian, "to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them. Not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but on the strength of his own high character, he could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unreasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and, when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to arouse their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen."[1]

Leadership of Pericles.

85. The Age of Pericles

The rule of the democratic party under Pericles brought about a complete change in the foreign relations of Athens. She gave up her association with Sparta, and entered into an alliance with the Peloponnesian city of Argos, Sparta's bitterest foe. It was part of the ambitious policy of Pericles to build up a land empire for Athens, as powerful as that which she possessed on the sea. Athenian interference in the affairs of continental Greece quickly led to a contest between the two cities and their allies. It was the beginning of those struggles between rival states which have so large and so unworthy a place in Greek history.

War between Athens and Sparta.

In the long war that followed, neither Athens nor Sparta won a decisive victory. After much fruitless fighting, both were glad enough to conclude a peace which by its terms was to run for thirty years. Each party recognized the league of the other, but Athens was to give up her possessions on the mainland. Yet, as Pericles pointed

Thirty Years' Truce, 445 B.C.

[1] Thucydides, ii, 65.

out to them, their maritime empire remained intact: "Of the two divisions of the world accessible to man, the land and the sea, there is one of which you are absolute masters, and have, or may have, the dominion to any extent you please. Neither the Great King nor any nation on earth can hinder a navy like yours from penetrating wherever you choose to sail." [1]

The period, about fifteen years in length, between this truce with Sparta and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, is known as the Age of Pericles.[2] It was the most brilliant epoch in Greek history. Under the guidance of Pericles the Athenian naval empire reached its widest extent. Through his direction Athens became a complete democracy. Inspired by him the Athenians came to manifest that love of knowledge, poetry, art, and all beautiful things which, much more than their empire or their democracy, has made Athens famous in the annals of history. The Age of Pericles affords, therefore, a convenient opportunity to set forth the leading features of Athenian civilization in the days of its greatest glory.

Age of Pericles, 445–431 B.C.

86. Athenian Imperialism

If Pericles failed in his efforts to establish the rule of his city in continental Greece, he found compensation in the splendid maritime possessions over which Athens presided. More than two hundred towns and cities were enrolled as members of the Athenian Empire.

Subject cities of Athens.

The subjects of Athens, in return for the protection that she gave them against Persia, had many obligations. They paid an annual tribute and furnished soldiers in time of war. In all legal cases of importance, the citizens had to go to Athens for trial by Athenian courts. The Delian communities, in some instances, were forced to endure the presence

Character of Athenian rule.

[1] Thucydides, ii, 62.

[2] In a wider sense the Age of Pericles may be taken to include the entire period from the ostracism of Cimon to the death of Pericles (461–429 B.C.).

of Athenian garrisons and officers. To the Greeks at large, all this seemed nothing less than high-handed tyranny. Athens, men felt, had built up an empire on the ruins of Hellenic liberty.

Besides the subject communities, the empire included many settlements, called cleruchies, in Thrace and other outlying regions of the Ægean. The cleruchies, unlike most Greek colonies,[1] were not independent of the mother state. The settlers kept their Athenian citizenship and their interest in the welfare of Athens. By establishing these colonies, Pericles relieved the pressure of population at home and provided what were, in effect, so many Athenian garrisons among restless subjects abroad.

Dependent colonies, or cleruchies.

Athens had also a number of allies in different parts of the Mediterranean. She enjoyed the friendship of the kings of Thessaly and Thrace. She was in close touch with the cities on the northern shore of the Euxine, whence she drew the supplies of wheat necessary to support the people of Attica. In the West, she had relations with the cities of southern Italy and Sicily. The influence of Athens, at the time of her greatest power, was felt throughout the Hellenic world.

Allies.

Yet, from the beginning, the empire was doomed to failure. It rested upon force—upon the forced submission of its members to the might of Athens. Its organization, therefore, ran counter to Greek feelings and prejudices. Hitherto the Greeks had known only the city-state with its traditions of independence and local self-government. In the rule of Athens over the Delian communities, they saw the relations of master and slave. No wonder, then, that the dominion of Athens rested on unsubstantial foundations. Once the imperial city should be weakened by conflicts from within or attacked by outside foes, the subject cities would speedily fall away and resume their independence.

Weakness of Athenian imperialism.

[1] See page 176.

87. Athenian Democracy

In her relations with her subject cities, the Athens of Pericles was a real empire. But the Athenian citizens themselves were members of a state more democratic than any other that has existed, before or since, in the history of the world. They had now learned how unjust was the rule of a tyrant or of a privileged class of nobles. They tried, instead, to afford every one an opportunity to make the laws, to hold office, and to administer justice. Hence the Athenian popular assembly and law courts were open to all respectable citizens. The offices, also, were made very numerous — fourteen hundred altogether — so that they might be distributed as widely as possible. Most of them were annual, and some could not be held twice by the same person. Election to office was usually by lot. Black and white beans were put into a vessel and drawn out singly, and the person who drew a white bean received the position. This arrangement did away with favouritism and gave the poor man just as good a chance as the man of wealth or noble birth.

Rule of the people at Athens.

The Athenians had no president or prime minister. They did have, however, a sort of senate, called the Council of Five Hundred. The members were chosen every year by lot from the whole body of citizens over thirty years of age. It was their duty to prepare all business to be laid before the popular assembly. No proposal could be submitted to the people for their decision which had not been previously discussed by the Council. We may, therefore, consider this body as a large standing committee of the popular assembly.

Council of Five Hundred.

The centre of Athenian democracy was the Assembly, or Ecclesia. Its membership included every citizen who had reached twenty years of age. Rarely, however, did the attendance number more than five thousand, since most of the citizens lived outside the walls in the country districts of Attica. There were forty regular meetings each year.

The Assembly.

Early in the morning of an Assembly day the citizens began to hasten to the place of meeting, which, in this century, was the hill called the Pnyx. Seating themselves as best they could, the people first listened to a herald who solemnly cursed all who might speak with treasonable or corrupt motives. If there was no thunderstorm, or earthquake, or eclipse, or any other bad omen, the business of the Assembly began. The herald read a proposal of the Council of Five Hundred and then asked if the Assembly wished to accept it without question or to engage in debate. If a debate was called for, any person could come forward and address the meeting.

Procedure in the Assembly.

A speaker before the Assembly faced a difficult audience. It was ready to yell its disapproval of his advice, to mock him if he mispronounced a word, or to drown his voice with shouts and whistles. Naturally, the debates became a training school for orators. No one could make his mark in the Assembly who was not a clear and interesting speaker. On the other hand, a man who had the gift of eloquence might easily win fame and power as a popular leader. He became "the master of the stone on the Pnyx."

Debates in the Assembly.

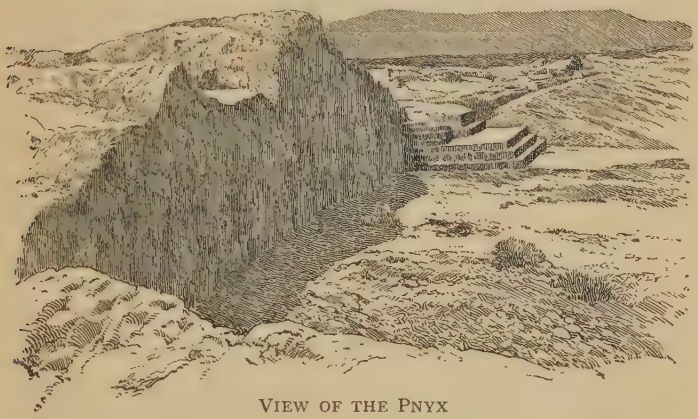
At the close of the debate, the Assembly decided to accept the proposal by the Council of Five Hundred without change, or to amend it, or to reject it. Voting was by show of hands, except in cases affecting individuals, such as ostracism, when the ballot was used. Whatever the decision of the Assembly, it was final. This great popular gathering settled questions of war and peace, sent out military and naval expeditions, voted public expenditures, and had general control over the affairs of Athens and the empire.

Authority of the Assembly.

The Assembly was assisted in the conduct of public business by many officers and magistrates, among whom the Ten Generals held the leading place. They carried on the government. It was their business to guide the deliberations of the Assembly, and to execute the orders of that body. In the interval

The Ten Generals.

between meetings of the Assembly, their authority was well-nigh absolute. Since their duties required special knowledge, the generals were not chosen by lot, but by election from the entire body of citizens. As a safeguard against abuse of power, they held office for only a year. Sometimes, however, it happened that specially competent generals were reëlected for several terms. The people showed their appreciation of Pericles by choosing him to the office sixteen years in succession.



VIEW OF THE PNYX

Shows the bema, or platform, from which orators addressed the assembled citizens.

The democratic system at Athens included another important institution in the popular jury courts. These were composed of ordinary citizens selected by lot from the candidates who presented themselves. The number of jurors varied; as many as a thousand might serve at an important trial. A court was both judge and jury; it decided by majority vote; and from its decision there lay no appeal. Before these popular juries public officers accused of wrong-doing were tried, disputes between different cities of the empire and other important cases were settled, and all ordinary legal business affecting the Athenians themselves was transacted. Thus, even in matters of law, the Athenian government was completely democratic.

Popular jury courts.

Democracy, then, reached its height in ancient Athens. The people governed, and they governed directly. Every citizen had some active part in the management of the state. It has been well said of these Athenians that politics was their chief business and office-holding their regular occupation.

Athens a direct democracy.

Such a system worked well in the conduct of a small city-state like Athens. The average Athenian during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. received a political training of a very high order. Athens was the best-governed city in the Greek world. But if the Athenians could rule themselves, they proved unable to rule an empire. There was no such a thing as representation in their constitution. The subject cities had no one to speak for them in the Assembly or before the jury courts. The Athenian citizens on the Pnyx were the real masters of the empire. We shall find the same absence of a representative system in republican Rome.

Strength and weakness of the Athenian democracy.

88. Commercial and Industrial Athens

Athens, at the middle of the fifth century B.C., was the metropolis of Hellas. Judged by modern standards, the city was not large. The total free population in all Attica, including some fifteen thousand foreigners settled at Piræus, probably did not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls. How, we may ask, were these people supported, and how did each citizen manage to make a living for himself and his family?

Population of Athens.

At Athens, as in many another Greek town, it was not considered very becoming for a citizen to engage directly in either trade or industry. To spend all one's time and energy in mere money-making was felt to be dishonourable for a free-born Greek. Trade, said the philosophers, injures the body, enfeebles the mind, and leaves no leisure to engage in public affairs. Many Athenians were relieved from the necessity of working for themselves through the system of state pay

System of state pay.

introduced by Pericles. Councillors, jurors, soldiers, and sailors received pay for their services. Later, in the fourth century, citizens accepted fees for attending the Assembly. The payments, though small, were enough to enable the poorer men to devote their time to public duties. In the days of Pericles, over one half of the citizen body was constantly on the rolls of the state.

This system of state pay did not free all Athenian citizens from the necessity of working with their hands. Rural Attica held thousands of peasants whose daily duties gave them scant opportunity to mingle in the exciting game of politics as played in the capital city. Their little farms produced the olives, grapes, and figs for which Attica was celebrated. On the large estates, owned by wealthy men, the labour was mostly performed by slaves. It was the slaves, also, who worked in the mines and quarries, and served as oarsmen on the ships.

Agricultural labourers.

As Athens grew in wealth, the needs of her people could no longer be satisfied by simple household industries. The city gradually became an important manufacturing centre. A great number of industries sprang up. There were many different craftsmen—cloth-makers, tanners, shoemakers, jewellers, cabinet-makers, builders, masons, potters, and armourers. Indeed, Athens in the Age of Pericles presented a picture of wide and varied industry.

Handicraftsmen.

The average rate of wages was very low. In spite of cheap food and modest requirements for clothing and shelter, it must have been difficult for the labourer to keep body and soul together.[1] Somewhat better rewards were received by professional men. Artists, musicians, and popular actors, as well as physicians and teachers of the better class, were often well recompensed.

Wages.

[1] It should be remembered, however, that the purchasing power of money was much greater in ancient than in modern times. It has been estimated that the annual expenses of an Athenian family of four persons, for food, clothing, and shelter, averaged only about £20.

Athens, during the Age of Pericles, outstripped Corinth in the race for supremacy on the sea. The Athenian city was now the chief centre of Greek commerce. "The fruits of the whole earth," said Pericles, "flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own."[1] Exports of wine and olive oil, pottery, metal wares, and objects of art were sent out from Piræus to every region of the Mediterranean. The imports from the Euxine, Thrace, and the Ægean included such commodities as salt, dried fish, wool, timber, hides, and, above all, great quantities of wheat. Very much like modern England, Athens was able to feed all her people only by bringing in food from abroad.[2]

Commerce; imports and exports.

89. Artistic and Intellectual Athens

Under Themistocles, as we have seen, Athens had been rebuilt, the fortifications restored, and the harbour of Piræus constructed. Under Cimon and Pericles, the celebrated Long Walls[3] were completed between Athens and Piræus. They ran parallel to each other, but far enough apart to enclose a wide road along which troops and supplies could be brought from the port to the city. Henceforth the Athenians were secure from attack as long as their navy ruled the Ægean.

The Long Walls.

And now, in the days of her prosperity, Athens began to make herself, not only a strong, but also a beautiful, city.[4] Even in their ruins the stately edifices which rose on the Acropolis have excited

[1] Thucydides, ii, 38.

[2] The commercial importance of Athens is indicated by the general adoption of her monetary standard by the other Greek states. Most Athenian coins were of silver. One of the smallest was the obolus, worth about 1½d. Higher denominations were the following:

6 obols = 1 drachma,
100 drachmas = 1 mina,
60 minas = 1 talent.

The talent, it should be noted, was a weight of silver, not an actual coin. (For illustrations of Greek coins, see the plate facing page 82.)

[3] See the map, page 203.

[4] For a description of ancient Athens, see pages 623–631.

the envy and wonder of all succeeding generations. Some of the funds for these public works were taken by the Athenians from the treasury of the Delian League. The allies complained that Athens used their contributions to adorn herself "like a vain woman, with precious stones and statues and temples, which cost a mint of money."[1] Their complaint was just — but lovers of Greek art will never regret the expenditure.

Athens an art centre.

"THESEUM"

An Athenian temple built about 440 B.C.

During the Age of Pericles, Athens was also the chief centre of the intellectual life of Greece. In no other period of similar length have so many admirable books been produced. No other epoch has given birth to so many men of such varied and delightful genius. The greatest poets, historians, and philosophers of Greece were Athenians, either by birth or training.[2]

Athens an intellectual centre.

The best description of Athens at this time is found in the words of Pericles himself. "Our city," he said, "is equally admirable in peace and in war. We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk

The "school of Hellas."

[1] Plutarch, *Pericles*, 12.

[2] See pages 248–257.

and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To acknowledge poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who shows no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless, character. If few of us are originators, we are all sound judges, of a policy. . . . In short, Athens is the school of Hellas."[1]

Defects in Athenian civilization.

Although Athens represents for us the finest fruits of Hellenic culture, it must not be forgotten that even this noble city exhibited some of the defects which characterized every state of ancient Greece.

Slavery.

Athenian civilization owed much to the existence of slavery. There were probably one hundred thousand slaves in Athens at this period. Their number was so great and their labour so cheap that we may think of them as taking the place of modern machines. The system of slavery enabled many an Athenian to lead a life of leisure, but it lowered the dignity of labour and tended to prevent the rise of the poorer citizens to positions of responsibility and trust. In Greece, as in the Orient,[2] slavery cast its blight over all industrial society.

Exclusion of foreigners.

The Athenian state, besides being a slaveholding democracy, was further narrowly limited by the exclusion of foreigners from citizenship. The law restricted the franchise to the sons of Athenian fathers and of Athenian mothers. Though many thousands of foreign merchants and artisans had been attracted to Piræus, they took no real part in the life of Athens. They could not vote, they could not buy land in Attica, they could not legally marry Athenian wives. This jealous attitude toward foreigners may be contrasted with the liberal policy of countries such as our own in naturalizing immigrants.

Serious as were the defects in Athenian society, they should not

[1] Thucydides, ii, 39–41. [2] See pages 80–81.

blind us to the splendid contributions which this single city has made to civilization. It is because Athens stood for so much that we can keenly realize how great was the loss to the world when she was overcome by Sparta and compelled to abandon her high position. And now, as we proceed to relate the story of the conflict between those two states, we may take with us those proud words of the historian Thucydides, himself an Athenian of Pericles' time: "Let both towns be destroyed, and the mere débris of the monuments and temples of Athens will reveal a glorious city; the ruins of Sparta will be only those of a large village."[1]

Real greatness of Athens.

THE "MOURNING ATHENA"
Acropolis Museum, Athens

A tablet of Pentelic marble. Athena, leaning on her spear, is gazing with downcast head at a tombstone.

90. The Rivals: Athens and Sparta

Before the Thirty Years' Truce[2] had run half its allotted course, the two leading powers in the Hellenic world renewed their conflict. In comparison with the gigantic struggle against Persia, this new war between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians was a petty affair, and most of its battles were hardly more than insignificant skirmishes. Its importance, however, does not depend on the size of the contending armies or of the rival states. The theme of the Peloponnesian War is the decline and fall of the Athenian Empire. With the downfall of Athens, the political greatness of Greece passed away.

Significance of the Peloponnesian War.

The Peloponnesian War appears at first sight utterly needless

[1] Thucydides, i, 10.

[2] See page 222.

and unjustifiable. It would seem that Athens and Sparta, the one supreme upon the sea, the other mistress of the Peloponnesus, might have avoided a struggle which was sure to be long and costly and certain to end in the ruin of one or both of the combatants. But Greek cities were always ready to fight one another. When Athens and Sparta found themselves rivals for the leadership of Greece, it was easy for the smouldering fires of distrust and jealousy to flame forth into open conflict. In the depth of his heart well-nigh every Spartan felt a grudge against Athens for having built up an empire that overshadowed the Peloponnesian League. "And at that time," says the historian who described the struggle, "the youth of Sparta and the youth of Athens were numerous; they had never seen war, and were therefore very willing to take up arms." [1]

Inevitableness of the war.

The conflict was brought on by Corinth, one of the leading members of the Peloponnesian League, and, next to Athens, the most important commercial power in Greece. She had already seen her once profitable trade in the Ægean monopolized by Athens. That energetic city was now reaching out for Corinthian commerce in Italian and Sicilian waters. When the Athenians went so far as to interfere in a quarrel between Corinth and her colony of Corcyra,[2] even allying themselves with the latter city, the Corinthians felt justly resentful. They complained that Athens had broken the terms of the Thirty Years' Truce, and appealed to Sparta for aid. The Spartan assembly, by a large majority, voted for war. The council of the Peloponnesian League, meeting at Sparta, quickly ratified this action. With the apparent approval of the Delphic oracle, which assured the Spartans "that they would conquer if they fought with all their might," [3] the struggle began.

Origin of the war.

The two antagonists were fairly matched. The one was strong where the other was weak. Sparta, mainly a continental power, commanded all the Peloponnesian states except Argos and Achæa,

[1] Thucydides, ii, 8. [2] See page 127. [3] Thucydides, i, 118.

GREECE
at opening of the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR
431 B. C.
Athens and Allies
Sparta and Allies
Neutral States
Boundaries of the Districts of the Athenian Empire
THRACIAN DISTRICT
ISLAND DISTRICT
IONIAN DISTRICT
CARIAN DISTRICT
HELLESPONTINE DISTRICT
THESSALY
AETOLIA
PHOCIS
LOCRIS
BOEOTIA
EUBOEA
ATTICA
ACHAIA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
MEGARIS
MESSENIA
LACONIA
Sparta
Athens
Corcyra
Ambracia
Anactorium
Cephallenia
Naupactus
Zacynthus
Sicyon
Corinth
Mantinea
Argos
Tegea
Pylos
Cythera
Methone
Pydna
Amphipolis
Olynthus
Potidaea
Mende
Scione
Abdera
Thasos
Stagirus
Acanthus
Singus
Torone
Maronea
Samothrace
Imbros
Lemnos
Hephaestia
Sigeum
Assus
Lesbos
Mytilene
Pitane
Is. Arginusae
Myrina
Phocaea
Cyme
Chios
Clazomenae
Erythrae
Teos
Colophon
Ephesus
Samos
Icaria
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Ceramus
Cnidus
Calynda
Cos
Astypalia
Ialysus
Rhodes
Lindus
Camirus
Scyros
Andros
Tenos
Ceos
Aegina
Cythnos
Delos
Paros
Naxos
Siphnos
Melos
Bisanthe
Perinthus
Selymbia
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Sestos
Abydos
Lampsacus
Parium
Cius
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
20° 22° 24° 26° 28°
Longitude East from Greenwich
40° 38°
THE M.-N. WORKS

besides Megaris, Bœotia, and some of the smaller states of central Greece. Athens, mainly a maritime power, commanded all the subject cities of the Ægean. The Spartans possessed the most formidable army then in the world, but had little money and few ships. The Athenians possessed a magnificent navy, an overflowing treasury, and a city impregnable to direct attack. If Athens could not face Sparta in the field on equal terms, neither could Sparta do much damage to Athens or her subjects. For these reasons the policy of Pericles was to play a waiting game. The war should become a matter of endurance. The Athenians, with their large revenues and profitable commerce, could support indefinitely the cost of a struggle which sooner or later must wear out their foe. The policy was wise. But for unforeseen events, it would have won success.

Resources of the contestants.

An Archaic Hermes

91. The Peloponnesian War to the Sicilian Expedition, 431–415 B.C.

The war began in 431 B.C. and continued with some intermissions for twenty-seven years. The Athenians followed at first the advice of Pericles, and avoided a conflict in the open field with the Peloponnesian forces. Every year the Spartan kings led their troops into Attica, burning houses and destroying crops, but striking no vital blow at their enemies.

Early character of the war.

The struggle had not been long under way before the Athenians were terribly crippled by a plague which broke out among the refugees crowded behind the Long Walls. The pestilence spread like wildfire and slew at least one fourth of the inhabitants of

Athens. Pericles, the guiding spirit of the defence, himself fell ill. The disease had already carried off his sister and his two sons; and the old man's spirit was utterly broken. On his deathbed, when the friends about him were telling his long roll of glorious deeds, he roused himself from the stupor into which he had fallen to remind them of his fairest title to honour: "No Athenian ever put on mourning for any act of mine." [1]

The plague; death of Pericles, 429 B.C.

The passing of Pericles brought new leaders to the front in the Athenian city. Such an one was Cleon, the leather merchant, in manners coarse, in speech violent, but a most effective orator. He was no aristocrat, like Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles, but a self-made man, who won his way to the leadership of the Assembly by sheer cleverness and industry. Cleon thus stands as a good type of the politicians produced by the Athenian democracy.

New leaders in Athens; Cleon.

Not long after the terrible plague, the people of Athens were stunned by news of the revolt of Mytilene. This city, on the island of Lesbos, was one of the most important members of the Athenian Empire. The Athenians made desperate efforts to reconquer the place. They feared lest all the Ægean cities should follow the example of Mytilene. When the revolt was at last subdued, the fate of the city came before the Assembly for decision. On Cleon's advice the Athenians voted to put to death all the adult males of Mytilene —more than six thousand persons. A trireme was accordingly dispatched with this order to the Athenian admiral. On the next day, feelings of pity, and perhaps of prudence, led the citizens to reconsider their action. A second vessel was hastily fitted out, and the oarsmen were urged to overtake the former ship by the promise of rich rewards. It sped across the Ægean and sailed into the harbour of Mytilene just in time to stay the execution of the barbarous decree. Still, the Athenian revenge was cruel

Revolt of Mytilene, 428–427 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, *Pericles*, 37.

enough. The ringleaders were slain, the city walls thrown down, and much of the territory divided among Athenian colonists. This episode illustrates how difficult it was for the Assembly to act justly and wisely in the management of dependencies.

The Spartans showed as little mercy toward their foes. When they captured Platæa, an Athenian ally, they put all the men to the sword, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the place into pastures. Such was the end of a city which the Greeks had agreed to hold sacred, in memory of the deliverance from Persia once wrought there.

Fate of Platæa, 427 B.C.

This wicked struggle between two states, which, instead of fighting, ought to have joined hands for the uplifting of Hellas, promised to last indefinitely. A turning point came when the Spartans made an expedition by land against the Athenian possessions in Thrace. Some of the subject cities in that region were induced to revolt, and Athens was threatened with the loss of all her rich tributaries in Thrace and Chalcidice. When Cleon, less successful as a general than as a politician, tried to dislodge the invaders, he was defeated and killed. In the same battle the Spartans lost Brasidas, their able commander. Both sides were now weary of the war. At length an Athenian statesman, named Nicias, arranged a treaty with Sparta. Each party agreed to give up to the other all prisoners and captured places. According to the curious Greek custom which recognized war as the normal condition between states, the peace was limited to half a century.

Peace of Nicias, 421 B.C.

92. Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition, 415–413 B.C.

During the years following the Peace of Nicias, a new leader arose in Athens. This was Alcibiades. He belonged to one of the noblest families of Athens, possessed great wealth, and was a near kinsman of Pericles. To these advantages for entering public life, he added an engaging personality and the gift of eloquence. Nature had endowed him

Alcibiades.

with many talents, but he used them ill. While yet a youth, Alcibiades became notorious for his dissolute ways and love of ostentation. He lived in the utmost luxury, ate and drank to excess, and strolled about Athens in long purple robes like those of a woman. His handsome person and ready wit made him the idol of the young Athenian aristocrats. With the masses, too, he was immensely popular. They laughed at his pranks and allowed him to indulge in lawless acts that would have brought any other man before the jury courts. When he addressed the Assembly with a pet quail under his arm, people considered it an excellent jest. When in a fit of petulance he lopped off his dog's tail, all Athens grieved over the animal. In his more serious moments, Alcibiades turned to politics. We may call him a demagogue, for he won the favour of the citizens by his flattering tongue, and used his popularity for selfish ends. This spoiled darling of the Athenians was now to allure them into an undertaking which proved to be the most disastrous in their history—the expedition against Syracuse.

Syracuse, the chief Greek city in Sicily, was a colony of Corinth, and hence a natural ally of the Peloponnesian states. The Athenians, by conquering it, hoped to found a great empire in western Hellas. "Let us make this expedition," urged Alcibiades, "and thus prostrate the pride of the Peloponnesians by showing that we care not for the present peace; and at any rate let us humble the Syracusans, if we do not extend our rule over the whole of Hellas."[1] Alcibiades, no doubt, thought that the conquest of Sicily would make him the leading figure in the Greek world.

Ambitious schemes of Alcibiades.

The enterprise was most hazardous. The Athenians intended to attack a place several hundred miles away, and almost as rich as their own city. Nevertheless, they cast the warnings of Nicias to the winds and set about their preparations with few misgivings. A great fleet was made ready and manned with thousands of sailors and hoplites.

Expedition against Syracuse, 415 B.C.

[1] Thucydides, vi, 18.

Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were to be the commanders. On the morning of the day when the ships sailed for Sicily, the whole population of Athens thronged the wharves of Piræus to witness the imposing event. The flower of Athenian soldiery was going forth to war.

The fleet had not reached Syracuse before Alcibiades received orders to return to Athens to face charges of impiety. He was suspected of having had a hand in the mutilation of the Hermæ.[1] These were square stone pillars bearing a bust of Hermes or of some other god. They stood everywhere in the city. The people held them in superstitious awe as the guardians of peace and order. The Athenians, therefore, were horrified to find that the Hermæ had nearly all been mutilated in the night, just before the departure of the fleet. The enemies of Alcibiades accused him of the deed. He was probably innocent, but feared to confront his accusers, and fled to Sparta. When he heard that the Athenians had condemned him to death, he answered, "I will show them that I am alive."[2] This Alcibiades did.

Alcibiades, the traitor.

The siege of Syracuse, almost from the outset, brought nothing but disappointment to Athenian hopes. Lamachus soon fell in battle. His death was a severe blow, for it left Nicias in supreme command. He was a man more at home in the Assembly than on the field of battle. Alcibiades, meanwhile, had revealed the Athenian plans to the Spartans and had persuaded them to send a small army to the aid of the Syracusans. Nicias begged for reinforcements. The Athenians, instead of abandoning their wild undertaking, were rash enough to dispatch to Sicily almost as many ships and soldiers as had formed the first expedition.

The siege of Syracuse.

The reinforcements only increased the number of the victims. After suffering several defeats, the Athenians resolved to put the army on board the fleet and sail away, while yet the sea was open to them. On the night when they were to start a lunar eclipse filled the soldiers with fear.

Failure of the expedition, 413 B.C.

[1] See the illustration, page 235.

[2] Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22.

The soothsayers declared that the retreat must be delayed until the next full moon. Nicias adopted this advice, and halted the army for twenty-seven days. Before the time had passed, the Athenians lost another naval battle and found escape by sea shut off. They tried to retreat by land, but were soon compelled to surrender. Nicias was put to death without mercy. Many of the prisoners were sold as slaves; many were thrown by their inhuman captors into the stone quarries near Syracuse, where they perished from exposure and starvation. The Athenians, says the historian of the campaign, "were absolutely annihilated — both army and fleet — and of the many thousands who went away only a handful ever saw their homes again."[1]

93. The Closing Years of the Peloponnesian War, 413–404 B.C.

Athens never recovered from this terrible blow. The Spartans quickly renewed the contest, now with the highest hopes of success.

Renewal of war by Sparta.

Acting on the advice of Alcibiades, they seized and fortified Decelea, a strong position in the north of Attica. The Athenians had to guard their city against the invader night and day, their slaves deserted to the enemy, and they themselves could do no farming except under the very walls of the city. Henceforth, they had to depend for supplies entirely on the fleet. Were that destroyed, resistance would be at an end.

Sparta was poor and needed funds to carry on the war. In the hope of humbling Athens, the city of Leonidas fell so low as to

Alliance of Sparta and Persia.

fawn on the barbarians for money. Persia and Sparta entered into an alliance. Persian gold was to support the Peloponnesian fleet, while Sparta on her side agreed to recognize the claims of the Great King to rule over Asiatic Greece. This betrayal of Hellenic cities which Athens had long protected opened the way for future interference by Persia in the affairs of the Greeks.

[1] Thucydides, vii, 87.

The Athenians for nearly ten years kept up a desperate struggle against ever-increasing foes. In their extremity they recalled Alcibiades, thereby illustrating the famous lines of a comic poet — "They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."[1] Alcibiades, with all his ability, could not save Athens. In 405 B.C., Lysander, the Spartan admiral, surprised and captured the Athenian fleet near Ægospotami on the Hellespont. The prisoners, with the cruelty which characterized both sides in this civil war, were massacred.

Battle of Ægospotami, 405 B.C.

The Athenians first learned of Ægospotami when the state ship *Paralus* arrived at Piræus from the scene of the battle. "It was night when the *Paralus* reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Piræus, following the line of the Long Walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man passed the news to his neighbour. That night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those who were lost, but the lamentation for the dead merged into even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer."[2]

News of Ægospotami.

Soon after Ægospotami, a fleet of the Spartans blockaded Piræus and their army encamped before the walls of Athens. Bitter famine compelled the Athenians to sue for peace. The Peloponnesian allies urged that the city be razed to the ground and its very name blotted out of remembrance. The Spartans, however, were content with milder conditions: the Athenians must destroy their Long Walls and the fortifications of Piræus, surrender all but twelve of their warships, and acknowledge the supremacy of Sparta. Helpless Athens could not refuse these terms. "And so the Spartans fell to levelling the defences and walls with much enthusiasm, to the accompaniment of flute-players, deeming that day the beginning of liberty to Greece."[3]

Downfall of Athens, 404 B.C.

[1] Aristophanes, in Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 16. [2] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii, 2.
[3] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii, 2. The Long Walls were rebuilt in 393 B.C.

94. Supremacy of Sparta, 404–371 B.C.

Sparta was now the undisputed leader of continental Greece and of the Ægean. As the representative of the liberty-loving Greeks, she had humbled the pride and power of "tyrant" Athens. A great opportunity lay before her to reorganize the Hellenic world, and to end the struggles for supremacy between rival cities. But Sparta embarked on no such glorious career. She did not even retire within the limits of the Peloponnesus, leaving the cities which formerly belonged to Athens to settle their affairs for themselves. Instead, under Lysander's leadership, she founded an empire.

Sparta at the head of Greece.

Sparta had always stood forth as the champion of aristocracy against democracy. Now, in her hour of triumph, she began to overturn every democratic government that still existed in Greece. Lysander established in each state an aristocratic council, supported by a Spartan military governor and garrison. The Greek cities soon found that they had exchanged the mild sway of Athens for the brutal despotism of Sparta.

Spartan despotism.

The experience of Athens illustrates the fate of many another Hellenic community. Here Lysander set up a board of thirty men with entire control over the state. History knows them as the "Thirty Tyrants"; and their actions fully bore out their name. They murdered all political opponents, and then sought additional victims among those whose only crime was their wealth. Many persons were slain and their property confiscated. When the people murmured, the Thirty placed Spartan troops in the Acropolis to overawe them. So the bloody work went on, and the Athenians for a time lived under a reign of terror. It was ended only by a popular uprising which drove out the Spartans and restored democratic government to the sorely tried city.

Rule of the Thirty in Athens, 404–403 B.C.

Spartan tyranny provoked resistance. Some of the most important of the Greek states, including Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and

Argos, united in a league to preserve their liberties. Persia, always ready to mingle in the quarrels of the Greeks, helped them with money and ships. Then Sparta, hard pressed by her foes, in her turn sought aid from Persia. The Great King was willing enough to desert his former allies and to join with Sparta against them. Athens and the other states could not hope to resist so formidable an alliance. They had to assent to a treaty — the so-called Peace of Antalcidas — which placed Sparta once more at the head of Greece and surrendered the cities of Asiatic Hellas into Persian hands. No treaty could have been more humiliating to the Greeks, for it made Persia the arbiter of their fortunes. Never before had the conflicts between Greek states been settled by a barbarian king.

Peace of Antalcidas, 386 B.C.

After the Peace of Antalcidas, Sparta set about the restoration of her rule over Greece. She destroyed several Greek cities, dissolved a Greek league, and crowned her actions by the treacherous seizure of the Cadmea, the Theban citadel. Further resistance to the Spartan arms seemed impossible. Yet, in the very hour of her triumph, retribution was at hand. Some of the liberty-loving Thebans, headed by Pelopidas, a patriotic noble, formed a conspiracy to drive the Spartans out of the city. Disguised as huntsmen, Pelopidas and his followers entered Thebes at nightfall and slew the tyrants whom Sparta had set over the people. Then they forced the Spartan garrison in the Cadmea to surrender and thus, with one blow, freed Thebes. As the pious Greek historian relates, "the Spartans were punished by the very men, single-handed, whom they had wronged, though never before had they been vanquished by any single people. It is a proof that the gods observe men who do irreligious and unhallowed deeds."[1]

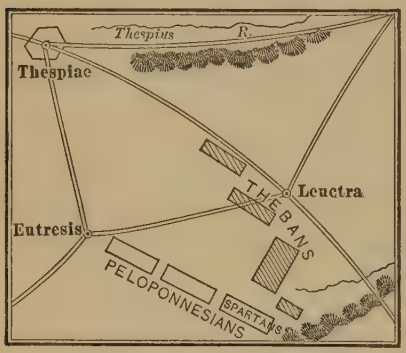
The freeing of Thebes, 379 B.C.

The Thebans had now recovered their independence. Eight years later they totally defeated a superior Peloponnesian force at the battle of Leuctra, and brought the supremacy of Sparta to an

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v, 4.

end. The Spartans, to their credit, be it said, met the blow with unfailing courage. When news of Leuctra arrived, the ephors delivered the names of the slain to their families and friends, "with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation, but to bear their sorrow in silence. On the next day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the slain moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, while those who had friends reported to have survived the battle flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows, as if in humiliation."[1] Sparta, indeed, showed her best side in the hour of disaster.

Battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA

The battle of Leuctra, from a military standpoint, is one of the most interesting in ancient history. Until this time the Greeks had followed a very simple method of fighting. The hoplites, or heavy-armed infantry, stood in the centre of a continuous line of troops. Cavalry covered their flanks and light-armed soldiers skirmished in front, before the opposing forces joined in hand-to-hand combat. Epaminondas, the Theban commander at Leuctra, made a striking change in warfare. He massed his best troops on the left wing, in a solid column, fifty men deep, and hurled this with terrific force on the Spartan ranks. The enemy, drawn up twelve deep in the old-fashioned manner, could not withstand the shock, their lines gave way, and the fight was won. This device of concentrating the attack upon a single point of the enemy's line forms a landmark in military history. It was further developed in the famous Macedonian phalanx.[2]

Military importance of Leuctra.

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi, 4.

[2] See pages 261–262.

95. The Theban Supremacy: Pelopidas and Epaminondas, 371–362 B.C.

The sudden rise of Thebes to the position of the first city in Greece was the work of two men whose names are always linked together in the annals of the time. In Pelopidas and Epaminondas, bosom friends and colleagues, Thebes found the heroes of her struggle for independence. Pelopidas was a fiery warrior whose bravery and daring won the hearts of his soldiers. At Leuctra he led into battle the famous Sacred Band, a "crack" regiment of three hundred young men, chosen from the noblest families and distinguished for strength and endurance. They stood in front of the other soldiers, prepared to fight and fall together. Pelopidas was as unselfish as he was brave, and worked zealously with Epaminondas in the cause of Theban freedom.

The heroes of Thebes; Pelopidas.

If Pelopidas was the right hand of Thebes, Epaminondas, it has been said, was her brain. Without personal ambition himself, he was devoted to the state. All through a brilliant career he remained indifferent to money, and lived and died poor. One day, sitting down to a frugal meal, he remarked, "Treason and a dinner like this do not keep company together."[1] He delighted in the things of the mind. Pelopidas spent his leisure in hunting or on the wrestling ground. Epaminondas preferred to attend the lectures of philosophers. He was a modest man; a friend declared that he had never met a person who knew more and talked less than Epaminondas. Great as a leader of men, the first general of his age, as Leuctra showed, Epaminondas was even more eminent as a broad-minded statesman. No other Greek, save perhaps Pericles, can be compared with him. Even Pericles worked for Athens alone and showed no regard for the rest of Greece. Epaminondas had nobler ideals and sought the general good of the Hellenic race. He fought less to

Epaminondas.

[1] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 13.

destroy Sparta than to curb that city's power of doing harm. He aimed not so much to make Thebes mistress of an empire as to give her a proper place among Greek cities. The Thebans, indeed, sometimes complained that Epaminondas loved Hellas more than his native city.

Humbling of Sparta by Epaminondas.

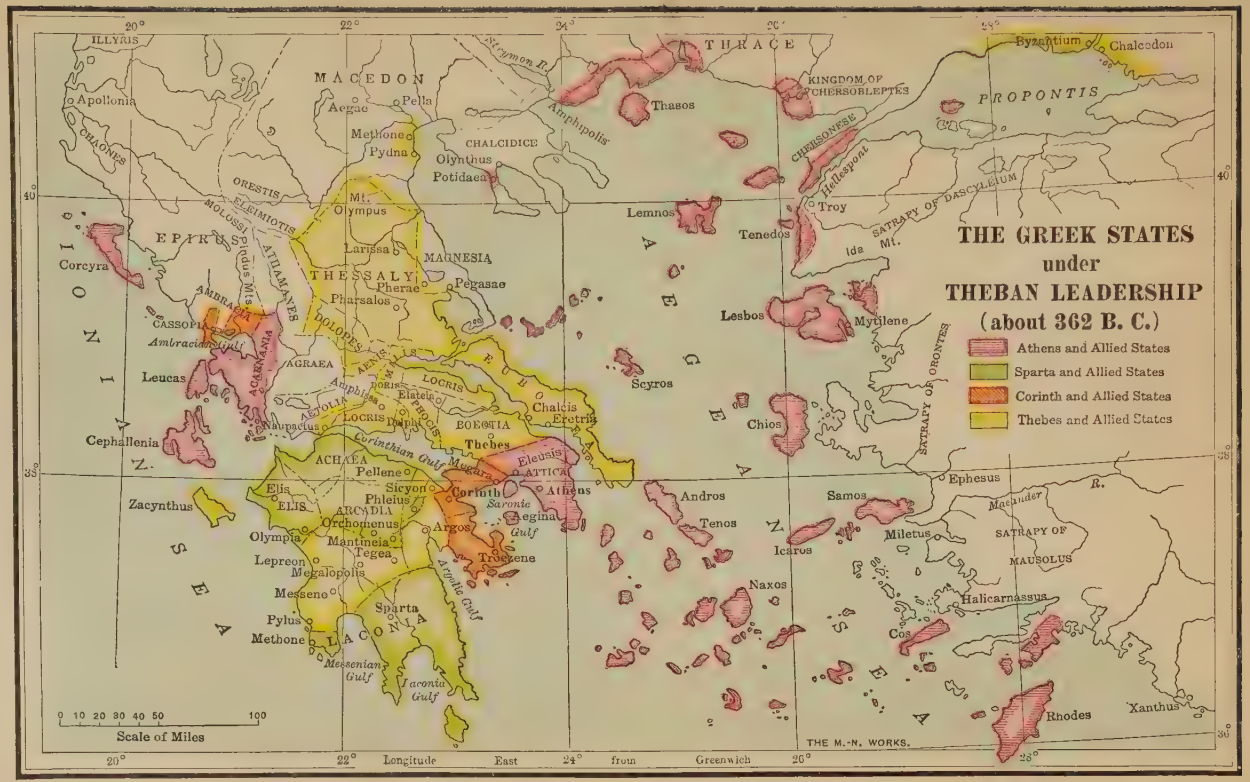
The battle of Leuctra had at once important results. It was a fatal blow to the prestige of Sparta. Her army, hitherto invincible, had gone down in total defeat before an inferior Theban force. She began now to lose her possessions in the Peloponnesus. The towns of Arcadia rose in rebellion and founded a new city, Megalopolis, to be a rival of Sparta.[1] Epaminondas himself invaded Laconia, ravaged the country from end to end, and even threatened unwalled Sparta. Though he did not capture the city, Epaminondas had the satisfaction of restoring Messenia to her ancient independence.[2] Thus the pride of Sparta was humbled. She lost, in a single campaign, her imperial position, and found herself reduced to a second-rate state.

The brief glory of Thebes.

By crippling Sparta, Epaminondas raised his own city to a position of supremacy. Most of the continental powers outside the Peloponnesus allied themselves with Thebes. Theban influence began to be felt even in remote Thessaly and Macedonia. Had he been spared for a longer service, Epaminondas might have realized his dream of bringing unity and order into the troubled politics of his time. But circumstances were too strong for him. The Greek states which had accepted the leadership of Athens and of Sparta were unwilling to admit the claims of Thebes to a position of equal power and importance. The brief period of Theban rule was filled, therefore, with perpetual conflict. Athens even united with her ancient rival, Sparta, in order to make headway against the rising dominion of Thebes.

Nine years after Leuctra, the opposing parties met at Mantinea

[1] Megalopolis, the "great city," is still in existence. [2] See page 168.


THE GREEK STATES
under
THEBAN LEADERSHIP
(about 362 B. C.)
Athens and Allied States
Sparta and Allied States
Corinth and Allied States
Thebes and Allied States
ILLYRIS
MACEDON
THRACE
KINGDOM OF CHERSOBLEPTES
PROPONTIS
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Apollonia
CHAONES
Aegae
Pella
Methone
Pydna
Olynthus
Potidaea
CHALCIDICE
Amphipolis
Thasos
CHERSONESE
Hellespont
Troy
SATRAPY OF DASCYLEIUM
Ida Mt.
Lemnos
Tenedos
Lesbos
Mytilene
SATRAPY OF ORONTES
Scyros
Chios
Ephesus
Samos
Miletus
SATRAPY OF MAUSOLUS
Halicarnassus
Cos
Rhodes
Xanthus
Andros
Tenos
Icaros
Naxos
Mt. Olympus
Larissa
MAGNESIA
Pherae
Pegasae
Pharsalos
THESSALY
EPIRUS
Corcyra
CASSOPIA
Ambracia Gulf
AMBRACIA
ATHAMANES
MOLOSSI
ELEIMIOTIS
ORESTIS
Pindus Mts
DOLOPES
AGRAEA
AENIS
MALIS
LOCRIS
EUBOEA
Chalcis
Eretria
Leucas
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Naupactus
Elatea
Delphi
BOEOTIA
Thebes
Eleusis
ATTICA
Athens
Megara
Corinthian Gulf
ACHAEA
Pellene
Sicyon
Corinth
Saronic Gulf
Aegina
Elis
ELIS
Phleius
ARCADIA
Orchomenus
Argos
Olympia
Mantineia
Tegea
Troezene
Lepreon
Megalopolis
Messene
Argolic Gulf
Sparta
Pylus
Methone
LACONIA
Messenian Gulf
Laconia Gulf
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE M.-N. WORKS.

in Arcadia. Epaminondas repeated the tactics of Leuctra with all his former success. But in the press of battle, the great leader himself was mortally wounded. He suffered much, we are told, but with his hand pressed to the wound, he kept looking hard at the fight. When the combat ended indecisively, he took his hand from the wound and breathed his last, and they buried him on the battlefield.

Battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

"Here where well-nigh the whole of Hellas was met together on one field, and the antagonists stood rank against rank confronted, no one doubted that, in the event of battle, the conquerors this day would rule, and that those who lost would be their subjects. But God so ordered it that both sides alike set up trophies as claiming victory, and neither interfered with the other in the act. . . . And though both claimed to have won the day, neither could show that he had gained thereby any accession of territory, or state, or empire, or was better situated than before the battle. Uncertainty and confusion, indeed, had gained ground, being tenfold greater throughout the length and breadth of Hellas after the battle than before."[1]

Situation after Mantinea.

96. Decline of the City-State

The significant words with which the Greek historian closes his narrative may fitly conclude our description of the age of the city-states. The battle of Mantinea proved that no single city — Athens, Sparta, or Thebes — was strong enough to rule Greece. By the middle of the fourth century B.C. it had become evident that a great Hellenic state could not be created out of the little, independent city-republics of Greece.

Weakness of the city-states.

The history of continental Hellas, for more than a century after the close of the Persian War, had been a record of almost ceaseless conflict. We have seen how Greece came to be split up into

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii, 5.

two great alliances, the one a naval league ruled by Athens, the other a confederacy of Peloponnesian cities, under the leadership of Sparta. How the Delian League became the Athenian Empire; how Sparta began a long war with Athens to secure the independence of the subject states and ended it by reducing them to her own supremacy; how the rough-handed sway of Sparta led to the revolt of her allies and dependencies and the sudden rise of Thebes to supremacy; how Thebes herself established an empire on the ruins of Spartan rule — this is a story of fruitless and exhausting struggles which sounded the knell of Greek liberty and the end of the city-state.

A century of internecine contest.

Far away in the north, remote from the noisy conflicts of Greek political life, a new power was slowly rising to imperial greatness — no insignificant city-state, but an extensive territorial state like those of modern times. Three years after the battle of Mantinea, Philip II ascended the throne of Macedonia. His life work was to establish Hellenic unity by bringing the Hellenic people within a widely ruling empire. Alexander the Great, the son of this king, was to carry Macedonian dominion and Greek culture to the ends of the known world. We may well dismiss here the petty quarrels of the city-states as having no longer any vital interest for us. We may turn rather to the amazing advance which the Greeks had made during this troubled period in the allied fields of literature and philosophy.

Outcome of the situation.

97. Development of Greek Literature: the Drama

Though the Athenian Empire had gone down in ruin, Athens herself won a nobler empire over the minds of men. That city still remained the intellectual centre of Hellas. The three great masters of the tragic drama[1] lived and wrote in Athens during the splendid half century between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were, in part, contemporaries. Such

The great tragedians of Athens.

[1] For the Greek theatre and theatrical performances see pages 586–587.

was the marvellous fertility of their genius that they are said to have written altogether nearly three hundred plays. Only thirty-two of these have come down to us.

Æschylus, the first of the tragic poets, had fought at Marathon and Salamis. One of his earliest works, the *Persians*, is a magnificent song of triumph for the victory of Hellas. The play contains a glowing description of the battle of Salamis. One can almost hear the mighty shout of the soldiers as they rush against the foe: "Go forth, sons of the Greeks, free your country, free your children and wives, and the shrines of your ancestral gods, and the tombs of your fathers."[1] The *Persians* is the only Greek tragedy in existence which takes its theme, not from mythology, but from history.

Æschylus, 525–456 B.C.; the Persians.

Sophocles, while yet a young man, gained the prize in a dramatic contest with Æschylus. From this time to his death he was the leading tragic poet of Athens. We have only seven of his hundred plays. One of them, the *Antigone*, tells a story of heroic self-sacrifice and sisterly devotion. The king of Thebes had ordered the body of his bitterest foe to be thrown to the dogs and birds. No one, on pain of death, was to give it burial. But Antigone chooses to obey the unwritten law of heaven rather than the king's command; she pays the last honours to her brother's corpse, and dies a martyr. Without the grandeur of Æschylus, Sophocles is the finer artist,

Sophocles, 496–406 B.C.; the Antigone.

SOPHOCLES

Lateran Museum, Rome

This marble statue is possibly a copy of the bronze original which the Athenians set up in the Theatre of Dionysus. The feet and the box of manuscript rolls are modern restorations.

[1] Æschylus, *Persians*, 402–405.

His plays mark the perfection of Greek tragedy. After the death of Sophocles, the Athenians worshipped him as a hero, and honoured his memory with yearly sacrifices.

Euripides was the third and the most popular of the Athenian dramatists. His plays are full of a tender pathos that goes straight to the heart. He has a deep sympathy for women and slaves, for the downtrodden and oppressed. One of the most elaborate of his tragedies, the *Alcestis*, tells how that noble queen died to save her husband's life, and how the hero Heracles brought her back from the world of shades. The fame of Euripides reached far beyond his native land. We are told that the Sicilians were so fond of his verses that they granted freedom to every one of the Athenian prisoners captured at Syracuse who could recite the poet's lines.

Euripides, 480–406 B.C.; the Alcestis.

Greek comedy during the fifth century is represented by the plays of Aristophanes. He was not only a great poet, but a great satirist who did not scruple to attack some of the leading personages of his age. In one comedy he ridicules the demagogue Cleon, who was prominent in Athenian politics after the death of Pericles. Another play makes fun of the ordinary citizen's delight in sitting on jury courts and trying cases. Still another is full of allusions to Athenian follies of the day, and especially to the Sicilian expedition. From this point of view, we might liken the comedies of Aristophanes to the editorials and cartoons in modern newspapers. His plays were performed before admiring audiences of thousands of citizens, and hence must have had great influence on public opinion.

Aristophanes, 448–385 B.C.

98. Literary Development: Historical Prose

In the infancy of literature good prose is harder to write than good poetry. National literatures, such as those of Greece and Rome, began with verse writing and passed to prose composition only at a much later period. In Greece the great poetic forms of

the epic, the lyric, and the drama had matured into the highest excellence before narratives in artistic prose appeared. The first artist in prose, the man who did for prose what Homer did for poetry, was "the father of history," Herodotus.

Beginnings of Greek prose.

Though a native of Asia Minor, Herodotus spent some of the best years of his life at Athens, mingling in its brilliant society and coming under the influences, literary and artistic, which that city then afforded. Herodotus was an unwearied traveller in an age when travelling was not a fashionable amusement. He visited Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia, as well as the Greek colonies on the shores of the Euxine, and those in southern Italy and Sicily. His travels provided him with a vast fund of entertaining knowledge about countries and nations hitherto very imperfectly known. As a rule, his information was as accurate as could be expected in the circumstances. Modern research has often verified the statements of Herodotus.

Herodotus, 484–425 B.C.

The materials thus carefully gathered were worked up by Herodotus into what was the first real history ever written. His main theme is the Persian War — that mighty struggle between East and West on which rested the destinies of European civilization. Herodotus is no critical historian, diligently sifting truth from fable. He is an epic and dramatic poet who has suddenly discovered the possibilities of prose. Where he can, he gives us facts. Where facts are lacking, he tells interesting stories couched in winning style. He is above all an artist whose first purpose is, not to inform, but to delight.

Herodotus as an historian.

A writer of very different temper was the Athenian Thucydides. He lived during the epoch of the Peloponnesian War and became the historian of that contest. Thucydides had not the noble and weighty subject which engaged Herodotus. His history relates only the obscure and mostly unimportant details of a struggle between rival city-states. It tells us nothing about the brilliant social and intellectual life of the Greece of his time.

Thucydides, 471–400 B.C.

Yet Thucydides, though less popular in his own day than Herodotus, has gained an assured immortality as a historian. He inquires into the origins and causes of events. He omits as useless the stories which Herodotus would have narrated, but, in return, he presents us with a fair and accurate account of things just as they happened. This is the first business of the historian, and so Thucydides must be considered the first scientific writer of history.

The works of Xenophon, a contemporary of Thucydides, display the many-sided experience of the man. He was a youth at Athens when the Peloponnesian War came to an end. At this time he joined the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks against Persia, became the inspiring leader of the famous retreat, and subsequently told all the thrilling story in his *Anabasis*.[1] In this book Xenophon is at his best. It has the freshness of a personal narrative as well as the charm of a simple but lively style. Xenophon also wrote a history of Greece from the point where Thucydides concluded to the death of Epaminondas. Xenophon, however, was more than a historian. He was perhaps the first Greek essayist. One of his most familiar essays is his *Recollections of Socrates*, a defence of that Athenian philosopher, by a devoted disciple. In another entertaining work, he tells how to educate a young wife who knows nothing of household management except the rudiments of cookery. Xenophon also wrote a sort of historical romance in which Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, is the central figure. One of the episodes in this book contains the first love story in European literature.

Xenophon, 431–355 B.C.

99. The Progress of Philosophy

During the century following the Persian War, Greek philosophy entered on new paths. The theories of earlier students[2] had been so many and so contradictory that after a time their speculations fell into disrepute. Then thinkers, giving up the effort to understand the universe, proposed in turn to

The sophists.

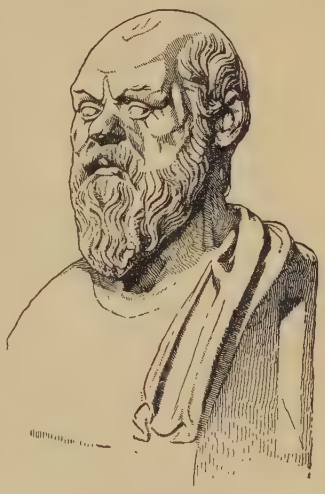
[1] See page 271.

[2] See page 184.

study man himself. These sophists, as they were called, travelled throughout Greece, gathering the young men about them and lecturing for pay on subjects of practical interest. Among other things they taught the rhetoric and oratory which were needed for success in a public career.

Sometimes the sophists only pretended to be wise and really were not so. Indeed, the name of sophist came to mean one who instructs his pupils how to deceive people by arguments that they do not themselves believe. Many of the sophists, however, were really brilliant thinkers who did much to spread better ideas about religion, politics, and morals. Since their teaching was very popular, we may regard them as the representatives of Greek higher education. They were the "college professors" of antiquity.

Influence of the sophists.



SOCRATES

After the marble bust in the Vatican

The greatest teacher of the age was Socrates the Athenian, who lived during the period of the Peloponnesian War. Socrates resembled the sophists in his possession of an inquiring, sceptical mind which questioned every common belief and superstition. But he went beyond the sophists in his emphasis on problems of everyday morality. He tried to show how foolish it was to speculate about things that cannot be known; his own motto was, "Know thyself." Thus he asked where is the difference between justice and injustice, between virtue and vice; what is the beautiful, what the ugly; what is noble, what base; who is the good citizen and who the bad? Socrates, then, was a student of conduct, whose chief aim was to make people better.

Socrates, 469–399 B.C.

Though Socrates himself wrote nothing, his teachings and personality made a deep impression on his contemporaries. The Delphic oracle declared that no one in the world was wiser than Socrates. Yet he lived through a long life at Athens, a poor man who would neither work at his trade of sculptor, nor accept money for his teaching as the sophists did. He walked the streets barefooted and half clad, happy if he could find some gray-haired elder whose ignorance he might expose in argument, or some younger man whose sham knowledge melted like mist before his shrewd questioning. For Socrates never preached, he only discussed; he taught not by formal lectures, but through conversation. His must have been a familiar figure to the Athenians. The short body, large bald head, and homely features hardly presented the ideal of a philosopher. Even Aristophanes in a comedy laughs at him.

Personality of Socrates.

Such a person, of course, would make many enemies, even in Athens where men more than elsewhere enjoyed free speech. Late in life Socrates was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth of Athens with his doctrines. As a matter of fact, he was a deeply religious man. If he objected to the crude mythology of Homer, he often spoke of one God who ruled the world, and even of a divine spirit or Conscience within his own breast. A jury court, however, found him guilty, and the old philosopher was condemned to death. He refused to defend himself in the ordinary fashion, refused to escape from prison when opportunity offered, and passed his last days in eager conversation on the immortality of the soul. When the hour of departure arrived, he bade his disciples farewell, then calmly drained the cup of hemlock, a poison that caused a painless death. Although Socrates gave up his life for his philosophy, this did not perish with him.

Condemnation and death of Socrates.

One of the members of the Socratic circle was Plato, a noble of wealth who abandoned a public career for the attractions of philosophy. After the death of Socrates, Plato travelled widely in

the Greek world and even visited Egypt, where he discussed philosophic problems with the priests. On his return to Athens, Plato began teaching in the garden and gymnasium known as the Academy. Here he founded a school or college, here he passed a long life engaged in lecturing and writing, and near the scene of his labours he was buried.

Plato, 429–347 B.C.

Plato's school, also called the Academy, has great interest as the forerunner of the modern university. It was a union of teachers and students who possessed in common a chapel, a library, lecture rooms, and other buildings. The subjects of study were philosophy, mathematics, and science. The students included women as well as men. There was a head or president and a regular staff of lecturers. On stated occasions, such as the birthday of Plato, teachers and students dined together. The school was regarded as a religious brotherhood for the worship of the Muses, the patrons of literature and learning. This Athenian "university" enjoyed a flourishing existence for over nine hundred years.[1]

The Academy.

The writings of Plato, known as *Dialogues*, are cast in the form of question and answer that Socrates had used. In most of them Plato makes Socrates the chief speaker. One of Plato's dialogues, the *Republic*, describes the philosopher's ideal state. It has been the parent of many similar romances from that time to the present. Another work, the *Laws*, sets forth an ideal legal code. Three very beautiful dialogues present a touching picture of the last days of Socrates. All these compositions were so admirable in style that men said if Zeus had spoken Greek he would have spoken it as did Plato.

Plato's "Dialogues."

As great a philosopher as Plato, but a far less attractive writer, was Aristotle. He was not an Athenian by birth, but he passed many years in Athens, first as a pupil of Plato, who called him the "mind" of the school, and then as a

Aristotle, 384–322 B.C.

[1] In 529 A.D. it was abolished by the Roman emperor Justinian because the teachings of the professors were opposed to Christianity.

teacher of philosophy in the Athenian city.[1] Aristotle contrasts with Plato in some measure as Thucydides with Herodotus. Aristotle was a cool, cautious thinker, who did not have the literary gifts that made Plato's prose glow with poetic power. But possibly no other man, ancient or modern, has ever possessed an intellect so original, so powerful, and so comprehensive as Aristotle's. He still remains "the master of those who know."

Aristotle's investigations.

Aristotle seems to have taken all knowledge for his province. He investigated the ideas underlying the arts of rhetoric and poetry; he gathered the constitutions of many Greek states and drew from them some general principles of politics; he studied collections of strange plants and animals to learn their structure and habits; he examined the acts and beliefs of men in order to write works on ethics. Perhaps the supreme achievement of Aristotle was the creation of logic or the science of reasoning.

His method of study.

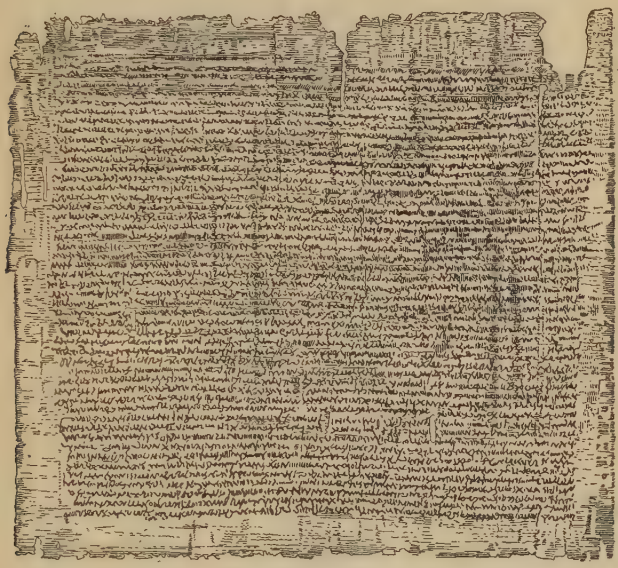
In all this investigation, Aristotle was not content to accept what previous men had written, or to spin a pleasing theory merely out of his own brain. Everywhere he sought for facts; everything he tried to bring to the test of personal observation. He was a lover of truth. "Plato and truth are both dear to me," he said, "but it is a sacred duty to prefer truth." Aristotle, then, was as much a scientist as a philosopher. When we remember that very little of a scientific character had been written before his time, we can realize his influence on the thought of the world. So thoroughly did he do his task that his works, besides being reverently studied for centuries after his death, are still textbooks in our universities.

The lifetime of Aristotle covers exactly the same span as that of the Athenian orator Demosthenes. Demosthenes gained his fame as the champion of Greece against Philip of Macedonia. Aristotle

[1] Aristotle taught in a building with a "peripatos," or covered walk, near the pleasure ground and gymnasium called the Lyceum. Hence comes the term "peripatetic" applied to Aristotle's philosophy.

served as the tutor of Philip's young son, Alexander. The oratory of the one, the philosophy of the other, belong, therefore, less to the age of the city-states than to the succeeding period of Macedonian supremacy over Greece. To the consideration of this new period we now address ourselves.

Aristotle and Demosthenes.



A Papyrus Manuscript

A manuscript discovered in Egypt in 1890. It is supposed to be that of Aristotle's lost treatise on the Athenian constitution.

EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
About 323 B.C
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Marches of Alexander
Marches of Alexander's Generals
Voyage of Nearchus
40° Long. East of Greenwich
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
Jaxartes R.
Danube R.
THRACE
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
Comana
Ancyra
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Aegean Sea
Ephesus
Miletus
Sardis
PISIDIA
LYCAONIA
CILICIA
Issus
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
Crete
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cyprus
Tyre
Damascus
SYRIA
Thapsacus
Nisibis
MESOPOTAMIA
Arbela
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Zadracarta
PARTHIA
DESERT
Aspadana
Susa
SUSIANA
PERSIS
Carmana
CARMANIA
Persepolis
Alexandria
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Paraetonium
Alexandria
Gaza
Memphis
Pelusium
Ammon
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
RED SEA
ARABIA
PERSIAN GULF
Harmozia
GEDROSIA
Pura
Maracanda
SOGDIANA
Alexandria
Oxiana
Bactra
BACTRIANA
Alexandria
Orthospana
Dyrta
Alexandria
Taxica
Bucephala
Nicaea
Phra
ARACHOSIA
Alexandria
Arachosiorum
Agelassa
Alexandria
Opiana
Alexandria
Sogdiana
INDIA
Pattala
ARABIAN SEA
Oxus
Ochus R.
Indus R.
Pontus
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
70°

CHAPTER VIII

MINGLING OF EAST AND WEST: THE EMPIRES OF PHILIP AND ALEXANDER, 359–323 B.C.

100. Macedonia and its People

For many centuries the history of continental Greece had been confined to the central and southern divisions of the peninsula. The northern regions of Thessaly and Epirus were too distant and their inhabitants too barbarous to exert much influence on

Macedonian Cavalryman

the Greek world. Still less in touch with Greek life was the land of Macedonia.

Macedonia covered a wide territory, extending from Thrace on the east to the borders of Epirus and Thessaly on the south. Its early history is that of an inland state. The coast had long been occupied by a fringe of Greek colonies, including those on the peninsula of Chalcidice. Opening on the coast was a broad fertile plain formed by three large rivers which

flow into the Ægean. In the rear rose the highlands, cut up into narrow valleys with lofty mountain ramparts.

The people of Macedonia were Greek in blood and language. We may regard them as making up the outer rim of the Greek race. No doubt they were an offshoot of those invaders from the north who had entered the Balkan peninsula before the dawn of history.[1] The Macedonians remained for centuries a rude, uncultivated folk. Fighting and hunting formed the chief occupation of the highlanders. A youth who had slain no foe wore a rope around his waist to show that he was still unfree; and until he had killed a wild boar he could not sit at table with men. The inhabitants of the lowlands were more civilized. They tilled their fields as sturdy farmers and carried on much trade with the Hellenic colonists along the coast. From the latter, they learned to dwell in cities, to wear the heavy armour of the Greeks, to call themselves and their gods by Greek names.

The Macedonians.

The kings of Macedonia, from the time of the Persian wars, embraced every opportunity of spreading Greek culture throughout their realm. The royal family, indeed, claimed descent from the Dorian princes of Argos, even from mighty Heracles. The Greeks admitted this claim by allowing a Macedonian king to take part in the Olympic games, from which all foreigners were excluded. Other Macedonian monarchs invited the poets and artists of Hellas to their courts and tried to maintain friendly relations with the city-states. By the middle of the fourth century B.C., the Macedonians were ready to take a prominent place in the Greek world. It was the work of Philip II to achieve this destiny for his people.

Early kings of Macedonia.

101. Philip of Macedonia

Philip of Macedonia was one of the most remarkable characters of antiquity. In bodily vigour, in strength and bravery, he was every inch a king. He was the best horseman, the boldest swim-

[1] See page 148.

mer, the keenest hunter, in the land. His mental equipment matched his physical gifts. He became versed in Greek literature and philosophy, and so mastered the Greek language as to be accounted one of the first orators of his time. Sagacious and resolute, gifted with inflexibility of purpose and an overpowering will, Philip was a true leader of men.

Character of Philip.

To Greece and its ways Philip was no stranger. Part of his boyhood had been passed as a hostage at Thebes in the great years of Theban glory. His residence there gave him a keen insight into Greek politics, and taught him the art of war as it had been perfected by Epaminondas. In the distracted condition of Greece, worn out by the rivalries of contending cities, Philip saw the opportunity of Macedonia. He aimed to secure for his country the position of supremacy which neither Athens, Sparta, nor Thebes had been able to hold. To place Macedonia at the head of Greece formed the abiding purpose of his life. As an Athenian orator remarked, "Philip, to gain empire and power, had an eye knocked out, his collar-bone broken, his arm and his leg maimed; he abandoned to fortune any part of his body she cared to take, so that honour and glory might be the portion of the rest."[1]

Philip's ambition to rule over Greece.

PHILIP II

From a gold medallion struck by Alexander

Philip's most important achievement was the creation of the Macedonian army, which he led to the conquest of Greece, and which his son was to lead to the conquest of the world. Taking a hint from the tactics of Epaminondas,[2] Philip trained his infantry to fight by columns, but with sufficient intervals between the files to permit quick and easy movements. Each man bore an enormous lance, eighteen

Philip's army; the phalanx.

[1] Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 67.

[2] See page 244.

feet in length. When this heavy phalanx was set in array, the weapons carried by the soldiers in the first five ranks presented a bristling thicket of lance-points, which no onset, however determined, could penetrate. When the phalanx moved to the charge, it never failed to bear down the ordinary Greek line by sheer force of impact.

The Macedonian phalanx, unlike the solid Theban column, was not intended to decide a battle by its attack. The business of the phalanx was to keep the front of the foe engaged, while the cavalry rode into the enemy's flanks. This reliance on masses of cavalry to win a victory was something new in warfare. Another novel feature consisted in the use of curious engines called catapults, able to throw darts and huge stones three hundred yards, and of battering rams with force enough to hurl down the walls of cities. All these different arms working together, made a war machine of tremendous power — the most formidable in the ancient world until the days of the Roman legion.

The cavalry and artillery.

Philip commanded a fine army; he ruled with absolute sway a territory larger than any other Hellenic state; he himself possessed a genius both for war and for diplomacy. With such advantages, the Macedonian king entered on the subjugation of disunited Greece.

Strength of Philip.

102. The Rise of Macedonia, 359–338 B.C.

Philip's first great success was won in western Thrace. Here he founded the city of Philippi[1] and seized the mines of Mount Pangæus, the richest gold-producing region known to the ancient world. The income from the mines enabled him to keep his soldiers always under arms, to fit out a fleet, and, by means of liberal bribes, to hire a crowd of agents in

Conquests of Philip.

[1] Philippi became noted afterwards as the first city in Europe where Christianity was preached. In the book of *Acts* (xvi, 9) we read how the Apostle Paul went to Philippi from Asia Minor as the result of a vision, in which a man of Macedonia appeared to him, saying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us."

nearly every Greek city. The crafty king declared that he found no town impregnable, if once he could get a mule load of gold passed within its gates. Philip then made Macedonia a maritime state by annexing the Greek cities on the peninsula of Chalcidice. He also appeared in Thessaly, occupied its principal fortresses, and extended Macedonian sway to the Pass of Thermopylæ.

It was not long before quarrels among the Greek city-states gave to Philip that foothold in central Greece for which he had long been scheming. A bitter feud existed at this time between Phocis and Thebes. The Thebans accused the Phocians of having trespassed upon some land which belonged to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The Amphictyonic Council, then under the control of Thebes, declared the Phocians guilty of sacrilege, and condemned them to pay a heavy fine. The Phocians, however, instead of obeying the order, seized the temple with its enormous treasures, and hired mercenary soldiers to fight for them. Thereupon, the enemies of Phocis sought Philip's powerful aid. The king was only too ready to pose as a champion of Apollo against the men who had violated his shrine. Philip led an army into Phocis, dismantled its cities, and scattered the people in small villages throughout the land. This episode is known as the Second Sacred War.[1]

Second Sacred War, 356–346 B.C.

The Amphictyonic Council rewarded Philip by transferring to him the two votes in their assembly formerly possessed by Phocis. He also received the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The Macedonian king was thus admitted into the innermost circle of the Greeks. Philip's position of honour and influence aroused hopes that he might now persuade the rival city-states to lay aside their quarrels and form a great Hellenic league for an attack on Persia. An Athenian orator, Isocrates, even urged this policy in an open letter to Philip. But the time had not yet come for any such peaceful union with Macedonia.

Philip's position in Greece.

[1] See page 164.

103. Demosthenes and the End of Greek Freedom, 338–336 B.C.

Philip, for more than twenty years, had been steadily extending his sway over Greece. In the face of his encroachments, were those states which still kept their independence to take no concerted action to oppose him? Would Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, so long the leading cities, submit tamely to this Macedonian conqueror? There was one man, at least, who realized the menace to Greek freedom from Philip's onward march. In the Athenian orator, Demosthenes, Greece found a champion of her threatened liberties.

Demosthenes, 384–322 B.C.

Demosthenes was the last, as well as the most famous, of the great Athenian orators. Much of their oratory — the debates in the Assembly, the speeches before the jury courts — has utterly perished. Many of the speeches which survive in written form lack the interest inspired by other productions of Greek literature. We cannot hear the speaker himself as he strides up and down the bema; or see that audience of eager and appreciative Athenians who day after day filled the benches of the Assembly under the clear Attic sky and in the warm Attic sunshine. Yet such was the genius of Demosthenes that his words, even from the printed page, still thrill with fiery eloquence.

Greek oratory before Demosthenes.

Demosthenes was an orator by will, as well as by genius. When he first began to speak, the citizens laughed at his long, involved sentences, over-rapid delivery, and awkward bearing. Friends encouraged him to persist, assuring him that, if the manner of his speeches was bad, their matter was worthy of Pericles. Numerous stories are told of the efforts made by Demosthenes to overcome his natural defects. He practiced gesturing before a mirror, and, to correct a stammering pronunciation, recited verses with pebbles in his mouth. He would go down to the seashore during storms and strive to make his

Demosthenes as an orator.

voice heard above the roar of wind and waves, in order the better to face the boisterous Assembly. Demosthenes studied composition no less than elocution. He greatly admired Thucydides and copied that historian's work eight times throughout, to acquire a condensed and weighty style. No wonder that the rivals of Demosthenes declared that his speeches smelt of the midnight oil. Before long he came to be regarded as the prince of speakers even in the city of orators. His powerful addresses, it was said, could "lift the souls of his hearers from their hinges."

DEMOSTHENES
Vatican Museum, Rome

Demosthenes was a man cast in the old heroic mould. His patriotic imagination had been fired by the great deeds once accomplished by free Greeks. Athens he loved with passionate devotion. Let her remember her ancient glories, he urged, and, by withstanding Philip, become the leader of Hellas in a second war of independence. In his very first speech against Philip (351 B.C.), he contrasts the indifference displayed by his countrymen with the ambitious energy of their foe. Philip, he says, is not the man to rest content with the conquests that he has already made. He is always adding to his possessions, while the Athenians do nothing to oppose him. In another speech, delivered after the Second Sacred War, Demosthenes notes what rapid progress the king has made toward enslaving Greece. "When the Greeks once abused their power to oppress others, all Greece rose to prevent this injustice; and yet to-day we suffer an unworthy Macedonian, a barbarian of a hated race, to destroy Greek cities and celebrate in his own person the Pythian games."[1]

The "Philippics."

The stirring appeals of the great orator for years had little effect.

[1] Demosthenes, *Third Philippic*, 41.

There were many friends of Philip in the Greek states, even in Athens itself. When, however, Philip once more entered central Greece and threatened the independence of its cities, the eloquence of Demosthenes met a readier response. In the presence of the common danger, Thebes and Athens at last gave up their ancient rivalry, and formed a defensive alliance against Philip. Had it been joined by Sparta and the other Peloponnesian states, it is possible that their united power might have hurled back the invader. But they held aloof.

Last struggle of the Greeks.

The decisive battle was fought at Chæronea in Bœotia. On that fatal field the well-drilled and seasoned troops of Macedonia, headed by a master of the art of war, overcame the citizen levies of Greece. The Greeks fought bravely, as of yore, and their defeat was not inglorious. The three hundred hoplites of the Sacred Band,[1] like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, died to a man. Near the modern town of Chæronea the traveller can still see the tomb where the fallen heroes were laid, and the marble lion set up as a memorial to their dauntless struggle.[2]

Battle of Chæronea, 338 B.C.

Chæronea gave Philip the undisputed control of Greece. But now that victory was assured, he had no intention of playing the tyrant. Thebes, indeed, he compelled to admit a Macedonian garrison to her citadel. He treated Athens so mildly that the citizens were glad to conclude with him a peace which left their possessions untouched. Philip entered the Peloponnesus as a liberator. Its towns and cities welcomed an alliance with so powerful a protector against Sparta.

Philip's policy as conqueror.

Having completely realized his design of establishing a protectorate over Greece, Philip's restless energy drove him forward to the next step in his ambitious programme. He determined to carry

[1] See page 245.

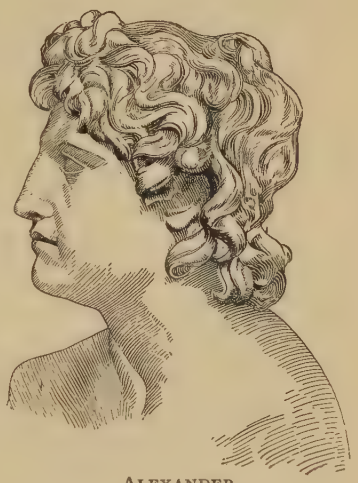
[2] The lion lay for centuries in fragments on the plain, but in 1902 the broken pieces were fitted together and mounted on a high pedestal. It is an impressive monument.

out the plans, so long cherished by the Greeks, for an invasion of Asia Minor, and, perhaps, of Persia itself. In the year 337 B.C., a congress of all the Hellenic states met at Corinth under Philip's presidency. The delegates voted to supply ships and men for the great undertaking, and placed Philip in command of the allied forces. A Macedonian king was to be the captain-general of Hellas.

Congress at Corinth, 337 B.C.

But Philip was destined never to lead an army across the Hellespont. Less than two years after Chæronea, an assassin's dagger laid him low, and the sceptre passed to his young son, Alexander.

Death of Philip, 336 B.C.



ALEXANDER

Glyptothek, Munich

Probably an authentic portrait of the youthful Alexander about 338 B.C.

104. Alexander the Great

Alexander was only twenty years of age when he became ruler of Macedonia. From his father he must have inherited the powerful frame, the kingly figure, the masterful will, which made so deep an impression on all his contemporaries. His mother, a proud and ambitious woman, taught him that the blood of Achilles ran in his veins, and bade him emulate the deeds of that national hero. We know that he learned the *Iliad* by heart and always carried a copy of it on his campaigns. As he reached manhood, Alexander developed into a splendid athlete, skilful in all the sports of his rough-riding companions, and trained in every warlike exercise.

The youthful Alexander.

With Alexander, the boy was father to the man, if we may trust the anecdotes about him told by the Greek biographer, Plutarch.

His fearless character showed itself when, a lad of twelve, he tamed the fiery horse Bucephalus, which none dared to ride. "My son," said Philip, as the young Alexander came galloping up, with pride and joy in his face, "seek a kingdom suited to your powers; Macedonia is too small for you."[1] Alexander's desire for fame and glory was revealed in the complaint made to his playmates when news came of Philip's victories, "My father will get ahead of us in everything; he will leave no great task for me to share with you."[2]

Anecdotes of Alexander.

Philip must have believed that in Alexander he had a worthy son, for he persuaded Aristotle, the most learned man in Greece, to become the tutor of the young prince. The influence of that philosopher remained with Alexander throughout life. Aristotle taught him to love Greek art and science, and instilled into his receptive mind an admiration for all things Grecian. Alexander used to say that, while he owed his life to his father, he owed to Aristotle the knowledge of how to live worthily.

Education of Alexander by Aristotle.

Such was the youth of twenty who had been so suddenly called to the responsibilities of a king. His enemies knew of him only as a madcap boy, and believed that in his inexperienced hands the Macedonian power would fall to pieces. Never was there a greater mistake, as the Greeks soon learned to their cost.

A "madcap boy"?

105. Alexander and Greece, 336–335 B.C.

The situation which Alexander faced might well have dismayed a less dauntless spirit. Philip had not lived long enough to unite firmly his wide dominions. His unexpected death proved the signal for uprisings and disorder. The barbarous Thracians broke out in widespread rebellion; the Greeks themselves believed that the time had come to risk another blow for freedom. But with a few bold strokes Alex-

Alexander crushes rebellion.

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 6. [2] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 5.

ander set his kingdom in order. A series of swift campaigns, which carried him even beyond the Danube, sufficed to quell the wild tribes of Thrace. While absent in the northern wilderness, the turbulent Greeks, encouraged by a rumour of his death, rose in revolt. Thebes blockaded its Macedonian garrison, and nearly all Greece made ready to answer the call of Demosthenes to arms.

But Alexander was not dead. Forced marches brought him before the walls of Thebes; the city was captured; its inhabitants slaughtered or sold into slavery; and the place itself destroyed.[1] The house of the poet Pindar [2] alone was spared from the general ruin. The fate of Thebes provided a sufficient warning. The Greeks once more begged for peace. Alexander accepted their submission and imposed no further punishment.

Destruction of Thebes, 335 B.C.

Only a few years after these tragic events, when Greece lay prostrate under the iron heel of the Macedonian, Demosthenes delivered his famous *Oration on the Crown*. The Athenians, as a signal mark of honour, had voted to grant to Demosthenes an ivory crown interwoven with gold. A rival politician, named Æschines, together with his friends, opposed the measure. When the case came to trial, all Athens gathered in the Assembly to hear the debate. Æschines, in a bitter harangue, attacked the entire public career of Demosthenes. The orator's reply was a splendid defence, not alone of his past policy, but also of the stand which the Athenians had made against the Macedonians. It was better, Demosthenes urged, to have fought and lost at Chæronea, than never to have dared a blow for the liberties of Greece. Athenians who remembered Marathon and Salamis could not have abandoned without a struggle the freedom which their ancestors had braved every danger to win. And if the outcome of the struggle had been known to the world

Demosthenes and the Oration on the Crown, 330 B.C.

[1] Although the city was restored twenty years later, it never again played a leading part in history. Modern Thebes is a small town, built on the site of the ancient acropolis, the Cadmea.

[2] See page 183.

beforehand, he said, "not even then ought Athens to have forsaken this course, if Athens had any regard for her glory, or for her past, or for the ages to come." [1] No audience could resist the torrent of such eloquent speech. Demosthenes gained an overwhelming victory for himself and for the honour of his city. In this last great utterance of Demosthenes—the most brilliant and most pathetic oration of antiquity — free Hellas spoke her dying words.

106. Greece and Persia

With Greece pacified, Alexander could proceed to the invasion of Persia. Since the days of Darius the Great, the empire had remained almost intact — a huge, loosely knit collection of many different peoples, whose sole bond of union was their common allegiance to the Great King. Its resources were enormous. There were millions of men for the armies and untold wealth in the royal treasuries. Yet the empire was a hollow shell.

Seeming strength of the Persian Empire.

Some seventy years before Alexander set forth on his expedition, the Greeks had witnessed a remarkable disclosure of the military weakness of Persia. One of those rare revolts which threatened the security of the Persian Empire broke out in Asia Minor. The satrap of this region was Cyrus the Younger, a brother of the Great King,[2] and an able, ambitious man. From his capital at Sardis, he plotted to seize the throne for himself. Cyrus gathered a large army of Asiatic troops and also hired about thirteen thousand Greek soldiers, some of them Spartan hoplites. The mixed force marched without opposition through Asia Minor, threaded the Cilician Gates, and reached Cunaxa, near Babylon. Here, in the heart of his empire, the Persian king disputed their further progress with a host of several hundred thousand men. Cyrus was slain in the

Expedition of Cyrus, 401 B.C.

[1] Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 199.

[2] Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.).

battle that followed, and his Asiatic troops fled from the field. The Greeks easily routed the Persians posted against them, but the death of Cyrus made their victory fruitless.

The Greeks were now faced by a desperate situation. They found themselves stranded in Mesopotamia, hundreds of miles from the sea, and without a guide to show them the way home. Their generals were entrapped and murdered, but in a hurried night meeting the soldiers chose new leaders and began to retreat northward along the banks of the Tigris River. The enemy dogged their footsteps, yet never ventured on a pitched battle. The Greeks finally left the plains and plunged into the mountains of Armenia. Here their advance was no easier, for the fierce hill tribes blocked the passes, rolled down stones upon the soldiers from the heights, and burnt the villages where they might have found rest and food. When winter came on, the Greeks had to march through miles of snowdrifts and suffered frightfully from the cold. Yet the little army kept up its courage and its discipline, pushed steadily forward, and at last gained a mountain ridge within sight of the Euxine. A joyful shout, "The sea! the sea!" spread from rank to rank, for the soldiers felt that at last they were nearing home. A few days more brought them to the Greek city of Trapezus[1] after a year of wandering and a journey of a thousand miles.

Retreat of the "Ten Thousand," 401–400 B.C.

The story of this invasion of Persia and the subsequent retreat was written by the Athenian Xenophon[2] in his *Anabasis*. It is one of the most interesting books that have come down to us from antiquity. We can judge from it how vivid was the impression which the adventures of the "Ten Thousand" made on the Greeks of Xenophon's time. A small army had marched to the centre of the Persian dominions, had overcome a host many times its size, and had returned to Greece in safety. It was clear proof that the Persian power, however imposing on the outside, could offer no effective resistance to an

Significance of the expedition.

[1] Modern Trebizond. [2] See page 252.

attack by a strong force of disciplined Greek soldiers. Henceforth the Greeks never abandoned the idea of an invasion of Persia.

The gigantic task fell, however, to Alexander, as the champion of Hellas against the barbarians. With an army of less than forty thousand men Alexander destroyed an empire before which, for two centuries, all Asia had been wont to tremble. History, ancient or modern, contains no other record of conquests so widespread, so thorough, so amazingly rapid.

Alexander's invasion.

107. Conquest of Persia, 334–331 B.C.

Alexander crossed the Hellespont in the spring of the eventful year 334 B.C. He landed not far from the historic plain of Troy, and at once began his march along the coast. Near the little river Granicus, the satraps of Asia Minor had gathered an army to dispute his passage. When Parmenion, an old and trusted Macedonian general, saw the enemy posted on the opposite bank, he advised the king to wait until the following morning and ford the river before the Persians had again taken up their positions. "I should be ashamed," answered Alexander, "having crossed the Hellespont, to be detained by a miserable stream like the Granicus."[1] Alexander at once led his cavalry across the river in an impetuous charge which soon sent the Persian troops in headlong flight. Then the phalanx surrounded the Greek soldiers in the hire of Persia and cut them down almost to a man. Such traitors to Hellas could expect no quarter.

Battle of the Granicus, 334 B.C.

The victory cost the Macedonians scarcely a hundred men; but it was complete. Asia Minor lay open to their invasion. As Alexander passed southward, town after town opened its gates — first Sardis, next Ephesus, then all the other cities of Ionia. They were glad enough to shake off the Persian yoke. Within a year, Asia Minor was a Macedonian possession.

Annexation of Asia Minor.

[1] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, i, 13.

Darius,[1] in the meantime, had been making extensive preparations to meet the invader. He possessed half a million men, but he followed Alexander too hastily and was forced to fight in a narrow defile on the Syrian coast between the mountains and the sea. In such cramped quarters numbers did not count. The battle of Issus was a repetition, on a larger scale, of that at the Granicus. Alexander launched his cavalry at the Persian centre which was held by the Great King and his nobles. The Persian vassals fought desperately about their lord. Alexander, who exposed himself with reckless daring, was severely wounded. At length Darius gave way, turned, and fled. His flight was the signal for universal panic. Only the approach of night stayed the swords of the victors. A great quantity of booty, and even the mother, wife, and children of Darius, fell into Alexander's hands. His royal captives he treated kindly, but refused to make peace with the Persian king.

Battle of Issus, 333 B.C.

After Issus, the next step was to subdue the Phœnician city of Tyre, the headquarters of Persia's naval power. The city lay on a rocky island, half a mile from the shore. Its fortifications came down to the water's edge and rose one hundred feet above the waves. The place seemed impregnable to attack. But with enormous labour a causeway was built across the narrow channel. Powerful siege-engines then battered a hole in the walls, the Macedonians poured in, and Tyre fell by storm. Thousands of its inhabitants perished, and thousands more were sold into slavery. The great emporium of the East became a heap of ruins.[2]

Capture of Tyre, 332 B.C.

The fate of Tyre was a terrible warning to those cities which should fail to open their gates to Alexander. All the Syrian towns at once submitted, except the ancient Philistine stronghold of Gaza. The capture of this place cleared the way to Egypt.

[1] Darius III, Codomannus (336–330 B.C.).

[2] There is still a small town on the site of ancient Tyre. The former island is now a peninsula due to deposits of sand, which have widened Alexander's mole into a strip of ground a quarter of a mile broad.

Here the Persian forces offered little resistance, and the Egyptians themselves welcomed Alexander as a deliverer. Like an ancient Pharaoh, he made a triumphal entry into Memphis. Alexander then sailed down the Nile to its western mouth, where he laid the foundations of a great city — that Alexandria which so speedily became the metropolis of the Orient.

Subjection of Syria and Egypt.

Leaving Alexandria, the Macedonian king marched west to the borders of Libya, and received the submission of Cyrene, the most important Greek colony in Africa.[1] Alexander's dominions were thus extended to the border of the Carthaginian possessions. He then visited a celebrated temple and oracle of the god Amon,[2] located in an oasis of the Libyan desert. The priests were ready enough to hail him as a son of Amon, as one before whom his Egyptian subjects might bow down and do reverence. But after Alexander's death, his worship spread widely over the world, and even the Roman Senate gave him a place among the gods of Olympus.

Alexander in Libya.

From Egypt, Alexander turned eastward on his victorious march. The time had now come to strike directly at the Persian king. Following the ancient trade routes through northern Mesopotamia, Alexander crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and, on a broad plain not far from the grass-grown ruins of ancient Nineveh, found himself confronted by the Persian host. The battle of Arbela was perhaps the most famous fight in antiquity. Undismayed by his previous defeat, Darius had made one more mighty effort, gathering, we are told, a million men under the royal banners. All the might of the East was set forth in array—the Great King with a guard of Persian nobles holding the centre, a strong body of Greek mercenaries, myriads of horsemen and footsoldiers gathered from every quarter of the empire, even huge elephants and scythe-armed chariots. The Persians spent the night before the battle under arms. When

Battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.

[1] See page 180.

[2] See page 92.

the Macedonian leaders beheld all the plain aglow with campfires and heard the confused sound of voices like the distant roar of the ocean, they were amazed at the multitude of their enemy. Old Parmenion, hastening to Alexander, begged him to attack at once, under the cover of darkness. It was rash advice, for then the iron Macedonian discipline would have counted for nothing. "I steal no victory,"[1] replied the gallant yet prudent prince. The conflict next morning was fiercely disputed. Darius held an excellent position and hoped to crush his foe by sheer weight of numbers. But nothing could stop the Macedonian onset; once more Darius turned and fled, and once more the Persians, deserted by their king, broke in hopeless rout.

The battle of Arbela decided the fate of the Persian Empire. It remained only to gather the fruits of victory. The city of Babylon at once surrendered without a struggle. Susa, with its enormous treasure, fell into the conqueror's hands. Persepolis was given up to fire and sword.[2] Darius himself, as he hurried away into the lands beyond the Oxus, was murdered by his own men. With the death of Darius, the national war of Greece against Persia came to an end.

End of the Persian Empire.

108. Conquest of the Far East, 331–323 B.C.

Of the four main divisions of the Persian Empire, Alexander had conquered three. Granicus uncovered Asia Minor; Issus made a pathway to Syria and Egypt; Arbela opened up the Tigris-Euphrates valley with all the outlying regions. Far to the east, beyond mountain barriers, lay Iran and India. The Persian possessions in these distant regions were loosely joined to the empire, and they were

Alexander seeks new worlds to conquer.

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 31.

[2] According to one account, Alexander deliberately burned the royal palace at Persepolis in revenge for Xerxes' destruction of Athens. Another story is that Alexander's act was the outcome of a sudden frenzy, one night when he and his friends had drunk deep at a festival. See Dryden's splendid ode, "Alexander's Feast." The site of Persepolis is still marked by the lofty platform which supported the king's palace and other imposing buildings.

peopled by warlike tribes of a very different stamp from the now effeminate Persians. Alexander might well have been content to leave them undisturbed. Yet the man could never rest while there were still lands to conquer. Even the remotest provinces of the dying empire must yield obedience to his sway.

Conquest of northern Iran.

The conquest of Iran occupied nearly two years. After subduing the tribes about the shores of the Caspian and the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan,[1] Alexander crossed the lofty barrier of the Hindu-Kush, and entered the Persian provinces between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Here in central Asia he fixed the northernmost boundary of his already gigantic realm.

Conquest of northern India.

From the lands by the Oxus, Alexander now led his army once more across the Hindu-Kush into northwestern India. He overcame the Indian king, Porus, who with a large army and two hundred huge elephants disputed his advance on the banks of the Hydaspes. The battle added the Persian province of the Punjab to the Macedonian possessions. Alexander then pressed forward to the conquest of the Ganges valley, but in the full tide of victory his weary soldiers broke out in mutiny. Unlike Alexander, they had had their fill of war and martial glory; they would conquer no more lands for their ambitious king. Reluctantly, he gave the order for the homeward march.

Alexander's return to Babylon.

Alexander was of too adventurous a disposition to return by the way he had come. He resolved to reach Babylon by a new route. He built a navy on the Indus and had it accompany the army down the river. At the mouth of the Indus, Alexander dispatched his fleet under his admiral, Nearchus, to explore the Indian Ocean and to discover, if possible, a sea route between India and the West. He himself led the army, by a long and toilsome march through the deserts of

[1] The city of Kandahar in Afghanistan is said to have been founded by Alexander and, in an Oriental form, still bears his name.

southern Iran, to Babylon. That city now became the capital of the empire.

Scarcely two years after his return, while he was meditating yet more extensive conquests in Arabia, Africa, and western Europe, the deadly Babylonian fever laid him low. In June, 323 B.C., after several days of illness, the conqueror of the world passed away, being not quite thirty-three years of age.

Death of Alexander, 323 B.C.

109. The Work of Alexander

Alexander the Great was one of the foremost, perhaps the first, of the great captains of antiquity. But he was more than a world-conqueror; he was a statesman of the highest order. Had he been spared for an ordinary lifetime, there is no telling how much he might have accomplished. Eleven years had sufficed him to subdue the East and to leave an impress upon it which was to endure for centuries. And yet his work had only begun. There were still lands to subdue, cities to build, untrodden regions to explore. Above all, it was still his task to shape his possessions into a well-knit, unified empire, able to survive when the master's guiding hand had been removed. His early death was a calamity, for it prevented the complete realization of his splendid ambitions.

Alexander as warrior and statesman.

The immediate result of Alexander's conquests was the disappearance of the barriers which had so long shut in the Oriental world. The East, until his day, was an almost unknown land. Now it lay open to the spread of Greek civilization. In the wake of the Macedonian armies followed Greek philosophers and scientists, Greek architects and artists, Greek colonists, merchants, and artisans. Everywhere into that huge, inert, unprogressive Oriental world came the active and enterprising men of Hellas. They brought their arts and culture, and became the teachers of those whom they had called "barbarians."

Hellenizing of the Orient.

The ultimate result of Alexander's conquests was the fusion of East and West. He realized that his new empire must contain a place for Oriental, as well as for Greek and Macedonian, subjects. It was Alexander's aim, therefore, to build up a new state where the distinction between the European and the Asiatic should gradually pass away. He welcomed Persian nobles to his court and placed them in positions of trust and honour. He organized the government of his provinces on a system resembling that of Darius the Great.[1] He trained thousands of Persian soldiers to replace the worn-out veterans in his armies. He encouraged by liberal dowries mixed marriages between Macedonians and Orientals, and himself wedded the daughter of the last Persian king. To hold his dominions together and provide a meeting place for both classes of his subjects, he founded no less than seventy cities in different parts of the empire. Such measures as these, taken sometimes in face of fierce opposition on the part of his proud Macedonians, show that Alexander had a mind of wide, even cosmopolitan, sympathies. They serve to indicate the loss which ancient civilization suffered by his untimely end.

Fusion of East and West.

With Alexander the Great, the history of Greece begins to merge into the history of the ancient world. During the next two hundred years, we follow, not the development of a single people, but the gradual spread of Greek customs and ideas over Oriental lands. We enter on the Græco-Oriental or Hellenistic[2] Age.

The Hellenistic Age.

[1] See pages 67–68.

[2] The term "Hellenic" refers to purely Greek culture; the term "Hellenistic" to Greek culture as modified by contact with Oriental peoples.

SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDON

Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople

One of eighteen splendid sarcophagi discovered in an ancient cemetery at Sidon in 1887. The sculptures on the longer sides represent two scenes from the life of Alexander — the one a battle, the other a lion hunt. The figures, in almost full relief, are delicately painted.

CHAPTER IX

HELLENISTIC CIVILIZATION AFTER 323 B.C.

110. The Macedonian Kingdoms

THE half-century following Alexander's death is a confused and troubled period in ancient history. The king had left no legitimate son—no one with an undisputed title to the succession. On his death-bed Alexander had himself declared that the realm should go "to the strongest."[1] It was certain, under these circumstances, that his possessions would become the battle-ground of the leading Macedonian generals. The unwieldy empire at length broke in pieces. Out of the fragments arose the three great kingdoms of Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. Each remained independent until the era of Roman conquest in the East.

Break-up of the Alexandrian Empire.

The kingdom of Macedonia included the European territories of Philip and Alexander—Macedonia proper, Thrace, and Thessaly. Its monarchs also asserted their claims over the Greek states and the Ægean islands. Though the smallest of the three kingdoms, its natural resources and warlike population made Macedonia a strong military power. The Macedonians were the most formidable foes whom Rome met in her career of eastern conquest.

Macedonia.

The kingdom of Egypt was founded by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's ablest generals. In addition to Egypt, it comprised part of northern Africa, the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean, and many cities on the coast of western Asia. The compactness and unity of

Egypt under the Ptolemies.

[1] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vii, 26.

these possessions gave the kingdom military strength; the fertility of Egypt made it rich and populous; and the control of the sea route from India by the Red Sea placed it on the highway of commerce with the Far East. Under the fostering care of the earlier Ptolemies, Egypt regained her old position as a leading centre of civilized life.

Egyptian King in War Dress

Syria, the third and largest kingdom, became the prize of Seleucus, who also had been one of Alexander's generals. Syria was a huge territory, stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus. Its very size was an element of weakness. India first fell away. Then the provinces of Iran resumed their independence under native princes. These and subsequent losses reduced the kingdom to the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the seaboard region of southern Asia Minor and Syria proper. Nevertheless, the kingdom of the Seleucidæ remained the chief power in Asia until the Roman conquest.

Syria under the Seleucidæ.

In addition to the three great kingdoms, there were several smaller states extending all the way from Media to Epirus. Thus the conquests of Alexander, instead of forming an extensive world-power under a single head, resulted in splitting up the Persian Empire into a multitude of independent states, each with its royal dynasty, its capital city, its own customs and laws. The unity of the East had been destroyed, not again to be renewed until the might of Rome brought the Orient under another imperial sway.[1]

Minor independent states.

[1] See page 384.

THE KINGDOMS OF
ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS
(About 200 B.C.)
Before the Roman Macedonian Wars
0 100 200 300 400 500 MILES
Kingdom of the Seleucids (223 B.C.)
Recovered by Antiochus III for the Seleucids (223-187 B.C.)
Egypt (200 B.C.)
Macedonia (200 B.C.)
40° Long. East from Greenwich
Getae
Danube R.
Illyrii
MACEDONIA
Lelia
Epirus
AETOLIAN LEAGUE
ACHAIAN LEAGUE
Athens
Sparta
Lysimachia
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Heraclea
THRACE
BITHYNIA
Pergamum
Galatians
Sinope
Trapezus
Panticapaeum
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts.
Cyrus R.
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
Chorasmii
Alexandria Eschata
Maracanda
Sacae
Sogdiana
KINGDOM OF THE Bactria
Antiochia Margiana
Bactra
Alexandria Ariorum
Aria
BACTRIANS
Taxila
Dahae
KINGDOM OF THE Parthia
ARSACIDS
Dara
Hectompylus
Ecbatana
Media Magna
Phra
Alexandria Arachosiorum
Arachosia
Drangiana
Alexandria Opiana
Carmana
Gedrosia
Pura
Carmania
Harmozia
Persepolis
Persis
Susiana
PERSIAN GULF
Minagara
INDIA
Indus R.
ARABIAN SEA
Ephesus
Caria
Lycia
Rhodes
Crete
Cilicia
Mazaca
ARMENIA
Araxes R.
MEDIA ATROPATENE
Nisibis
Mesopotamia
Seleucia
Antioch
Salamis
Cyprus
Syria
Phoenicia
Damascus
Tyre
Hierosolyma (Jerusalem)
Gaza
Pelusium
Petra
Nabataei
ARABIA
Euphrates R.
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Babylon
Babylonia
THE SELEUCIDS
Cyrenaica (Pentapolis)
Alexandria
KINGDOM OF THE PTOLEMIES
EGYPT
Memphis
Thebes (Diospolis)
Nile R.
RED SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
70°

111. The Greek Federations

As soon as the Greeks heard of Alexander's death, they made another effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke. Demosthenes was then in exile, having been heavily fined on a charge of embezzling public funds. The Athenians recalled him and appropriated a sum of money with which to pay his fine. His eloquence once more stirred the Greeks to unite in a war for liberation. It proved disastrous. Athens was forced to receive a Macedonian garrison and ordered to deliver up Demosthenes. To escape falling into the hands of his enemies, the great orator took poison. The Athenians, however, cherished his memory, and on his statue placed this epitaph: "Had your strength equalled your will, Demosthenes, the Macedonian War God would never have conquered Greece."[1]

End of Demosthenes, 322 B.C.

But now the Greeks were beginning to learn that the freedom they prized so much could be obtained only by a close and lasting union. In the century following Alexander's death, they began to draw together in federations to resist Macedonia. These Greek federations form a remarkable experiment in ancient politics.

Rise of federations.

Perhaps the first of the new unions was that of the Ætolians. They were a backward, almost uncivilized people, whose home was in the fastnesses of central Greece, north of the Corinthian Gulf. Their league, composed of the different Ætolian tribes, first assumed importance about 280 B.C. Many communities outside Ætolia were afterwards enrolled in its membership. Although a powerful organization, the league does not play a very honourable part in the history of the period. The Ætolians were mostly pirates and freebooters, who united only for greater success in the plundering expeditions which made them a terror to their neighbours. The Ætolian League was a purely military leadership for selfish ends. It did little to free Greece from Macedonian rule.

Ætolian League.

[1] Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 30.

A far more noteworthy league was that of the Achæans in the northern Peloponnesus. It began in the first half of the third century with the union of four Achæan cities which drove out their Macedonian garrisons and then combined for mutual protection. Neighbouring towns followed their example, until all Achæa formed a federal state. Subsequently, Corinth, Argos, and many smaller communities of the Peloponnesus, joined the new confederacy. It was now the strongest power in Greece.

Achæan League.

The business of the league lay in the hands of an assembly or congress composed of all Achæans who cared to attend the meetings. In this body each city, whether large or small, had one vote. Such an arrangement put all the members of the league on an equality. The assembly met twice a year. It chose a general or president, levied taxes, raised armies, and conducted all foreign affairs. The cities, in local matters, continued to enjoy their old independence. This constitution shows that the Achæan League was more than a mere alliance of city-states. It really formed a federal republic which in some respects was not unlike the United States of America.[1]

Constitution of the league.

THE ÆTOLIAN AND ACHÆAN LEAGUES (ABOUT 229 B.C.)

[1] The example of the Achæan League was repeatedly cited by the American statesmen Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, in their famous work, the *Federalist*;

During the first fifty years of its history, the Achæan League met a well-merited success. It freed the Peloponnesian cities from their tyrants and vigorously asserted the cause of Greek independence against Macedonia. This federal union promised for a time to restore Greek liberties. But dissensions and civil conflicts destroyed such hopes. Sparta would not join the league, and the Peloponnesus was not wide enough for both. The struggle between them made freedom more impossible than ever. To overcome its rival, the Achæan League called in Macedonia. Macedonian interference crushed Sparta, but reduced the league to a position of dependence on the northern power. Henceforth, it was no longer the champion of a free Hellas. The federation dwindled in importance and, finally, in the second century of its existence, was dissolved by Rome.[1]

History of the league.

112. Hellenistic Cities: Alexandria

Of even greater significance than the Greek federations were the Hellenistic cities which from the time of Alexander arose in every quarter of the eastern world. This growth of new cities, as in Europe and America to-day, was one of the noteworthy features of the age. Some, indeed, were merely garrison towns in the heart of remote provinces, and some were only outposts where Macedonian soldiers guarded the frontiers. Many more, however, were busy marts of trade and industry, and the real seats of Greek influence in the Orient.

Nature of the Hellenistic cities.

These foundations were quite unlike the old Greek cities. They were not free and independent states. They managed their local affairs, but otherwise formed a part of the kingdom in which they were situated. They were much larger, too, than the cities of the elder Hellas, and their population was very mixed. Usually the

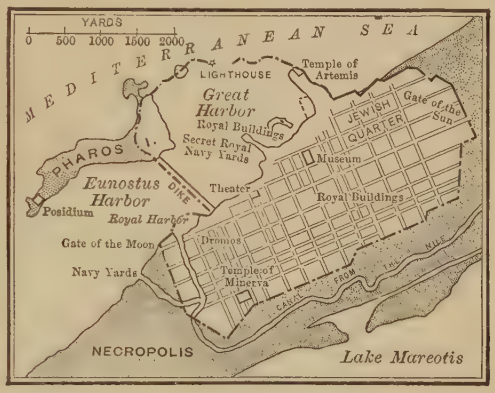
Contrasts with the Greek city-states.

these men, at the time when the American constitution was framed, argued for a strong central government instead of a simple union of independent states.

[1] See page 382.

Greeks and Macedonians, who now crossed over to Asia in great numbers, formed the governing class. The bulk of the inhabitants consisted of native artisans and merchants who had abandoned their village homes for life in a metropolis. In appearance, also, these new cities contrasted with those of old Greece. They had broad streets well paved and sometimes lighted at night, enjoyed a good water supply, and possessed baths, theatres, and parks.

In the third century B.C., there were five cities which may be regarded as the chief centres of Hellenistic culture. Alexandria in Egypt was easily the foremost. It lay on a strip of flat, sandy land separating Lake Mareotis from the Mediterranean. On the one side was the lake-harbour, connected with the Nile; on the other side were two sea-harbours sheltered from the open sea by the long and narrow island of Pharos. The city possessed a magnificent site for commerce. It occupied the most central position that could be found in the ancient world with respect to the three continents, Africa, Asia, and Europe. The prosperity which this port has enjoyed for more than two thousand years is ample evidence of the wisdom which led to its foundation.



PLAN OF ALEXANDRIA AT THE TIME OF CHRIST

Alexandria; its situation.

Alexandria, unlike most Hellenic cities, possessed no natural beauties. Its Greek inhabitants, accustomed to enchanting views from their own coast towns, must have often wearied of the barren prospect of sand and tideless sea before their eyes.

But the city itself was beautiful. The plan, as marked out by Alexander and his successors, has been revealed through modern excavations. The site was divided into regular blocks with two central avenues one hundred feet wide crossing each other at right angles. They were lined with splendid colonnades and imposing public buildings. Near the centre were the royal palaces and the Mausoleum containing the body of Alexander in an alabaster coffin. Not far away arose the Museum, or Temple of the Muses, and the great Library. A wide mole connected the mainland with the island of Pharos, where from a marble tower blazed forth a perpetual fire. This famous lighthouse was considered one of the "seven wonders" of the world.[1]

Description of the ancient city.

Alexandria, in the third century B.C., had a population estimated at more than half a million. By the time of Christ, it had grown to be the second largest city in the Roman Empire, surpassed in size only by Rome itself. Every country of antiquity sent its quota to that multitude. There was a native Egyptian quarter, full of beggars by day and burglars by night. There was a Jewish quarter containing many thousands of Jews, who flocked to Alexandria for trade. Natives of Greece, Italy, Sicily, and Asia were enrolled among the soldiers of the Ptolemies. Lastly, came the Macedonians, who formed a military class about the king. This medley of peoples, gathered into a great capital, made up a real world in itself. It was the meeting place of nations.

Population of Alexandria.

113. Other Hellenistic Cities

The chief city in the kingdom of Syria was splendid and luxurious Antioch. It lay in the narrow valley of the Orontes, so close to both the Euphrates and the Mediterranean that it soon

[1] The other so-called "wonders" were the Hanging Gardens and walls of Babylon, the pyramids, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the statue of Zeus at Olympia.

became an important commercial centre. The Seleucidæ made Antioch the capital of their kingdom. The city must have been a most delightful residence, with its fine climate, its location on a clear and rapid stream, and the near presence of the Syrian hills. Beyond the walls lay a fair suburb, called Daphne, where cypress groves and mountain springs provided a cool and shady resort for the teeming population.[1] Here grew the tree of Daphne into which this nymph, according to the story, was changed when fleeing from Apollo. In the sixth century A.D., repeated earthquakes laid Antioch in ruins. The city never recovered its prosperity, though a modern town, Antakia, still marks the site of the once famous capital.

Antioch.

Asia Minor, during this period, was thickly studded with cities. One of the most important was Pergamum, the capital of a small but independent kingdom of the same name. Its rulers earned the gratitude of all the Greeks by their resistance to the terrible Gauls. About fifty years after Alexander's death, this barbarous people, pouring down from central Europe, had ravaged Greece and invaded Asia Minor.[2] The kings of Pergamum celebrated their victories over the Gauls with so many works of architecture and sculpture that their city became the artistic rival of Athens.[3] Pergamum also possessed a large library, in imitation of that at Alexandria. As the scholars in the city could not use papyrus paper, the export of which from Egypt

Pergamum.

[1] Readers of Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur* will recall the interesting description of the grove of Daphne in that novel (book iv, chaps. v–vi).

[2] The Gauls were finally settled in a province called after them Galatia. St. Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians* was addressed to the civilized descendants of these invaders.

[3] The excavations of German scholars at Pergamum, beginning in 1878, resulted in the discovery of some three hundred feet of sculptured figures which once decorated the white marble altar of Zeus on the acropolis of Pergamum. This was perhaps the structure referred to in the New Testament (*Revelation*, ii, 13) as "Satan's throne." The figures represented a contest between the gods and the giants. These magnificent sculptures are now in the Berlin Museum. In 1900, excavations were resumed at Pergamum, and temples, theatres, houses, and tombs have been uncovered there. No other site has added so much to our knowledge of Hellenistic civilization.

was forbidden, they employed the skins of animals as materials for their books. This indestructible "parchment" (originally, "pergament") has been even more useful than Egyptian papyrus, in preserving for us copies of ancient works.[1]

Rhodes.

One other great Hellenistic centre existed in the island city of Rhodes. Founded during the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, the city soon distanced Athens in the race for commercial supremacy. The merchants of Rhodes framed admirable laws, especially for business affairs, and many of these were adopted into the Roman code. Rhodes was a great art city. No less than three thousand statues adorned the streets and public buildings.[2] It was also a favourite place of education for promising orators and writers. The teachers at Rhodes derived their style from Demosthenes' rival, Æschines, who after his defeat set up a school there. During Roman days, many eminent men, Cicero and Julius Cæsar among them, studied oratory at Rhodes.

114. Literature and Learning during the Hellenistic Age

Characteristics of the new literature.

These splendid cities in the Orient were the centres of much literary activity. Their inhabitants, whether Hellenic or barbarian, used Greek as a common language. During this period, Greek literature took on a cosmopolitan character. It was no longer centred in Athens. Writers found their audiences in all lands wherever Greeks had settled. At the same time, literature became more and more an affair of the study. The authors were usually professional bookmen writing for a bookish public. They produced many works of literary criticism, prepared excellent grammars and dictionaries, but wrote very little poetry or prose of enduring value.

[1] See page 2.

[2] The famous Colossus of Rhodes, made of bronze, was a statue of the sun god, 105 feet high. It did not, as popularly supposed, bestride the entrance to the harbour. The statue was thrown down by an earthquake in 224 B.C. Its enormous fragments, after many centuries had passed, were sold as old metal.

Theocritus was perhaps the last Greek poet of real genius. He was a native of Syracuse, but most of his years were passed at Alexandria under the patronage of the second Ptolemy. No great themes inspire the muse of Theocritus. His poems, called *Idylls*, are little pictures of society and manners drawn from the life. The scenes and characters are often placed in Sicily, for Theocritus had a true affection for the lovely landscapes and merry, light-hearted rustics of his native isle. To the pent-up inhabitants of bustling Alexandria, his poems, full of the sights and sounds of country life, were indeed attractive. We cannot wonder that Theocritus was a popular author in his own day, or that he is still numbered among the most delightful of the world's poets.

Theocritus, about 300–245 B.C.

For prose writers whose works are still widely read, we must pass down the centuries till we come to the immortal Plutarch. He was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia, and lived during the first century of our era. Greece at that time was only a province of the Roman Empire; the days of her greatness had long since passed away. Plutarch thus had rather a melancholy task in writing his *Parallel Lives*. In this work he relates, first the life of an eminent Greek, then of a famous Roman who in some way resembled him; and ends the narrative with a short comparison of the two. Plutarch possessed a wonderful gift of sympathy with his heroes, and a keen eye for what was dramatic in their careers. His biographies abound in anecdote and gossipy stories. It is not strange, therefore, that Plutarch has always been a favourite author, and the *Parallel Lives* one of the most interesting books ever written.

Plutarch, about 50 to 120 A.D.

Another important author was Lucian. Though a native of Syria, he composed in Attic Greek of singular purity. Lucian's books were written to laugh down the shams and hollow pretences of the world in which he lived. Just as Aristophanes had sent shafts of mirth and irony at the weak points in Athenian society, so Lucian assails with witty

Lucian, about 120 to 200 A.D.

sarcasm the superstitions and foolish customs of his contemporaries. Some of his works, such as the *Dialogues of the Gods*, are levelled at the Olympian divinities, who are represented as anything but divine. When Lucian wrote, the ancient paganism was already in decay.

Survival of Greek literature.

Plutarch and Lucian were the last great authors who composed in Greek. Though its creative period had come to an end, the literature of Greece did not die. Throughout the Middle Ages it was cherished in the East, and nearly five centuries ago its treasures were once more disclosed to the peoples of western Europe. And so Greek literature abides to-day — the most precious heritage of antiquity to our modern world.

The Museum at Alexandria.

The Hellenistic Age was distinguished as an age of learning. Particularly was this true at Alexandria, where the Museum,[1] founded by the first Ptolemy, grew into a real university. It contained galleries of art, an astronomical observatory, even zoölogical and botanical gardens. Distinguished scholars were provided with dwellings close by and with a hall for meals, which were taken together at public expense. These favoured individuals received yearly pensions and enjoyed freedom from all public duties. The Museum in this way became a resort for men of learning, who had the quiet and leisure so necessary for scholarly research. The beautiful gardens with their shady walks, their statues and fountains, grew to be the haunt of thousands of students whom the fame of Alexandria attracted from all parts of the civilized world.

The Alexandrian Library.

In addition to the Museum, there was a splendid Library which at one time contained over five hundred thousand manuscripts — almost everything that had been written in antiquity. The chief librarian ransacked private collections and purchased all the books he could find. Every book that entered Egypt was brought to the Library, where slaves tran-

[1] See page 286.

VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE

Louvre, Paris

Commemorates a naval battle fought in 306 B.C.

scribed the manuscript and gave a copy to the owner in place of the original. Before this time the manuscripts of celebrated works were often scarce and always in danger of being lost. Henceforth it was known where to find them.

The Alexandrian scholars not only preserved books; they took all possible pains to edit them and purify the texts from errors that had crept in. One of their most useful tasks was the translation into Greek of the treasures of Oriental literature. We owe to them the Greek version of the Old Testament, made in the third century B.C. for the benefit of Alexandrian Jews who had forgotten their mother-tongue. This translation is known as the Septuagint,[1] from the tradition that seventy scholars laboured on it.

Editing and translating at Alexandria.

115. Hellenistic Science

The Hellenistic Age was remarkable for the rapid advance of scientific knowledge. Here, again, Alexandria took the lead. After the establishment of the Library and Museum, nearly every scientific man was a professor there or had at one time studied in the Alexandrian schools.

Alexandrian scientists.

Most of the mathematical works of the Greeks date from this epoch. The famous Euclid wrote his treatise on geometry under the first Ptolemy. When asked by the Egyptian king whether one could not learn geometry more easily than by studying this work, the mathematician replied, "There is no royal road to geometry." Ever since the days of Euclid, his textbook has held its place in the schools.

Geometry: Euclid, about 300 B.C.

Archimedes of Syracuse, who had once studied at Alexandria, was the most eminent mathematician of antiquity. Archimedes was also an inventive genius who made many discoveries in engineering. A water screw of his device is still in use. He has the credit for finding out the laws of the lever. "Give me a fulcrum on which to

Engineering: Archimedes, 287–212 B.C.

[1] See page 102, note 1.

rest," he said, "and I will move the earth." When the Romans were besieging Syracuse,[1] Archimedes invented curious and powerful engines which made the enemy very wary of approaching the walls. According to one story, he constructed a huge burning-mirror which set the Roman ships on fire when they were within bowshot of the city. Archimedes perished in the massacre that followed the capture of Syracuse. What Archimedes and other Greeks learned concerning the laws of physics, and about mechanical devices, such as pulleys and levers, was afterwards borrowed by the Romans, who put this knowledge to practical use.

The greatest astronomer before the Christian era was Hipparchus, who made his observations either at Alexandria or at Rhodes.

Astronomy: Hipparchus, about 150 B.C.

Astronomy owes more to him than to any other ancient scientist. He worked at the huge task of counting and arranging the stars in constellations. More than a thousand were included in his catalogue. This undertaking led him to the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes. Science is also indebted to Hipparchus for the happy idea of fixing the position of places on the earth by means of their latitude and longitude. Other astronomers determined the distance of the moon from the earth and came within a twelfth of the modern estimate. Their reckoning of the distance between earth and sun was, however, little more than half what it should have been.

In medicine, the Hellenistic scholars made surprising progress. Doubtless they owed much to their predecessors, especially to

Medicine: Hippocrates and Galen.

the famous Hippocrates of Cos (born about 460 B.C.), whose labours in freeing the art of healing from superstition and ignorance have gained for him the title, "Father of Medicine." At Alexandria much advance took place in the study of anatomy. The medical school of this city was well equipped with charts, models, and dissecting rooms for the study of the human body. There was even a rude sort of chemical

[1] See page 370.

laboratory where one of the Ptolemies, haunted by the fear of death, passed many years searching for an elixir of life. It was at this time that scientists learned that the brain is the seat of the mind, that nerves exist to transmit the sensations and the will, and that the blood, pumped by the heart, circulates through every part of the body. During the first century of our era, all the medical knowledge of antiquity was gathered up in the writings of Galen (born about 130 A.D.). For more than a thousand years, Galen of Pergamum remained the supreme authority in medical science.

In scientific work it seems as if the Greeks had done almost all that could be accomplished by sheer brain power, aided only by rude instruments. They had no real telescopes or microscopes, no mariner's compass or chronometer, no very delicate balances. Without such inventions the Greeks could hardly proceed much farther with their researches. Modern scientists are perhaps no better thinkers than were those of antiquity, but they have infinitely better apparatus and can make careful experiments where the Greeks had to rely only on shrewd guesses.

Ancient and modern science compared.

In many of their investigations the Greeks must have been much helped by the scientific lore of old Egypt and Babylonia,[1] which was now revealed to the world at large. The Greek work in turn affected the Romans, though it was quite neglected by the Christian nations of Europe during the Middle Ages. But some four centuries ago, when modern science took its first halting steps, it started from the discoveries made by the ancient Greeks.

Influence of Hellenistic science.

116. Progress of Geographical Knowledge

During the Hellenistic Age, men began to gain more accurate ideas regarding the shape and size of the habitable globe. We have already traced the growth of geographical knowledge which

[1] See pages 106–111.

followed Greek colonization of the Mediterranean, the travels of Herodotus, the expedition of the "Ten Thousand," and Alexander's conquests in central Asia and India. Such events as these brought new information about the countries and peoples of the Orient.

Early geographical discoveries.

The ancients, in the meantime, were becoming better acquainted with other parts of the world. Hanno's famous voyage,[1] about 500 B.C., led to the exploration of the West African coast as far south as Sierra Leone. About 330 B.C., Pytheas of Massilia made a voyage of discovery along the shores of Spain and Gaul and spent some time in Britain. He was probably the first Greek to visit that island. Pytheas has to tell, also, of another island called Thule, the most northerly part of the earth, beyond which the sea becomes thickened and like jelly. The latter statement probably refers to the drift ice found off the coast of Norway. When we consider how little had been previously known of these distant regions, we must admit that Pytheas belongs to the company of the world's great explorers.

Voyages of Hanno and Pytheas.

All this new knowledge of the East and West was soon gathered together by Eratosthenes, the learned librarian of Alexandria. He was the founder of scientific geography. Before his time students, such as Pythagoras and Aristotle, had already concluded that the earth is spherical and not flat, as had been taught in Homeric poems.[2] Guesses had even been made of the size of the earth. Eratosthenes by careful measurements came within a few thousand miles of its actual circumference.[3] This was certainly a notable achievement, considering what rough means he had at his disposal.

Eratosthenes, about 276–194 B.C.

Having thus estimated the size of the earth, Eratosthenes went on to determine how large was its habitable area. He reached

[1] See page 88. [2] See page 155.

[3] The real circumference of the earth at the equator is 25,000 English miles. Eratosthenes estimated it at 25,000 geographical miles, which is about one-seventh part in excess.

The World according to Eratosthenes, 200 B.C.

The World according to Ptolemy, 150 A.D.

Progress of Geographical Knowledge in Antiquity

the conclusion that the distance from the Strait of Gibraltar to the east of India was about one-third of the earth's surface. The remaining two-thirds he thought was covered by the sea. And with what seems a prophecy, he remarked that, if it was not for the vast extent of the Atlantic

An estimate of the habitable area of the globe.

Ocean, one might almost sail from Spain to India along the same parallel of latitude.[1]

Strabo, about 63 B.C.–24 A.D.

The next two centuries after Eratosthenes saw the spread of Roman rule over Greeks and Carthaginians in the Mediterranean, and over the barbarous inhabitants of Gaul, Britain, and Germany. The new knowledge thus gained was summed up in the Greek *Geography* of Strabo, who lived in the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus. Strabo keeps pretty closely to the system of Eratosthenes. He rejects the existence of Thule, but adds to the map Ierne, or Ireland, placing it north of Britain.

Ptolemy as a geographer.

About the middle of the second century A.D., the geographical science of antiquity was carried to completion by Ptolemy of Alexandria. His famous map shows how near he came to the real outlines both of Europe and Asia. In his work on geography, he assigned latitude and longitude (not quite correctly, of course) to thousands of places in the inhabited world.

Ptolemy as an astronomer.

Ptolemy was likewise an eminent astronomer. He believed that the earth was the centre of the universe and that the sun, planets, and fixed stars all revolved around it. This Ptolemaic system was not overthrown until the grand discovery of Copernicus in the sixteenth century of our era.[2]

[1] Another wonderful prophecy referring to a New World beyond the seas is found in a play by a Roman author of the first century A.D.:

> "In the dim future yet shall come an age
> When Ocean shall unloose us from his bonds
> And the vast Earths lie open to the view;
> When the Sea, yielding, shall disclose new Worlds,
> And Thule be no more the last of lands."
>
> —SENECA, *Medea*, 376-379.

It is worthy of note that Columbus was familiar with these lines, and understood them to refer to a western voyage across the Atlantic.

[2] Copernicus, however, had been anticipated by Aristarchus of Samos, a scientist of the third century B.C. Aristarchus maintained that the earth moves round the sun. His theory did not secure acceptance and he himself was charged with impiety for suggesting it,

Two of Ptolemy's errors in geography have much historic interest. Thus he overestimated the distance eastward from Spain to China, and in consequence diminished the real distance *westward* from Spain to China by nearly four thousand miles. Centuries later, when Columbus set out on his memorable voyage, he relied on Ptolemy's calculation, and never dreamed what great masses of land and water lay between the coast of Europe and that of Asia. It was fortunate that the error arose, else Columbus might never have undertaken his epoch-making journey. Ptolemy also believed that Africa was joined to a great continent in the Indian Ocean. This mistaken notion about the "unknown south land" (*terra australis incognita*) prepared the way for Captain Cook's discoveries in the Pacific during the eighteenth century.

Ptolemy's errors.

Ptolemy's studies, in spite of these errors, will always remain one of the monuments of ancient learning. After his day no important additions were made in antiquity to geographical science. Indeed, much of the knowledge gained by the Greeks, and by them transmitted to the Romans, was lost in the Middle Ages after the break-up of the Roman Empire.

Decline of geographical knowledge.

117. Rise of New Philosophies

The Hellenistic Age witnessed an important movement in philosophical thought. Several systems of philosophy arose which became very popular with the Greeks and later with the Romans. The thinkers of this period were thoroughly practical men, who deserted the closet for the street, and sought to make converts among those who had any interest whatever in moral and religious questions.

Practical character of philosophy.

The philosophy called Epicureanism was founded by a Greek named Epicurus. He lived and taught in Athens during the earlier part of the third century B.C. The scene of instruction was his garden, where he gathered a band of faithful adherents and founded what was really a little church.

Epicurus, 341–270 B.C.

The doctrines of Epicurus became very popular among the Greeks and gained an entrance into Rome through the verses of the poet Lucretius.[1]

Epicureanism. Epicurus believed that pleasure is the sole good, pain the sole evil. He meant by pleasure not so much the passing enjoyments of the hour as the permanent happiness of a lifetime. In order to be happy men should not trouble themselves with useless luxuries, but lead the "simple life." They must be virtuous, for virtue will bring more real satisfaction than vice. Above all, men ought to free themselves from idle fears and hopes about the gods and a future life. If there are any gods, said the philosopher, they do not concern themselves with us. The immortality of the soul, he asserted, is only a delusion, for both soul and body are material things which death dissolves into the atoms making up the universe. Epicurus himself was a noble character, but some of his disciples, especially among the Romans, found in Epicureanism a philosophic system which appeared to justify free indulgence in every appetite and passion. Even to-day when we call a man an "Epicurean," we think of him as a selfish pleasure seeker.

Another philosophic school which flourished in the fourth century was that of Cynicism.[2] It grew out of the Socratic teachings.

The Cynics. The Cynics held that virtue, not pleasure, is the supreme end of human life. The virtuous man has few wants and despises the pomps and vanities of the world, its censure and its praise. Such ideas could easily be carried to excess. Some of the Cynics became useless hermits who gave up human society and had, or pretended to have, a profound contempt for art, literature, knowledge, and for everything else that makes life worth living. Our word "cynicism" recalls the doctrines of this old Greek sect.

[1] See page 435.

[2] The name comes from a gymnasium near Athens, called Cynosarges. Here Antisthenes (about 444–365 B.C.), founder of the sect, taught his disciples after the death of Socrates.

LAOCOÖN AND HIS CHILDREN

Vatican Museum, Rome

A product of the art school of Rhodes (about 150 B.C.)

The best-known Cynic was Diogenes. He made his home in a large earthenware jar or "tub," and contented himself with a crust of bread, a bag full of beans, and a jug of water. It was Diogenes who went about Athens by daylight with a lighted lantern, in search, he declared, of an honest man. The story goes that the young Alexander once met Diogenes near Corinth, where he was sunning himself in the court of the gymnasium. Alexander asked if there was any favour he could show him. "Stand out of the sun," answered Diogenes. And Alexander marvelled, and said, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."[1]

Diogenes the Cynic.

The Cynic teachings supplied some of the ideas which inspired the noblest of all pagan philosophies — Stoicism.[2] Virtue, said the Stoic, consists in living "according to nature," that is, according to the Universal Reason or Divine Providence which rules the world. The followers of this philosophy tried, therefore, to ignore the feelings and to exalt the reason as a guide to conduct. They held that nothing external to a man — riches or fame — really counts. The slave or peasant who trains himself to rise above such emotions as grief, fear, hope, joy, who bears with fortitude all the ills of life, may be more virtuous, and therefore happier, than a king. These inspiring doctrines gained many adherents among the Romans, and through them Stoicism became a real moral force in the ancient world. Stoicism, indeed, is even now no outworn creed. Our very word "stoical" is a synonym for calm indifference to pleasure or to pain.

Stoicism.

118. Economic Conditions during the Hellenistic Age

The Hellenistic Age was characterized by a general increase in wealth and luxurious living. The old Greeks and Macedonians, as a rule, had been content to live quite plainly. Now kings,

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 14.

[2] The name arose from the "Painted Stoa" in the Agora at Athens, where Zeno (about 336–264 B.C.), the founder of this philosophy, lectured to his pupils.

nobles, and men of wealth began to build splendid palaces and filled them with the products of ancient art — marbles from Asia Minor, vases from Athens, Etruscan bronzes, Babylonian tapestries. They kept up great households with endless lords in waiting, ladies of honour, pages, guards, and servants. Soft couches and clothes of delicate fabric replaced the simple coverlets and coarse cloaks of an earlier time. They possessed rich carpets and hangings, splendid armour and jewellery, and gold and silver vessels for the table. "This indeed," cried Alexander, when after the battle of Issus he burst in on the splendours of the Persian court and saw the purple and the plate, "is dining like a king!"[1]

The new luxury.

These new luxuries flowed in from all parts of the ancient world. Many came from the Far East in consequence of the rediscovery of the sea route to India, by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus.[2] It took him nearly three months to sail from the mouth of the Indus to the entrance of the Persian Gulf, a distance of seven hundred and fifty miles. The ships hugged the coast closely, fearing the swell of the open ocean and its mysterious terrors, such as the school of blowing whales which threw the sailors into wholesale panic. The voyage of Nearchus was one of the most important results of Alexander's eastern conquests. It established the fact, which had long been forgotten, that one could reach India by a water route much shorter and safer than the caravan roads through central Asia.[3] This knowledge was not again to be lost.

Rediscovery of the sea route to India, 325 B.C.

Somewhat later, a Greek sailor, named Harpalus, found that by using the monsoons, the periodic winds which blow over the Indian Ocean, he could sail direct from Arabia to India without laboriously following the coast. The Greeks, in consequence, gave his name to the monsoons.

Discovery of the monsoons.

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 20. [2] See page 276. [3] See page 86.

A large share of the commerce of the East centred in Alexandria, because of its excellent situation. A hundred and twenty vessels left that city every year for the long voyage to India. They sailed up the Nile, thence through a canal into the Red Sea, and so on into the Indian Ocean. Caravan routes from the interior of Africa, Arabia, and Syria also met at Alexandria. In the markets of this city might be purchased the spices and perfumes of Arabia, gold dust, jewels, and fine fabrics from India, silk from China, ivory from Africa — all the rare and precious products for which the luxury of the times created a demand.

Commercial progress.

The developing trade and industry in such commercial cities as Alexandria, Antioch, and Rhodes received an immense stimulus, when the hoards of gold in the Persian storehouses at Susa and Persepolis were restored to circulation. The Persian kings had never been able to spend all their vast revenues. The surplus year after year accumulated in the royal treasuries. Alexander is said to have taken possession of a sum equivalent to nearly fifty million pounds. He and his soldiers spent this money with lavish hand. Since it came rapidly into circulation, its effect was to raise the price of all commodities. Rising prices, in turn, encouraged business men to enter upon large undertakings in the hope of securing high profits.

The increased supply of gold.

The plentiful supply of currency also fostered trade by providing a better medium of exchange. Formerly, few gold coins had circulated. As long as currency consisted chiefly of silver and copper, the mere weight of metal that had to be carried about made trading ventures with distant lands impossible. But now a merchant could pay out of his girdle, in gold, almost as much as his father had paid out of a camel's load, in silver or copper. For the purpose of trade, Alexander's new gold currency was as superior to the old as modern bank notes are to coin.

The better medium of exchange.

All this sudden increase of wealth, all the thousand new enjoyments with which life was now adorned and enriched, did not work wholly for good. With luxury there went, as always, laxity in morals. Contact with the vice and effeminacy of the East tended to lessen the manly vigour of the Greeks, both in Asia and in Europe. Hellas became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome.

Evil results of the new luxury.

119. The Græco-Oriental World

In our survey of the new Hellenistic civilization during the centuries following Alexander, we have well-nigh forgotten old Greece itself. We shall return, in later chapters, to the study of Greek art and of Greek private life. This art and this life were themselves affected by Oriental influences, for Hellas could not overrun the East without learning much from its conquered peoples.

Reaction of the Orient on Greece.

Yet the most interesting as well as the most important feature of the age is the diffusion of Hellenic culture—the "Hellenizing" of the Orient. It was, indeed, a changed world in which men were now living. Greek cities, founded by Alexander and his successors, stretched from the Nile to the Indus, dotted the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian, and arose amid the wilds of central Asia. The Greek language, once the tongue of a petty people, grew to be a universal language of culture, spoken even by barbarian lips. And the art, the science, the literature, the principles of politics and philosophy, developed in isolation by the Greek mind, henceforth became the heritage of many nations.

Greek influence on the Orient.

Thus in the period after Alexander the long struggle between East and West reaches a peaceful conclusion. The distinction between Greek and Barbarian gradually fades away, and the world becomes ever more unified in sympathies and aspirations. It was this mingled civilization of Orient and Occident with which the Romans were now to come

The new cosmopolitanism.

into contact, as they pushed their conquering arms beyond Italy into the eastern Mediterranean. We shall see how Rome too became the appreciator and the student of the new influences with which she became acquainted, and felt the impulse of the Greek culture in every fibre of her life.

Greece and Rome.

DISTRIBUTION
OF THE
EARLY INHABITANTS
OF
ITALY
GAULS
LIGURIANS
VENETI
ADRIATIC SEA
ETRUSCANS
CAMERIANS
SABINES
AEQUIANS
LATINS
VOLSCIANS
CAMPANIANS
APULIANS
SAMNITES
LUCANIANS
BRUTTIANS
TYRRHENIAN
SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PHOENICIANS
SICANIANS
SICULI
PHOENICIANS

CHAPTER X

EARLY ROME TO 264 B.C.

120. The Foreign Peoples of Italy

While Alexander and his successors were spreading Hellenic culture throughout the Orient, a new political power was rising in the peninsula west of Greece. Not many years after Alexander's death, an Italian city-state brought all Italy under its sway, and then advancing to conquests beyond the seas, built up an empire even larger in extent than the mighty realms of Persia and Macedonia. This was the empire of Rome.

Rome.

The Romans in 323 B.C. were by no means a youthful people. Behind them lay more than four centuries of national life. The traditional date of the founding of Rome (753 B.C.[1]) goes back nearly to the era of the first chronicled Olympiad (776 B.C.). In the days when Xerxes invaded Greece, the Roman city was already a flourishing community. Contemporary with Pericles, Alcibiades, and Demosthenes at Athens were great statesmen and soldiers at Rome. Thus the most splendid period of Greek history coincides with the rise and early progress of the Roman state.

Rome and Greece.

Long before the Romans built their city by the Tiber, every part of Italy had become the home of wandering peoples, attracted by the mild climate and rich soil of this favoured

[1] Roman dates were reckoned as so many years from the "founding of the city," *anno urbis conditæ* (in post-classical Latin, *ab urbe condita*). Taking 753 B.C. as the date of this event, dates A.U.C. may be easily converted to the modern system. For example, 364 A.U.C. = 754 − 364 = 390 B.C.; 768 A.U.C. = 768 − 754 = 14 A.D.

land. Two of these peoples were neighbours of the Romans: Etruscans on the north, Greeks on the south.

The Etruscans.

The ancestors of the historic Etruscans were probably Ægean sea-rovers who settled in the Italian peninsula before the beginning of the eighth century B.C. The immigrants mingled with the natives, and by conquest and colonization founded a strong power in the country to which they gave their name—Etruria.[1] At one time the Etruscans

A Græco-Etruscan Chariot

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The chariot was discovered in 1903 in an Etruscan cemetery near Rome. It dates from perhaps 600 B.C. Almost every part of the vehicle is covered with thin plates of bronze, elaborately decorated. The wheels are only two feet in diameter. Since the chariot is too small and delicate for use in warfare, we may believe it to have been intended for ceremonial purposes only.

appear to have ruled over Campania, and also in the Po valley as far as the Alps. Their colonies occupied the rocky shores of Sardinia and Corsica. Their ships swept the Tyrrhenian Sea.[2] In fact, for several centuries the Etruscans were the leading nation in Italy.

These Etruscans, like the Hittites of Asia Minor, are a mysterious race. No one as yet has been able to read their language, which is quite unlike any Indo-European tongue. The words, however,

[1] See page 129.

[2] The Greeks called the Etruscans "Tyrrhenians."

are written in an alphabet borrowed from Greek settlers in Italy.[1] Not only the alphabet, but many other civilizing arts came to the Etruscans from abroad. Babylonia gave to them the principle of the round arch and the practice of divination.[2] Etruscan graves, scattered all over upper Italy, contain Egyptian seals adorned with hieroglyphics, and beautiful vases bearing designs from Greek mythology. The Etruscans were skilful workers in iron, bronze, and gold. They built their cities with massive walls, arched gates, paved streets, and underground drains. These things exist to-day as evidence of the former greatness of Etruria.

Etruscan civilization.

AN ETRUSCAN ARCH

The Italian city of Volterra still preserves in the Porta dell' Arco an interesting relic of Etruscan times. The archway, one of the original gates of the ancient town, is about twenty feet in height and twelve feet in width. On the keystone and imposts are three curious heads, probably representing the guardian deities of the place.

The influence of the Etruscans was early felt at Rome. From them the Roman took his characteristic dress, the toga, his house in its rudest form, and some of his cruel amusements, such as the gladiatorial games. He learned from Etruria to interpret omens, to organize and equip an army, and, by means of the arch, to build solidly for all time. Thus a great part of Etruscan civilization became absorbed in that of Rome.

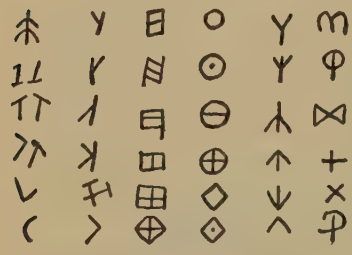
Etruscan influence on Rome.

[1] About eight thousand Etruscan inscriptions are known, almost all being short epitaphs on gravestones. In 1892 an Etruscan manuscript which had been used to pack an Egyptian mummy was published, but the language could not be deciphered.

[2] See pages 93, 109.

As teachers of the Romans, the Etruscans were followed by the Greeks. About the middle of the eighth century B.C., Hellenic colonies began to dot the coasts of Sicily and southern Italy. The earliest Greek settlement was Cumæ, near the Bay of Naples.[1] It was a city as old as Rome itself, and a centre from which Greek culture spread to Latium. The worship of Apollo came to Rome from Cumæ, as well as the knowledge of the Greek alphabet. Rome had few dealings with the other cities of Magna Græcia until the third century before our era. Her conquest of them at that time opened another road for the entrance of Hellenic culture into Rome.

The Greeks.



CHARACTERS OF THE ETRUSCAN ALPHABET

A glance at the map[2] shows that the chief Greek colonies were all on or near the sea, from Campania to the Gulf of Tarentum. North of the "heel" of Italy extends an almost harbourless coast, where nothing tempted the Greeks to settle. North of Campania, again, they found the good harbours already occupied by the Etruscans. The Greeks, in consequence, never spread their civilization throughout the entire peninsula, never made Italy a completely Hellenic land. Room was left for the native Italian peoples, under the leadership of Rome, to build up their own power in the peninsula.

Area of Greek civilization in Italy.

121. The Italian Peoples

The Italians were an Indo-European people who spoke a language closely related, on the one side, to Greek, and on the other side, to the Celtic speech of western Europe. They entered Italy, doubtless from the north, long before the dawn of history, and

[1] Naples, the ancient Neapolis, was a colony of Cumæ. See page 179.

[2] See the map, facing page 88.

as they pushed southward, gradually occupied the interior of the peninsula. Here they must have lived for many centuries, rearing their flocks, raising crops of grain in the fertile valleys, and on the mountain slopes cultivating the vine and the fig. Their simple, laborious life, filled as it was with perpetual contest against the forces of nature, fierce beasts, and savage enemies, helped to make them vigorous and strong, a race well fitted for war and conquest.

Italian settlements in Italy.

The Italian peoples, at the beginning of historic times, had separated into two main branches. The eastern and central parts of Italy formed the home of the highlanders, grouped in various tribes. Among them were the Umbrians in the northeast, the Sabines in the upper valley of the Tiber, and the Samnites in the south. Still other Italian peoples occupied the peninsula as far as Magna Græcia.

The Italian highlanders.

The western Italians, known as Latins, were lowlanders. They dwelt in Latium, the "wide land" extending south of the Tiber between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea.[1] In the middle of the plain, five miles from the foot of the mountains, rises a striking group of volcanic hills which form the last spur sent out by the Apennines towards the sea. High up on the Alban Mount,[2] as one of these hills was called, lay Alba Longa, the "Long White Town," beside a beautiful lake which fills the crater of an extinct volcano. This ancient city, which in historic times was a heap of ruins, at an earlier period seems to have been the chief settlement of the Latins.

The Latins.

Although the inhabitants of Latium belonged to the same race as the wild mountaineers of the Apennines, residence in the lowlands, where they bordered on the Etruscans, helped to make them a more civilized people. Their village communities grew into large settlements, until the whole of Latium became filled with a number of independent city-states. The ties of kinship and the necessity of self-defence against Etruscan and

The Latin League.

[1] See page 130.

[2] The modern Monte Cavo.

Sabine foes bound them together. At a very early period they united in a Latin League, under the headship of Alba Longa. The members held a yearly festival on the sacred Alban Mount, where they celebrated games and offered joint sacrifice to Jupiter. One of the cities in this league was Rome.[1]

122. The Romans

Unlike the other great empires of the ancient world, that of Rome can be traced to very small beginnings. "Eternal Rome" sprang from a settlement of Latin shepherds, farmers, and traders on the Palatine Mount. This was the central eminence in a group of low hills south of the Tiber, about fifteen miles by water from the river's mouth.

Founding of Rome.

Opposite the little Palatine community there arose, perhaps a little later, another settlement on the Quirinal Hill. This seems to have been an outpost or colony of the Sabines. After much hard fighting, these rival hill towns united on equal terms into one state. The low marshy land between the Palatine and Quirinal became the Forum or common market place, and the steep rock, called the Capitoline, formed the common citadel.

Union of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements.

The union of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements was the first stage in the growth of Rome. It greatly increased the area and population of the new city. In course of time, settlements were made on the neighbouring hills, and these, too, cast in their lot with Rome. Then a fortification, called the "Wall of Servius," was built to bring them all within the boundaries of the enlarged community. In this way, Rome came into existence as the City of the Seven Hills.[2]

Union of the seven hills.

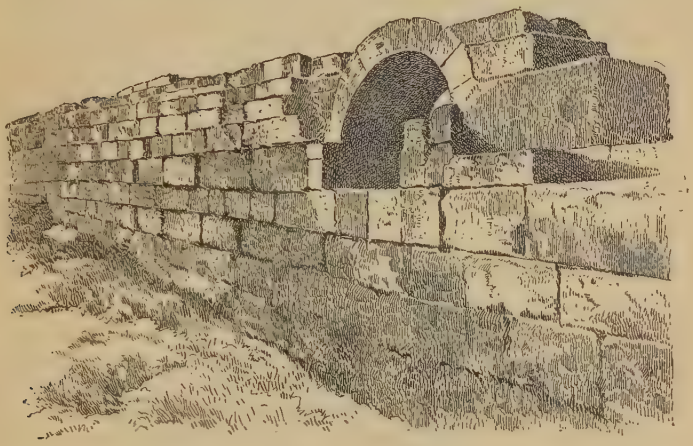
Rome, from the beginning, owed much to its fortunate position.

[1] We do not know when Rome was founded. The traditional date of this event, 753 B.C., is clearly incorrect. Recent excavations (since 1898) have shown that the site of Rome was occupied perhaps as early as 1000 B.C.

[2] For the topography of Rome, see pages 631–637.

The city was easy to defend. It lay far enough from the sea to be safe from sudden raids by pirates. It possessed in the seven hills a natural fortress against Etruscan foes. At the same time, Rome was well placed for commerce. The situation on the Tiber, the largest navigable stream in Italy, made it a convenient centre for trade up and down the river. Finally, Rome was almost in the centre of Italy, a position

Advantages of the site of Rome.



"WALL OF SERVIUS"

The wall was thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high. It consisted of an earthen rampart faced on each side with huge stones fitted together without cement. Although ascribed to Servius Tullius, the wall probably was not built until the fourth century, after the capture of Rome by the Gauls.

from which its warlike people could most easily advance to the conquest of the peninsula. As an ancient historian remarked, the site of Rome was "peculiarly adapted to secure the growth of a city." [1]

We cannot trace in detail the story of the growth of Rome. The accounts that have reached us are a tissue of myths and legends. It is certain, however, that in the course of about two centuries, Rome had come to control the south bank of the Tiber from

[1] Livy, v, 54.

the highlands to the sea. As the successor of Alba Longa, she held the headship of the Latin League. Already, at this early period of her history, Rome formed the leading state in Latium.

Early growth of Rome.

123. Regal Rome, 753(?)–509(?) B.C.

Long after the foundation of Rome, when that city had grown rich and powerful, her poets delighted to relate the many myths which gathered about the earlier stages of her career. Roman historians wrought these myths into a complete narrative of events during the two centuries and a half when Rome was ruled by seven kings.

Legends of the seven kings.

According to the legends, Rome began as a colony of Alba Longa, the capital of Latium. The founder of this city was Ascanius, son of the Trojan prince Æneas, who had escaped from Troy on its capture by the Greeks and after long wanderings had reached the coast of Italy. Many generations afterward, when Numitor sat on the throne of Alba Longa, his younger brother, Amulius, plotted against him and drove him into exile. He had Numitor's son put to death, and forced the daughter, Rhea Silvia, to take the vows of a Vestal Virgin. But Rhea, beloved by Mars, the god of war, gave birth to twin boys of more than human size and beauty. The wicked Amulius ordered the children to be set adrift in a basket on the Tiber. Heaven, however, guarded these offspring of a god; the river cast them ashore near Mount Palatine, and a she-wolf came and nursed them. There they were discovered by a shepherd, who reared them in his own household. When the twins, Romulus and Remus, reached manhood, they killed Amulius and restored their grandfather to his kingdom. Then, with other young men from Alba Longa, they set forth to build a new city on the Palatine, where they had been rescued. As they scanned the sky to learn the will of the gods, six vultures, birds of Jupiter, appeared to Remus, but twelve were seen by Romulus. So Romulus marked out the

Romulus.

boundary of the city on the Palatine, and Remus, who in derision leaped over the half-finished wall, he slew in anger. Romulus in this way became the sole founder of Rome, and its first king.

Romulus was followed by a Sabine, Numa Pompilius, who taught the Romans the arts of peace and the worship of the gods. He owed his wisdom to his wife Egeria, a muse with whom he was wont to converse in a sacred grove by night. After Numa came the warlike Tullus Hostilius, who destroyed Alba Longa and brought the inhabitants to Rome. Ancus

Successors of Romulus.

THE CLOACA MAXIMA

Attributed to Tarquinius Priscus, but doubtless of much later origin.

Martius, the fourth king, founded a harbour town, called Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber.[1] He also fortified Mount Janiculum across the Tiber, as an outpost against the Etruscans.

The Roman city now came under the rule of foreign princes. Tarquinius Priscus, the next king, was a Greek or an Etruscan who had lived in the Etruscan city of Tarquinii. He built huge sewers to drain the marshy valleys between the seven hills. One of these, the Cloaca Maxima, still empties its waters into the Tiber under a massive arch. He is said, also,

The Tarquins.

1 Excavations at Ostia indicate that the city was founded as late as the third century B.C. No trace of anything earlier has been discovered on the site.

to have laid out the Forum, and to have raised a splendid temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline. Another structure attributed to Tarquinius was the Circus Maximus, or "Great Circle," for chariot races on the Etruscan model. Servius Tullius, the next king, was the legendary builder of the Servian Wall. His successor, Tarquinius Superbus, bought from the Sibyl of Cumæ three books of Apollo's prophecies concerning the future of Rome. These were the celebrated Sibylline Books which the Romans always consulted when the state was in great danger.[1] Tarquinius Superbus was the last of the seven kings of Rome. An uprising against his tyranny drove him with his family into exile. Rome then became a republic.

These famous tales have become a part of the world's literature, and still possess value to the historian. They show us what the Romans themselves believed about the foundation and early fortunes of their city. Sometimes they refer to what seem to be facts, such as the first settlement on the Palatine, the union with the Sabines on the Quirinal, the conquest of Alba Longa. We may learn from them that Rome was once ruled by Etruscan masters who provided the city with public works and buildings. In the same way, the story of the Sibyl indicates intercourse with the Greek colony of Cumæ. Finally, the legends contain so many references to customs and beliefs that they are a great help in understanding the social life and religion of the primitive Romans.

Significance of the legends.

124. Early Roman Society

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the Roman people. "When our forefathers," said an old writer, "would praise a worthy man, they praised him as a good farmer and a good landlord; and they believed that praise could go no further."[2] The average farm was small.

The Romans an agricultural people.

[1] They were destroyed in 82 B.C., when the Capitol was burned.

[2] Cato, *Agriculture*, 1.

Three and a half acres were thought large enough for the support of the farmer and his family. Aided by his sons, the husbandman raised large crops of grain — the staple product of ancient Italy. Cattle-breeding must have been an important pursuit, since in early times prices were estimated in oxen and sheep.[1] The well-directed labours of these ancient farmers turned into a garden many a tract of land which has since become barren.[2]

In such a community of peasants no great inequalities of wealth existed. Few citizens were very rich; few were very poor. The members of each household made their own clothing from flax or wool, and fashioned out of wood and clay what utensils were needed for their simple life. For a long time the Romans had no coined money whatever. When copper came into use as currency, it passed from hand to hand in shapeless lumps that required frequent weighing.[3] It was not until the fourth century that a regular coinage began. A pound of copper cast in a mould was called an *as*.[4] It resembled the heavy iron

Economic conditions.

A Roman Farmer's Calendar

A marble cube, two feet high, of about 31–29 B.C.

The Month of May.
XXXI days,
The nones fall on the 7th day.
The day has 14½ hours.
The night has 9½ hours.
The sun is in the sign of Taurus.
The month is under the protection of Apollo.
The corn is weeded.
The sheep are shorn.
The wool is washed.
Young steers are put under the yoke.
The vetch of the meadows is cut.
The lustration of the crops is made.
Sacrifices to Mercury and Flora.

[1] See pages 10–11.

[2] For instance, the Pontine marshes, south of Rome. This region is now a malarious, uninhabited wilderness.

[3] See the illustration, page 9.

[4] The *as* was divided into twelve ounces. This old method of division has given to us our Apothecaries' Weight.

money of the Spartans. This use of copper currency indicates that gold and silver must have been very rare among the Romans, and luxury almost unknown.

Moral character of the early Romans.

A race of hard-working, god-fearing peasants is likely to lead clean and sober lives. This was certainly true of the early Romans. They were a manly breed, abstemious in food and drink, iron-willed, vigorous, and strong. "We carry our children to the streams and harden them in the bitter, icy water; as boys they spend wakeful nights over the chase, and tire out the whirlwind, but in manhood, unwearied by toil and trained to poverty, they subdue the soil with their mattocks, or shake towns in war."[1] Deep down in the Roman's heart was the proud conviction that Rome should rule over all her neighbours. For this he freely shed his blood; for this he bore hardship, however severe, without complaint. Before everything else, he was a dutiful citizen and a true patriot. Such were the sturdy men who on their farms in Latium formed the backbone of the Roman state. Their character has set its mark on history for all time.

125. The Roman Family

Nature of the Roman family.

The family formed the unit of Roman society. By our word family, we usually understand a group consisting of husband, wife, and children. By their word *familia*, the Romans meant all the persons who were subject to the authority of the same house-father (*pater familias*). A man's family, in this sense, was made up of all his descendants, provided their relationship with him could be traced through males.[2] A typical family group would consist of the father and mother, the sons, together with their wives and unmarried children, and the un-

[1] Vergil, *Æneid*, ix, 603–608.

[2] The word *familia* was also very commonly used to include, not only a man's descendants, but also his slaves and clients. The latter were dependents who stood above the slaves, but owed various duties to their master or quasi-father (Latin, *patronus*).

married daughters. A daughter, on her marriage, joined her husband's family, and so passed under the control of another house-father.

The most marked feature of this Roman family was the unlimited authority of the father (*patria potestas*). In his house he reigned an absolute king. His wife had no legal rights: he could sell her into slavery or divorce her at will. "The husband," said an ancient Roman writer, "is the judge of the wife, he can do with her as he pleases: if she has committed any fault, he whips her; if she has drunk wine, he reproves her; if she has been unfaithful to him, he kills her."

The father's authority over his wife.

Nevertheless, no ancient people honoured women more highly than the Romans. A Roman wife was the mistress of the home, as her husband was its master. She was not confined, like a Greek wife, to a narrow round of duties within the house. She could make visits and receive them; she appeared with her husband at the games, theatres, and courts; in the streets every one made way for her; and any one who insulted her was thought worthy of death. Though her education was not carried far, we often find the Roman matron taking a lively interest in affairs of state, and aiding her husband both in politics and business. It was the women, as well as the men, who helped to make Rome great among the nations.

Position of women.

Over his unmarried daughters and his sons, the Roman father ruled as supreme as over his wife. When a child was born to him, it was placed at his feet, and he then decided whether it should be reared or exposed to death. He brought up his children to be sober, silent, modest in their bearing, and, above all, obedient. Their misdeeds he might punish with penalties as severe as banishment, slavery, or death. As head of the family, he could claim all their earnings; everything they had was his. The father's great authority ceased only with his death. Then his sons, in turn, became lords over their families.

The father's authority over his children.

This paternal power, which seems so strange to us, was less extensive in practice than in legal theory. Custom forbade the exposure of sons, and also of first-born daughters. Public opinion frowned on a man who sold his married son into slavery. Before inflicting the death penalty on his children, he had to call a council of relatives and friends, whose decision he would usually respect. The father's ownership of all the property meant, moreover, that he was a trustee to hold and use it for the common benefit.

Restrictions on the father's power.

Such in the best days of Rome was the Roman family. It remained, for many centuries, the very keystone of the state. In the family, the Roman lad acquired the great virtues of obedience and respect for authority. When he became a man and entered public life, he would be sure to honour the magistrates and reverence the laws. On the other hand, a Roman father, through his exercise of paternal authority, learned how to command as well as to obey — how to rule a nation with the same justice and wisdom that he ruled his household.

Place of the family in Roman history.

126. The Family Religion

The Romans, like the ancient Greeks and the modern Chinese, paid special veneration to the souls of the dead. These were known by the flattering name of *manes*, the "pure" or "good ones."[1] The Romans always regarded the *manes* as members of the household to which they belonged on earth. The living and the dead were thus bound together with the closest ties. The idea of the family triumphed even over the grave.

Worship of ancestors.

The practical Roman mind cared little to speculate as to the place where these spirits of the dead were supposed to dwell. It was enough to believe that they lived a kind of shadowy life in

[1] The letters *D. M.* found on Roman tombs are the initials of *Dis Manibus*, "to the good gods."

the lower world, often haunting the grave itself. The tomb formed not a temporary prison, but an everlasting home. If the body was not properly interred, the soul would have no resting place, but would wander about as an evil spirit — unhappy itself, and tormenting the living. Hence burial rites had the utmost importance: "Even upon the unknown dead we heap earth, and no one is in too great a hurry to honour an unburied body by putting earth, be it ever so little, upon it."[1]

Burial rites.

CINERARY URNS IN TERRA-COTTA

Vatican Museum, Rome

These receptacles for the ashes of the dead were found in an old cemetery at Alba Longa. They show two forms of the primitive Roman hut.

The spirits of the dead were supposed to visit the living on stated occasions. One of these periods occurred in May, when the Romans held the festival of the Lemuria — a solemn driving out of ghosts. The father of the family rose from his bed at midnight and walked barefooted through the house. In his mouth he carried black beans which he spat out nine times without looking round, saying as he did so, "With these I redeem myself and my family." Then he shook brass vessels together and recited again nine times, "Go forth, ye *manes* of my fathers."[2] This very ancient ceremony shows us that the dead were regarded with great respect, and even with fear. They must be given their special food, and then got out of the place as quickly as possible.

Driving out of ghosts, the Lemuria.

Another festival reveals more cheerful ideas about the dead. For nine days in February,[3] the Romans celebrated the Parentalia,

[1] Quintilian, *Declamationes*, v, 6.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 438–444.

[3] Latin *Februarius*, from *februa*, the term applied to expiatory rites.

when the ghosts were received and entertained by the living members of their family. During this period, marriages were forbidden, the temples were closed, and magistrates laid aside their official dress. The dead man's relatives visited his tomb and offered there their simple gifts of salt cake, bread dipped in wine, and garlands of flowers. Thus peace was made with the ancestral spirits. Honoured in this way, they became the kindly guardians of the household.

Feast of the dead; the Parentalia.

But the home, rather than the grave, was the real centre of domestic worship. The ancient Roman house had only one large room, the *atrium*, where all members of the family lived together. It was entered by a single door, which, as the protection against the outside world and keeper away of evil, was sacred to Janus. On the hearth, opposite the doorway, the housewife prepared the meals. The fire that ever blazed upon it gave warmth and nourishment to the inmates. Here dwelt Vesta, the spirit of the kindling flame. The cupboard where the food was kept for future use came under the charge of the Penates, who blessed the family store. The house as a whole had its protecting spirits, called Lares. Even the house-father had his guardian spirit, the Genius, whose festival was celebrated on the master's birthday.

The household deities.

The daily worship of these household deities took place at the family meal. In the old and simple house the table would be placed at the side of the hearth, and when the father and his family sat down to it, a little food would be thrown into the flames and a portion of wine poured out, as an offering to the gods. The images of the Lares and Penates would also be fetched from the shrine and placed on the table in token of their presence at the meal. Even in later days, when the Romans had luxurious, many-roomed houses with the dining table far from the kitchen hearth, a pause was made in the meal and an offering sent out to the household gods. So persistent was this custom of domestic piety.

The household worship.

The worship of the hearth and home played a great part in shaping Roman society, and also in making Roman history. It immensely strengthened the father's power as head of the family. He was honoured as the chief priest of the household. His home was a temple, his hearth was an altar. It made marriage a religious duty. A curse was thought to rest on the childless man. Not only was he doomed to lose all honours after death, but he likewise robbed the spirits of his forefathers of the worship they should have continued to enjoy. Finally, this domestic religion made the family an exclusive organization. Unless a man had been formally admitted into the domestic circle by marriage or adoption, it was a shocking sacrilege for him to join in the worship of ancestors from whom he was not descended. This feeling helped to preserve the purity of family life, so characteristic a feature of early Rome.

Influence of the domestic religion.

The religion of the family endured with little change throughout the entire period of Roman history. In many households it lingered as a pious rite long after the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

127. The State Religion

The early Roman state was only an enlarged family, and hence the religion of the state was modelled upon that of the family. Some of the divinities, such as Janus and Vesta, were taken over with little change from the family worship. The entrance to the Forum formed a shrine of Janus,[1] which Numa himself was said to have built. The door, or gateway, stood open in time of war, but was shut when Rome was at peace. At the south end of the Forum stood the round temple of Vesta, containing the sacred hearth of the city. Here Vesta was served by six virgins of free birth, who dwelt in a kind of convent close

Worship of Janus and Vesta.

[1] Since a door (*janua*) had two sides, Janus, the door god, was represented with the curious double face which appears on Roman coins. The month January in the Julian calendar was named after him. The names of all our months, it is worth remembering, are those of the Roman year.

by. It was their duty to keep the fire always blazing on the altar. If by accident the fire went out, it must be relighted from a "pure flame," either by striking a spark with flint or by rubbing together two dry sticks. Such methods of kindling fire were those familiar to the prehistoric Romans.

The Romans worshipped various gods connected with their lives as shepherds, farmers, and warriors. The chief divinity was Jupiter, who ruled the heavens and sent rain and sunshine to nourish the crops. With the title of *Optimus Maximus*, "the best and greatest," Jupiter took his place as the supreme divinity of the Roman state. The Roman youth, on assuming the dress of manhood, made his offerings at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; there the magistrates sacrificed before entering on their duties; there the conquering general on the occasion of a triumph dedicated the spoils of victory.

Jupiter.

A Vestal Virgin

Portrait from a statue discovered in the ruins of the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum.

The Romans were a military people, and in their god Mars they fashioned a deity who reflected their own character. His sacred animal was the fierce, cruel wolf, his symbols were spears and shields, his altar was the Campus Martius (Field of Mars) outside the city walls, where the army assembled in battle array. March, the first month of the old Roman year, was named in his honour.

Mars.

The Romans showed great hospitality in matters of religion. Some of their deities were borrowed directly from Greece, such as Heracles, or Hercules, Æsculapius, the Greek god of healing, and Apollo, who came from Cumæ.

Borrowed gods.

Then a fashion arose of identifying old Roman deities with those of Greece which in any way resembled them.[1] Thus the Roman Ceres, a goddess of fertility, was made one with the earth goddess Demeter, and the Roman Neptune, a river god, with Poseidon, god of the sea. Besides these and other Greek divinities, the Romans adopted the beautiful mythology of Greece.

SUOVETAURILIA

Louvre, Paris

The relief pictures an ancient Italian sacrifice of a bull, a ram, and a boar, offered to Mars to secure purification from sin. Note the sacred laurel trees, the two altars, and the officiating magistrate, whose head is covered with the toga. He is sprinkling incense from a box held by an attendant. Another attendant carries a ewer with the libation. In the rear is the sacrificer with his axe.

In addition to the major deities, there was an innumerable company of less important gods and spirits. Some personified a quality, such as Health, Concord, Fortune, Peace. Temples were raised to these abstractions. Other supernatural beings watched over children, looked after boundaries, even protected sheep and oxen. The farmer, especially, felt himself in the hands of a whole host of spiritual powers which helped him at ploughing, hoeing, sowing, and reaping. No wonder a Roman writer could say, "Our country is so full of divinities that it is much easier to find a god than a man."[2]

Minor divinities.

[1] Very few deities were really common to the Greeks and Romans. It is a mistake, therefore, to use Latin names for the gods and goddesses worshipped in Greece.

[2] Petronius, *Satires*, 17.

128. Religious Rites and Priesthoods

With so many gods that required attention, the danger of offending one of them was ever present to the Roman's mind. Hence he had to be constant with his prayers and offerings, and very careful to perform them in the proper manner. All acts of worship — sacrifices, dedications, festivals — proceeded according to regular rules.

Religious worship.

A sacrifice on behalf of the state formed a most elaborate ceremony. The victim—usually an ox, sheep, or pig—had to be of the right sex, age and colour. It had to go willingly to the altar. During the slaughter the priest recited a prayer. His head was covered in order to shut out evil influences from his eyes, and music was played to drown all ill-omened sounds. The omission of a single word from the sacred formula, the slightest resistance on the part of the victim, the least disorder among the bystanders, made the sacrifice of no avail. In such a case everything must be repeated from the beginning.

Sacrifice.

The gods, if piously worshipped, stood ready to do their part. They sent the blessings of health, riches, long life, and success in business and battle. The farmer, after he sacrificed a spring sowing, felt sure that heaven would grant him an abundant harvest. The state, if it entered on a war after the necessary ceremonies, was believed to be certain of success. Thus religion became a real contract between the god and his worshippers. This hard, legal idea was characteristic of the practical and thrifty Roman, who made his deities much like himself.

Formal character of worship.

The Romans took many precautions, before beginning any enterprise, to find out what was the will of the gods and how their favour might first be gained. They did not have oracles, but they paid much attention to omens of all sorts. A sudden flash of lightning, an eclipse of the sun, a blazing comet, or an earthquake shock was a prodigy which

Omens.

awakened superstitious fear. It indicated the disapproval of the gods.[1]

There were still other ways whereby one might learn the divine will. The Romans took from Etruria the practice of divination by means of the colour and shape of the entrails of animals slain at sacrifice. A more common custom was that of augury from the number of birds seen in the sky and from the quarter of the heavens where they appeared. To consult such signs was called "taking the auspices." No public act, such as a vote in the assembly, an election, or a battle, could be begun before the gods had shown their consent by granting favourable auspices.

Auspices.

AN ETRUSCAN AUGUR

Wall painting from a tomb at Tarquinii in Etruria.

Though every man could say his prayers and make his offerings without the presence of priests, their aid was necessary in the state worship. Roman priests did not form a separate class as in some Oriental countries. They were chosen, as were other magistrates, from the general body of citizens. Some of them were grouped in societies or "colleges." A college of six augurs had charge of the public auspices. Another board of priests took care of the Sibylline Books, which were deposited in a vault beneath the Capitoline temple. The college of pontiffs had a general oversight of the whole system of religion. Among other duties, they regulated the calendar,[2] kept the public annals, and

Priesthoods.

[1] The Latin word *religio*, whence our "religion," seems at first to have meant the awe, nervousness, and fear excited by the unusual and the unexpected. It referred to the normal feeling of man in the presence of the supernatural.

[2] The Romans had a year of twelve months, beginning with March. The days of the month were indicated by their relation to the changes of the moon. The day

looked after weights and measures. They were experts in all matters of religious ceremony, and hence very important individuals.[1]

The Romans celebrated many annual festivals, most of which were connected with their life as shepherds and farmers. In April they honoured the goddess who cared for flocks and herds; in May they held a procession to purify and bless the fields with their growing crops; in August there was a ceremony which marked the gathering in of the harvest.

Festivals.

The Saturnalia was a seven days' festival held in December in honour of Saturn, the god of sowing. During this time schools were closed, no war was declared or battle fought, no punishment was inflicted. Every one gave himself up to feasting and revelry. An ancient writer tells us that all Rome seemed to go mad on this holiday. Distinctions of rank were laid aside at the Saturnalia. Even slaves received a temporary freedom; masters, it is said, actually changed places with their slaves and waited on them at table. The custom of making gifts, such as wax candles and clay dolls, was a feature of the Saturnalia which probably survives in our "Christmas presents."

The Saturnalia.

The celebration of a festival formed a religious ceremony in which the state expected every one to take part. At such a time the courts and places of assembly would be closed, while the temples would be thronged with worshippers. On these holy days, or *feriæ*, the citizen was supposed to do no labour, and even the slave to enjoy rest from toil. The Roman idea of the holy day, as a time devoted to the service of the gods, seems to have been much the same as that which we find expressed in the Jewish Sabbath. But there were more than a hundred *feriæ*

Holy days.

of the new moon, the beginning of the month, received the name Kalends, whence our word "calendar." The day of the full moon, at the middle of the month, was known as the Ides; and the ninth day before the Ides was the Nones. The other days of the month were calculated by reckoning backward from these fixed points. Our May 30, for example, by Roman computation in the Julian calendar, would be the third day before the Kalends of June.

[1] The name of the president of this college, Pontifex Maximus (Chief Bridge-builder), is still the title of the Roman Pope or "Supreme Pontiff."

in the year, and it was simply impossible that all work should cease on them. So the old restrictions were gradually lightened or removed until, in the last century B.C., the Roman poet Vergil could declare that "even on holy days some work is permitted by the laws of God and man."[1] Finally, the *feriæ* became little more than public holidays, celebrated with banquets, games, and shows.

This old Roman faith was something very different from what we understand by religion. It had little direct influence on morality. It did not promise rewards or threaten punishments in a future world. Roman religion busied itself with the everyday life of man. Just as the household was bound together by the tie of common worship, so all the citizens were united in a common reverence for the deities which watched over and guided the state. The religion of Rome made and held together a nation.

Importance of the state religion.

129. Government

We find in early Rome, as in Homeric Greece,[2] a city-state with its king, council, and assembly. The king (*rex*) was the father of his people, having over them the same absolute authority that the house father held within the family. He was the high priest of the state religion, the supreme judge, and the commander-in-chief of the army. From *imperium*, the Latin term for this regal power, have come our familiar words, "imperial" and "empire." Wherever the king went, he was accompanied by twelve servants, called lictors, each carrying over the left shoulder a bundle of elm rods (*fasces*), wrapped about an axe. These were emblems of his power to flog and behead offenders. The Roman citizen thus had a constant reminder of this dread *imperium*, extending to life and death.

The king.

The king was assisted by a council of elders or Senate (Latin, *senes*, "old men"). Its members were chosen by the king and

[1] Vergil, *Georgics*, i, 268–269. [2] See pages 166–167.

held office for life. The most influential heads of families belonged to this body. The senators, very appropriately, received the title of "fathers" (*patres*). The king sought, and usually followed, the advice of the Senate on all important matters.

Senate.

When the king wished to consult the people, he sent criers about the city with ox horns, to call the citizens together. The assembly place was a corner of the Forum, called the *comitium*. Here the citizens were grouped in *curiæ* or brotherhoods, consisting of several families. Each *curia* had a single vote, and a majority of the *curiæ* decided the question. This method of voting in the *comitia curiata*, or assembly of *curiæ*, was followed in the other popular assemblies of the republic.

Comitia curiata.

Toward the close of the sixth century, as we have already learned, the ancient monarchy disappeared from Rome. In place of the lifelong king, two magistrates, named consuls, were elected every year. A consul, during his brief term of office, possessed the old *imperium*. His dignity was indicated by the purple-bordered toga which he wore in the city, by the attendance of lictors with *fasces*, and by the ivory throne or curule chair on which he sat. However, the consul had to share his honour and authority with a colleague who enjoyed the same power as himself. Unless both agreed, there could be no action. Like the Spartan kings, the consuls served as checks, the one on the other. Neither could safely use his position to aim at unlawful rule.

The republican consuls.

This divided and limited power of the consuls might work very well in times of peace. During dangerous wars or insurrections it was likely to prove disastrous. A remedy was found in the temporary revival of the old kingship under a new name. When occasion required, one of the consuls, on the advice of the Senate, appointed a dictator. The consuls then gave up their authority, and the people put their property and lives entirely at the dictator's disposal. During his term of office, which

The dictator.

could not exceed six months, the state was under martial law. Throughout Roman history there were many occasions when a dictatorship was created to meet a sudden emergency.

Another change in the Roman government belongs to the period of the early republic. As early, perhaps, as the time of Servius Tullius,[1] the citizen-soldiers of Rome were grouped in companies or centuries, each of one hundred men. This military organization was hence called the *comitia centuriata*. Its members, when the trumpet sounded, gathered in the Campus Martius, ready to march against the foe. With the establishment of the republic, the *comitia centuriata* became also a political assembly in which the people elected their magistrates and decided weighty matters of war and peace. Though Rome had now two assemblies, the older *comitia curiata* declined in importance, and the *comitia centuriata* became the chief organ of public opinion.

Comitia centuriata.

CURULE CHAIR AND FASCES

The curule chair (*sella curulis*) was a campstool with curved ivory legs. The *fasces* are shown on each side of the relief.

130. Social Classes in the Early Republic

The Roman state, during the regal age, seems to have been divided between an aristocracy and a commons. The nobles were called patricians, and the common people were known as plebeians.[2] The patricians occupied a privileged position, since they alone could sit in the Senate and serve as priests, judges, and magistrates. The nobles, in fact, controlled society, and the common people found themselves excluded from a large part of the religion, law, and politics of the Roman city.

Patricians and plebeians.

[1] See page 314.

[2] Latin, *plebs*, "the crowd."

At the beginning of the republican period, a fierce struggle arose between patricians and plebeians, the one to keep, the other to win, the rights that seemed so valuable. The struggle continued for about two centuries and made up a large part of the early history of Rome. We know, however, only a few prominent events in this long contest "between the orders."

Contest between the orders.

The plebeians are said to have gained one of their most important victories at the beginning of the republic. In 509 B.C. the consul Valerius secured the passage of a law which forbade any magistrate, except a dictator, to scourge or execute a Roman citizen without giving him a chance to appeal to the people in the *comitia centuriata*. This "right of appeal," granted by the Valerian law, the Romans justly regarded as the greatest safeguard of their liberties. It did not bind the consuls when they were outside the city at the head of the army. But when they came within the walls, their lictors took the axe from the *fasces* to show that the consuls could no longer exercise the power of life and death over Roman citizens.

Valerian law of appeal, 509 (?) B.C.

The next forward step made by the plebeians resulted from a "strike" which they organized against the state. According to the story, one day when the plebeians found themselves mistreated, those in the army refused to serve any longer under their commander. They marched out of Rome to a hill afterwards called the Sacred Mount, and determined to found a new city.

Secession of the plebs, 494 (?) B.C.

The frightened patricians quickly realized that Rome could not do without her plebeian soldiers. To induce them to return, the nobles promised that the plebeians should have officers of their own, called tribunes, as a protection against patrician cruelty and injustice. At first there were only two tribunes, but soon the number was raised to ten, elected annually.

Tribunes of the plebs, 493 (?) B.C.

These tribunes possessed very singular rights. Any one of them

could veto, that is, forbid, the act of a magistrate which seemed to bear harshly on a citizen. The tribunate thus served as a sort of brake on the immense authority vested in the consuls and other officers. The door of the tribune's house had always to remain unlocked, in order that a plebeian in trouble might find refuge with him at any time. To make sure that a tribune's orders would be respected, his person was made sacred, and a solemn curse was pronounced upon the man who injured him or interrupted him in the performance of his duties. The tribune's authority, however, extended only within the city and a mile beyond its walls. He was quite powerless against the consul in the field.

The tribunician power.

Under the protection of the tribunes and with them as leaders, the plebeians could now make further attacks upon the patrician position. We next find them struggling for equality before the law. Just as in ancient Athens,[1] the laws in early Rome had never been written down or published. Acquaintance with the laws formed a kind of secret science, confined to the patrician families. About half a century after the plebeians had obtained the tribunes, they forced the patricians to give them written laws. A board of ten men, known as decemvirs, was appointed to frame a legal code, binding equally on the orders. The story goes that this commission studied the legislation of the Greek states of southern Italy, and even went to Athens to examine some of Solon's laws which were still in force. It is certain that Greek materials were incorporated in the Roman code.

The decemvirs, 451–449 B.C.

The laws framed by the decemvirs were engraved on twelve bronze tablets and set up in the Forum. A few sentences from this famous code have come down to us in rude, unpolished Latin. Roman boys, as a part of their education, had to learn the Twelve Tables by heart—"a sing-song imposed by fate."[2] They mark the beginning of what was to be Rome's weightiest gift to civilization—her legal system.

The Twelve Tables.

[1] See pages 172–173.

[2] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii, 23.

The next effort of the plebeians was directed toward securing social equality with the patricians. Soon after the decemvirate legislation, the tribune Canuleius secured the passage of a law which permitted legal marriages between the two orders. The Canuleian law broke down the former exclusiveness of the aristocratic families and helped to unite plebeians and patricians in a harmonious community.

The Canuleian law, 445 B.C.

The hardest task before the plebeians was to secure the right of holding the great offices of state. An important landmark in their struggle was the passage of the Licinian laws. Among other things, these laws provided that at least one of the consuls each year must be a plebeian. Henceforth the lowest-born citizen was eligible for the highest honour in the gift of the Roman people.

Licinian laws, 367 B.C.

The patrician monopoly of the remaining state offices gradually broke down. The plebeians had already gained entrance to the Senate, and now one magistracy after another fell into their hands. They were admitted even to the sacred colleges of pontiffs and augurs. By the middle of the third century, the patricians and plebeians, equal before the law and with equal privileges, formed one compact body of citizens in the Roman state.

Final equalization of the orders.

131. Political Life in Republican Rome

The Roman state called itself a republic, *respublica*, "a thing of the people." Roman citizens, patricians and plebeians, made the laws, elected the magistrates, decided questions of war and peace. Yet their government was very unlike that of Greek states such as Athens, and still more unlike that of our own country. Its peculiar character puts it in a place by itself.

Rome as a republic.

To exercise their rights, the citizens of Rome held public meetings, or assemblies. During the republican period two of these were of importance. The first was the *comitia centuriata*, which

chose the higher magistrates. During the period of the plebeian struggles a second assembly was formed, the *comitia tributa*, so named because the members voted in artificial divisions called tribes. It elected the tribunes and their assistants, the plebeian ædiles, and gradually took over much of the business of lawmaking for the Roman state.

The assemblies.

Roman assemblies presented some sharp contrasts to those of the Greeks. In the first place, voting was by groups, not by heads.[1] Each group, whether *curia*, century, or tribe, voted by itself. In the Athenian Assembly, it will be remembered,[2] every man had his vote, and consequently enjoyed greater influence than a Roman citizen possessed under the system of group voting. Again, a Roman assembly could not frame, criticize, or amend public measures. It could only say "yes" or "no" to a proposal made to it by a magistrate. Finally, there was little opportunity for debate. The proposer of a law, always a magistrate, would address the voters in support of it and might sometimes permit his followers to speak for it. Otherwise no discussion took place. We can see, therefore, that though the people gathered in assembly were supreme, their power was really much limited by the magistrates.

Peculiarities of the assemblies.

Rome had many magistrates. Besides the two consuls and an occasional dictator there were the ten tribunes, who presided over the *comitia tributa*, the prætors, who served as judges, the quæstors or keepers of the treasury, and the plebeian and curule ædiles, who looked after markets, streets, and public games.

Magistrates.

Very important officers were the two censors. It was their business to make an enumeration or census of the citizens and to assess property for taxation. The censors almost always were reverend seniors who had held the consulship and enjoyed a high reputation for justice and wisdom. Their office grew steadily in importance, especially after the censors began

The censors.

[1] See page 328. [2] See page 226.

to exercise an oversight of the private life of the Romans. They could expel a senator from his seat for immorality, and deprive any citizen of his vote. We are told that once they punished a man for neglecting his farm, another for having kissed his wife in the presence of his daughter, another for spending too much money on a kinsman's funeral. They even degraded a senator of high rank, because he had in his house ten pounds of silver plate, when the law allowed him only eight ounces. Thus the censors came to sit in judgment on the virtue of all Roman citizens. The word "censorious," meaning faultfinding, is derived from the name of these magistrates of ancient Rome.

Elections.

When a Roman desired election to a public office, he had to go among the people and ask for their votes. This was called *ambitio*, whence our word "ambition." He used to appear in the Forum, the Campus Martius, and other places of public resort, clothed in white (*candidatus*), the original sense of our word "candidate." The law forbade him to bribe the citizens, but allowed him to curry favour with them by giving shows, banquets, and public games.

"Career of honours."

A man usually passed through the offices in regular order. He began his political life by getting elected to a quæstorship, and then became in succession curule ædile, prætor, and consul. If he won glory in this "career of honours," the Romans elected him to the censorship.

Office holding.

It was a high privilege to be a magistrate of Rome. Only full citizens could hold office, and of these some were permanently disqualified. Thus, not only actors and gladiators, but even honest wage-earners could not be elected to a magistracy, because they followed occupations deemed disgraceful. Though a magistrate enjoyed great power, it was a divided power. There were two or more colleagues for every office except the dictatorship. It was also a brief power, since nearly every magistrate[1] served for only a year and could not enter upon

[1] The dictator's term was limited to six months, the censors', to eighteen months.

a second term until ten years had passed. Most important of all, the authority of the magistrates was much limited by the existence of the Roman Senate.

132. The Senate and the New Nobility

The Senate formed perhaps the most remarkable institution of republican Rome. It contained about three hundred individuals, who held their seats generally for life. The vacancies which occurred in its membership, as a rule, were filled by those who had previously held one or more of the higher magistracies. There sat in the Senate every man who, as statesman, general, or diplomatist, had served his country well.

Membership of the Senate.

It was almost inevitable that the Senate should become supreme at Rome. The magistrates changed year by year; the Senate was a permanent body of seasoned men, ripe in age and of long experience in public affairs. Naturally enough, the magistrates, who themselves expected some day to sit in the Senate, would be disposed to listen to its advice and to follow its suggestions. They even sought beforehand the approval of the Senate for any new measures which they proposed to bring before the popular assemblies. In this way, the magistrates became the agents and servants of the Senate.

The Senate and the magistrates.

The Senate furnished an admirable school for debate. Any senator could speak as long and as often as he chose. The opportunities for discussion were numerous, for all weighty matters came before this august assemblage. It managed finances and public works. It looked after the state religion. It declared and conducted wars, received ambassadors from foreign countries, made alliances, and administered conquered territories. The Senate, in fact, formed the real governing body of the republic.

Powers exercised by the Senate.

If ever an oligarchy — "the rule of a few" — justified its existence, it was during this period of senatorial supremacy at Rome. The Senate proved not unworthy of its high position. For two

centuries, while Rome was winning dominion over Italy and the Mediterranean, that body held the wisest and noblest Romans of the time. To these men office meant a public trust — an opportunity to serve their country with distinction and honour. The Senate, in its best days, was a splendid example of the foresight, energy, and wisdom of republican Rome. An admiring foreigner called it "an assembly of kings."[1]

"An assembly of kings."

Rome's old aristocracy disappeared, as we have learned, when the plebeians after a long struggle secured all the privileges which the patricians had formerly alone enjoyed. But during the third and second centuries B.C., a new aristocracy sprang up in Roman society. It was composed of those patricians and wealthier plebeians who had won their way to office and thence into the Senate. Election to one of the higher magistracies ennobled a man and all his direct descendants. Henceforth they were "known" or "distinguished" (*nobiles*).

The new nobility.

The nobles were jealous of their privileges and tried to prevent outsiders from being elected to office. In this effort they were usually successful, partly because it cost much money to succeed in politics and only the nobles were rich. Another reason is found in the feeling of the Roman citizens themselves that political ability descended from one generation to another. They preferred to elect as prætor, consul, or censor a man whose father or grandfather had enjoyed the same honour. To belong to a family already "noble" very much improved a candidate's chances for office. It was unusual, therefore, for a "new man," as the Romans called a person whose ancestors had not been distinguished in the public service, to secure political honours. The power and privileges of this new nobility depended, as we see, not on the law, but on custom and tradition. Nothing but a revolution could take them away.

A narrow aristocracy.

[1] The four letters inscribed on Roman military standards indicate the important place held by the Senate. They are *S. P. Q. R.*, standing for *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, "The Senate and the People of Rome."

133. Expansion of Rome over Latium, 509 (?)–338 B.C.

While the new republican constitution was assuming shape during the contests of plebeians and patricians, Rome had been gradually extending her rule over the Italian peninsula. All exact knowledge of this period is veiled behind a great mass of myths and legends, of slight value as history, but highly important for the light they throw on Roman ideals of virtue and patriotism. The greater number are tales of warfare, since the Romans all this time were engaged in struggles with their neighbours. For several centuries the gates of the Temple of Janus were never closed.

Legends of the early republic.

Rome, during the regal age, had become the chief city-state in Latium and the head of the Latin League. The expulsion of the kings weakened Rome, for now there was no single strong ruler to lead his people in war and to put down civil strife. The Romans found their territory beset by threatening foes; on the north by the Etruscans, on the south by the Volscians, on the east by wild tribes of Æquians and Sabines who dwelt among the Apennine hills.

Enemies of Rome.

But the infant republic was not obliged to face all these enemies single-handed. In 493 B.C., the same year which saw the founding of the tribunate, Rome entered into a close alliance with the other cities of Latium. She was no longer mistress of the Latin League, but she could count on the aid of that strong confederacy in the long, hard struggle which now began. The memory of the border wars waged by Rome and her allies is preserved in many a famous tale.

Alliance between Rome and the Latins, 493 B.C.

In the year after the secession of the plebeians to the Sacred Mount a famine broke out at Rome. The ruler of Syracuse sent a large present of grain to the Roman people to relieve their distress. A certain patrician, named Coriolanus, proposed that none of this food should be supplied to the plebeians

Legend of Coriolanus.

unless they gave up their tribunes. When the plebeians heard this, they were wroth, and forced him to flee from Rome. So Coriolanus went over to the Volscians and led their troops against his native city. The Romans were seized with despair, and sent the principal senators to sue humbly for peace. The proud and bitter Coriolanus would not listen to them or to the chief priests, who had come dressed in their sacred robes. At last the noblest Roman matrons came to Coriolanus, and with them his wife, his mother, and his two young sons. Coriolanus was deeply moved. Embracing his mother, he exclaimed, "Mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son."[1] Coriolanus then granted their prayers for peace and withdrew his army from Roman soil.

Legend of Cincinnatus.

While one of the consuls was far away from Rome fighting the Sabines, news came that the Æquians had defeated the second consul and shut him up with his men in a narrow valley. The Senate met in hurried council to appoint a dictator. Only one man seemed fit to fill that post. This was the aged Cincinnatus, who had long served his country as senator and consul, and now lived quietly on his little farm. To him, as he worked in the fields, dressed in a simple tunic, came messengers with news of his appointment as dictator. "Put on your toga," they said, "to hear the words of the Senate."[2] He took command, and in sixteen days had humbled the enemy. After a splendid triumph, he laid down his absolute power and sought again the retirement of his little farm.

Capture of Veii, 396 (?) B.C.

When, at the beginning of the republic, the Etruscans were expelled from Latium, Rome found herself involved in a series of conflicts with the cities of southern Etruria. The warfare raged at intervals for over a century and gathered finally around rich and populous Veii. That city lay only twelve miles distant from Rome. It was her most persistent and dangerous rival. Tradition declares that the Romans, like the Greeks at Troy, laid siege to Veii for ten years. At any rate, they

[1] Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 36. [2] Livy, iii, 26.

destroyed the city and brought many of its inhabitants as slaves to Rome. The conquest nearly doubled the Roman territory, which now stretched for a considerable distance north of the Tiber.

Only a short time after the great victory over Veii, the Roman city itself came near to utter ruin. For many years the barbarous Gauls had been pouring down from central and western Europe through the Alpine passes into upper Italy. They were fierce warriors, whose huge bulk and enormous weapons struck terror to the hearts of their adversaries. The Gauls soon overran the valley of the Po, ravaged Etruria, and at the river Allia, only a few miles from Rome, annihilated a Roman army. The "day of the Allia" was ever afterwards one of tragic memory.

The Gallic invasion.

Rome was panic-stricken. No one thought of defending the walls. Some of the citizens withdrew to the citadel on the

Capitoline Hill, while others, having hastily removed the sacred fire, fled to neighbouring towns. The old gray-bearded senators determined not to survive the disaster. Each one, it is said, dressed himself in his state robes and sat down at the door of his house, calmly awaiting death. When the Gauls found them, they marvelled, thinking them to be more than human. At last a Gaul ventured to stroke the long beard of a senator, named Papirius, who immediately struck him with his ivory wand. Papirius was instantly slain, and then all the other senators were put to the sword. The Gauls plundered and burned Rome, but could not capture the citadel. Finally, we are told, the Romans induced them to withdraw by the payment of a heavy ransom—a thousand pounds of gold. Another tale, more favourable to Roman pride, declares that when the gold was being weighed out, Brennus, the Gallic chieftain, threw his sword in the scales, exclaiming, *Væ victis!* "Woe to the vanquished!" At this moment Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, appeared with a Roman army and forced the Gauls to retire without their booty. "Rome," he said, "is ransomed with steel, not with gold."[1]

Capture of Rome by the Gauls, 390 (?) B.C.

Rome arose from her ashes mightier than ever. About half a century after the Gallic invasion, she was able to subdue her former allies, the Latins, and to destroy their league. A famous story, told in connection with this war, shows under what stern discipline Roman soldiers lived. The consul Manlius, commanding the army, had given strict orders that no one should fight outside the ranks. But his own son accepted a challenge from one of the enemy's champions, and having killed him, bore the spoils in triumph to his father. When the consul saw this, he sounded the trumpet to call the soldiers together, and bade the lictors bind his son to the stake and then behead him. This was done, and Manlian orders, as Livy says, were "transmitted as a model of severity to all after times."[2]

Great Latin War, 340–338 B.C.

[1] Livy, v, 49.

[2] Livy, viii, 7.

By 338 B.C., the year of the fateful battle of Chæronea in Greece, Rome had become a compact and powerful state. She was supreme in Latium. She ruled over southern Etruria and had begun to extend her sway over Campania. Now she was ready to contest the supremacy of the peninsula with the one Italian people able to meet her on equal terms — the Samnites.

Position of Rome in 338 B.C.

134. The Conquest of Central Italy, 338–290 B.C.

The Samnites were the most vigorous and warlike race of central Italy. While the Romans were winning supremacy in Latium, the Samnites were also entering on a career of conquest. They coveted the fertile Campanian plain with its luxurious cities, Cumæ and Neapolis, which the Greeks had founded. The Romans had also fixed their eyes on the same region, and so a contest between the two peoples became inevitable.

The Samnites.

In numbers, courage, and military skill, Romans and Samnites were well matched. Nearly half a century of hard fighting was required before Rome gained the upper hand. No trustworthy account of these wars has come down to us. We possess, instead, the romantic tales invented by later historians to flatter Roman national pride.

The Samnite wars, 327–290 B.C.

The historians, however patriotic, could not gloss over a great disaster that befell the Romans early in the struggle. An army of forty thousand men was led into an ambush at the Caudine Forks, a pass in the Apennines, and forced to surrender. Pontius, the Samnite commander, subjected his captives to the deepest humiliation which could be inflicted. He sent them "under the yoke." Each man, unarmed and clad only in a shirt, had to pass with bowed head between two upright spears, upon which rested a third. Then the soldiers were allowed to go home, after the consuls had solemnly sworn to end the war. The Senate refused to carry out their

Disaster at the Caudine Forks, 321 B.C.

promise, because, by Roman law, no treaty was valid unless ratified by the people in an assembly. The two consuls, naked and in chains, were surrendered to the enemy, but the contest went on. Such faith Rome kept with her foes.

Before these wars came to an end, the Romans had to face a formidable coalition of Gauls, Etruscans, and Samnites. The decisive conflict took place at Sentinum in Umbria. When battle was joined, the furious charge of the Gauls threw into confusion the left wing commanded by the consul Decius. The defeated general resolved to devote himself to the infernal gods, and by sacrificing himself, to gain a victory for his country. He called on the pontiff to dictate to him the formula of self-devotion: "I drive before me terror and flight, blood and slaughter, the wrath of the gods of heaven and hell. May the breath of the furies infect the enemy's arms. May the Gauls and the Samnites sink with me to perdition." As Decius said these words, he spurred his horse into the thickest of the enemy and perished on their spears. His death, by this solemn religious rite, spurred his troops to renewed efforts, and soon they drove their foes in flight.

Battle of Sentinum, 295 B.C.

In the half century following the Great Latin War, Rome had won dominion in central Italy. Her authority was now recognized from the upper Apennines to the foot of the peninsula. The cities of Magna Græcia alone remained to dispute her claim to the supremacy of all Italy.

Position of Rome in 290 B.C.

Coin of Pyrrhus

135. Conquest of Southern Italy, 290–264 B.C.

The wealthy cities of southern Italy offered a tempting prize to Roman greed. Before long many of them, including Croton and Rhegium, received Roman garrisons and bowed to the rule of the great Latin republic. Tarentum,[1] however, the most important of the Greek colonies, held jealously to her independence. Unable single-handed to face the Romans, Tarentum turned to Greece for aid. She called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the finest soldier of his age.

War with Tarentum.

The coming of Pyrrhus, as the champion of Tarentum against Rome, is one of the connecting links between Greek and Roman history. Pyrrhus, a cousin of Alexander the Great, had ambitious dreams of rivalling that monarch's achievements in the East by winning for himself an empire in the West. His aim was to unite the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, and then, as their leader, to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellas. Of the Romans he must have known very little. Doubtless he considered them mere barbarians whose subjection would prove an easy task.

Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus led into Italy twenty-five thousand mercenary soldiers, an army almost as large as Alexander's. The Romans could not break the bristling ranks of the Greek phalanx, and they shrank back in terror before the huge war elephants which Pyrrhus had brought with him. The invader won the first battle, but lost many of his best troops. He then offered peace on condition that the Romans should give up their possessions in southern Italy. The Senate returned the proud reply that Rome would treat with no enemy while he stood on Italian soil. A second battle was so bitterly contested that Pyrrhus declared, "Another such victory, and I am lost." [2] Weary of the struggle, Pyrrhus now crossed over to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians. The rapid progress of the Roman

Campaigns of Pyrrhus, 280–275 B.C.

[1] See page 179.

[2] Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 21.

arms called him back, only to meet a crushing defeat. Pyrrhus then withdrew in disgust to Greece; Tarentum fell; and Rome established her rule over southern Italy.

The triumph over Pyrrhus and the conquest of Magna Græcia mark a decisive moment in the history of Rome. Had Pyrrhus won, Italy, as well as Asia and Egypt, might have become a Greek land, ruled by Hellenistic kings. Now it was clear that Rome, having met the invader so bravely, was to remain supreme in the Italian peninsula. At the same time, by contact with the highly civilized states of Magna Græcia, the Romans acquired a taste for the luxuries and refinements of life, which tended to make them a more cultivated people. Henceforth, we can trace with ever greater clearness the influence of Greek religion, art, and manners on Roman society.

Importance of Rome's victories.

Rome was now the undisputed mistress of Italy from the Strait of Messina northward to the Arnus and the Rubicon. Beyond a line drawn across the peninsula between these two rivers lay the territories of the Ligurians and Gauls, still unconquered foes. Below it, all the Italian peoples — Etruscans, Latins, Samnites, Greeks — acknowledged Roman sway. The central city of the peninsula had become the centre of a united Italy.[1]

Position of Rome in 264 B.C.

136. Italy under Roman Rule

Rome, it has been said, was always learning lessons in the art of government. At the very outset of her history we have seen how the handful of peasants on the Palatine, by uniting with their neighbours on the other hills, built up a city-state which became the strongest power in Latium. This policy of union and incorporation Rome was to follow century after century. As she spread her rule over Italy,

Extension of Roman citizenship.

[1] It should be noticed, however, that as yet Rome controlled only the central and southern parts of what is the modern kingdom of Italy. Two large divisions of that kingdom, which every Italian now regards as essential to its unity, were in other hands — the Po valley and the island of Sicily.

she bestowed upon the conquered peoples the great gift of Roman citizenship.

A Roman citizen enjoyed many privileges. He could hold and exchange property under the protection of Roman law. He could contract a valid marriage which made his children themselves citizens and gave him over them all the authority of the house-father. He had the right of voting in the Roman popular assemblies, and of holding any public office. He could appeal from the magistrates to the people, when condemned to death or to the loss of his personal freedom. Those who possessed all these rights, and those only, were "Romans."

Rights of Roman citizenship.

At the period we have now reached, the majority of Roman citizens did not reside at Rome itself. They dwelt in the Roman territory (*ager Romanus*) which included the greater part of Latium, parts of Campania and Etruria, and other scattered districts.

The Roman citizens.

Although most of these citizens lived on their farms or in villages, some had homes in larger towns which enjoyed local self-government. The inhabitants managed their own affairs through assemblies, senates, and magistrates, modelled after those of Rome. Such towns were called *municipia*, from which comes our word "municipality," meaning an incorporated city. In course of time they arose all over Italy, and later, after Rome's conquest abroad, in many other countries. Our own system of municipal government, which allows a city to secure a charter from the state and rule itself, is an inheritance from ancient Rome.

Municipalities.

Rome was a city-state, and her rule over Italy formed in the fullest sense the rule of a city. She was unfamiliar with the great principle of representative government. Citizens who lived away from Rome could not send representatives to discuss and resolve on their behalf. They had to visit in person the capital city, when they wished to

No representative government.

exercise their political rights. Few individuals, of course, would trudge on foot or ride on horseback many miles to Rome, in order to cast their votes or stand for office. The elections, moreover, were not all held on one day as with us, but consuls, prætors, and other magistrates were elected on separate days, while meetings of the assemblies might be held at any time of the year. A country peasant who really tried to fulfil his political duties would have had little time for anything else. In practice, therefore, the city populace of Rome had the controlling voice in ordinary legislation. The Romans were never able to remedy this grave defect in their political system. We shall see later what evils government without representation brought in its train.

Over against this body of Roman citizens, living on the *ager Romanus*, were the Italian peoples. Rome was not yet ready to grant them citizenship, but she did not treat them as complete subjects. The Italians were called the "allies and friends" of the Roman people. They lost the right of declaring war on one another, of making treaties, and of coining money. Rome otherwise left them to govern themselves, never calling on them for tribute, and only requiring that they should furnish troops for the Roman army in time of war. These Italian allies occupied a large part of Italy.

The Italians.

137. Colonies and Military Roads

We have yet to learn how the city-state by the Tiber was able to keep her Italian territories in allegiance, how she was able to hold what her sword had won. This she did principally in two ways — by founding colonies and by building military roads.

How Rome preserved her conquests.

The Romans very early began to establish what were called Latin colonies,[1] in various parts of Italy. The colonists were

[1] Latin colonists did not possess the right of voting in the assemblies at Rome. This privilege, however, was enjoyed by members of the "Roman" colonies, which were planted mainly along the coast.

usually veteran soldiers or poor plebeians who wanted farms of their own. When the list of colonists was made up, they all marched forth in military array to take possession of their new homes and build their city. The coins of these colonies often show the founder tracing out the walls or boundaries of the city with a plough. Like another Romulus he was raising another Rome.

The Latin colonies.

The Latin colonies were really offshoots of Rome herself, and hence were always faithful to the interests of the city whence they

sprang. Scattered everywhere in Italy they formed so many permanent camps or garrisons to keep the conquered peoples in subjection. At the same time, they helped mightily in spreading the Latin language, law, and civilization throughout the peninsula. The Latin colonies thus formed one of Rome's most important agencies in the task of making Italy a Roman land.

Importance of the Latin colonies.

THE APPIAN WAY

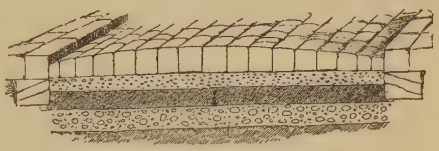
A view in the neighbourhood of Rome. The ancient construction of the road and its massive paving blocks of lava have been laid bare by modern excavations. The width of the roadway proper was only 15 feet. The arches, seen in the background, belong to the aqueduct built by the emperor Claudius in 52 A.D.

All the colonies were united with one another and with Rome by an extensive system of roads. The first great road, called the Appian Way (*Via Appia*), was built during the period of the Samnite wars. It united the Roman city with Capua and secured the hold of Rome on Campania. The Appian Way was afterwards carried across the Apennines to Brundisium on the Adriatic, whence travellers embarked for the coast of Greece. A second great road, the *Via Popillia*, joined Capua with Rhegium on the Strait of Messina.

Roman roads in southern Italy.

One of the most important highways in central and northern Italy was the *Via Flaminia*. It penetrated Etruria and Umbria and reached Arminium on the Adriatic. Under the name of the *Via Æmilia*, it was later extended to Placentia on the river Po. The *Via Cassia*, passing through central Italy, joined the *Via Æmilia* in Cisalpine Gaul. From these great trunk lines, a network of smaller roads ran to every part of the peninsula.

Roads in central and northern Italy.



Cross-section of a Roman Road

Portions of Roman roads still existing in Italy show the care with which they were constructed. The first step was to dig two ditches marking the limits of the road on either side. The loose surface earth was then removed until the workmen reached a firm subsoil or, better still, a bed of rock. If the bottom proved to be swampy, piles were driven down to secure a firm foundation. Then the cut would be filled in with several layers of small stones, or rubble, all bound together solidly by cement. The surface of the road was laid with large, flat blocks of lava or stone. The paving blocks were fitted together with the utmost care so as to leave no fissures to admit water or to jar the wheels of vehicles. Such highways, of course, were very costly, but they often went a hundred years without repairs, and some stretches of them are in good condition at the present time.

Construction of Roman roads.

Roman roads, as far as possible, ran in straight lines. The grade was always easy. Engineers cut through or tunnelled the hills, bridged rivers and gorges, spanned low, swampy lands with massive viaducts of stone. The roads, though narrow (from eleven to fifteen feet), were wide enough to allow the passing of the largest vehicles without difficulty. The pedestrian was provided with a footpath on each side, and seats for resting were often built by the milestones. The horseman found

Facilities for travel.

blocks of stone set up at frequent intervals as a convenience in mounting and dismounting. Indeed, the facilities for comfortable travel on Roman highways were not surpassed until modern times, when steam locomotion came into use.

These magnificent roads had a military origin. Very much as the old Persian roads[1] or the Trans-Siberian railway to-day, they were intended, first of all, for the rapid dispatch of troops, supplies, and official messages into every corner of the land. The roads, however, were free to the public, and so they naturally became avenues of trade and travel. They served, in this way, to bring the Italian peoples into ever closer touch with Rome.

Uses of Roman roads.

Rome thus began in Italy that wonderful process of Romanization which she was to extend later to Spain, Gaul, and Britain. She began to make the Italian peoples like herself in blood, speech, customs, and manners. More and more the Italians, under Rome's leadership, came to look upon themselves as one people—the people who wore the gown or *toga* as contrasted with the barbarous and trouser-wearing Gauls.

Romanization of Italy.

138. The Roman Army

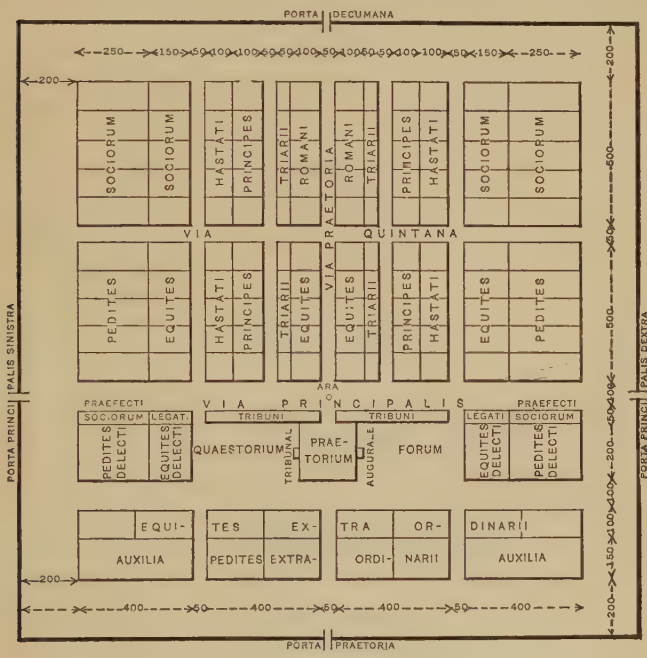
While the Romans were conquering Italy, they were making many improvements in their army. All citizens between the ages of seventeen and forty-six were liable for active service. These men were mainly landowners—hardy, intelligent peasants—who knew how to fight and how to obey orders. They received at first no reward except the booty captured from the enemy. The troops were called out only for short summer campaigns, after which they returned to their farms. It is said that the long siege of Veii made winter campaigns necessary, and so led to the regular payment of the soldiers. Henceforth they could be kept under arms for a year or more, and carefully drilled in warlike exercises. The Romans, in this way, began to create a standing army.

Citizen-soldiers.

[1] See page 68.

A Roman army in the field consisted of one or more legions. A legion included about three thousand heavy-armed footmen, twelve hundred light infantry, and three hundred horsemen. The legions, however, made up hardly a half of the total force. After the conquest of Latium and Italy, the states allied with Rome had to furnish soldiers, chiefly archers

The legion.



ROMAN CAMP

and cavalry. These auxiliaries, as they were called, were at least as numerous as the legionaries. Thus the Romans, in carrying on war, employed not only their citizens but also their subjects.

In earlier days, the soldiers of the legion seem to have fought after the Greek fashion,[1] in a solid array several files deep. This formation was not well adapted to the hilly country of Italy, and

[1] See page 244.

during the Samnite wars it was exchanged for a more open order. The heavy infantry was drawn up in three lines: first the younger men, next the more experienced warriors, lastly the veterans. Each line was divided into ten companies or "maniples." They were arranged in such a way that the vacant spaces in one line were covered by the companies of the following line, like the squares of one colour on a chessboard. The light-armed soldiers were placed equally among the three heavy-armed lines. The cavalry took up its position on both wings.

Order of battle.

A battle began usually with skirmishing by the light troops, which moved to the front and discharged their darts to harass the enemy. Next, the companies of the first line flung their javelins at a distance of from ten to twenty paces, and then, wielding their terrible short swords, came at once to close quarters with the foe. It was like a volley of musketry followed by a fierce bayonet charge. If the attack proved unsuccessful, the wearied soldiers withdrew to the rear through the gaps in the line behind. The second line now marched forward to the attack; if it was repulsed, there was still the third line of steady veterans for the last and decisive blow.

Tactics.

The legion contrasted sharply with the unwieldy phalanx. The arrangement by maniples made it at once open and compact, and each soldier had ample room for action. The grouping into three lines introduced the important military principle of a reserve. The use of the javelin as a missile, followed by hand-to-hand combats, combined the advantages of distant with close fighting. These improvements produced in the legion the most formidable war instrument of the ancient world.

Superiority of the manipular legion.

A very remarkable part of the Roman military system consisted in the use of fortified camps. Every time the army halted, if only for a single night, the legionaries intrenched themselves within a square inclosure. It was protected by a ditch, an earthen mound, and a palisade of stakes. This

Fortified camps.

camp formed a little city with its streets, its four gates, a forum, and the headquarters of the general. Behind the walls of such a fortress an army was always at liberty to accept or decline a battle. As a proverb said, the Romans often conquered by "sitting still."

Roman soldiers lived under the strictest discipline. To their general they owed absolute, unquestioning obedience. He could condemn them to death without trial. The sentinel who slept on his watch, the legionary who disobeyed an order or threw away his arms on the field of battle, might be scourged with rods and then beheaded. Sometimes he had to run the gauntlet between two ranks of soldiers who beat him with clubs. If he escaped, he became an outcast who could never return home. When an entire body of troops was condemned, the general selected by lot every tenth man, and sent him to execution. This was the practice of decimation. Such cruel punishments made cowardice or mutiny a rare thing in a Roman army. **Discipline.**

The Romans did not depend on discipline alone to produce good soldiers. The men were encouraged by various marks of distinction which the general bestowed in the presence of the entire army. The highest reward was the civic crown of oak leaves, granted to one who had saved the life of a fellow-soldier on the battlefield. It may be compared to the Victoria Cross which a British soldier is so proud to wear. Crowns were also awarded to those who were the first to scale an enemy's wall or to enter his camp. A successful commander wore a laurel wreath and received the plaudits of his soldiers, who saluted him as *imperator*. **Rewards and honours.**

The state sometimes bestowed on a victorious general the honour of a triumph. This was a grand parade and procession in the city of Rome. First came the magistrates and senators, then wagons laden with booty and captives in chains. Next followed the conqueror himself, clad in a gorgeous robe and riding in a four-horse chariot. Behind him marched the soldiers, **The triumph.**

who sang a triumphal hymn. The long procession passed through the streets to the Forum and mounted the Capitoline Hill. There the general laid his laurel crown upon the knees of the statue of Jupiter, as a thank-offering for victory. Meanwhile, the captives who had just appeared in the procession were strangled in the underground prison of the Capitol. It was a day of mingled joy and tragedy.

The Romans, it has been said, were sometimes vanquished in battle; they were always victorious in war. With the short swords of her disciplined soldiers, her flexible legion, her fortified camps, Rome won dominion in Italy and began the conquest of the world.

THE EXPANSION
of
ROMAN DOMINIONS
in
ITALY
509-264 B.C.
Long. East from Greenwich
5°
10°
15°
20°
40°
LIGURES
Rhodanus
Massilia
Genua
Pisae
Ravenna
Ariminum
Florentina
Arnus
Arretium
Etruscans
Clusium
Umbrians
Sena
Ancona
Sabinians
Asculum
ADRIATIC SEA
ILLYRIA
Aethalia
Aleria
CORSICA
Tarquinii
Caere
Rome
Tusculum
Latins
Corfinium
Arpinum
Samnites
Boviarium
Beneventum
Antium
Circei
Capua
Neapolis
Venusia
Canusium
Brundisium
Tarentum
Heraclea
Callipolis
Pyxus
Thurii
Croton
Hipponium
Messana
Rhegium
Tauromenium
Syracuse
Thermae
SICILY
Agrigentum
Lilybaeum
Utica
Carthage
Numidae
SARDINIA
Carales
Baleares
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Roman Possessions at the End of the Kingdom 509 B.C.
Additional Possessions at the Close of the Latin War 338 B.C.
Additional Possessions in 264 B.C.
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
200

CHAPTER XI

EXPANSION OF ROME OVER THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, 264–133 B.C.

139. The Rivals: Rome and Carthage

THE conquest of Italy made Rome one of the five leading states of the Mediterranean world. In the East there were the kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, which had inherited the dominions of Alexander the Great. In the West were Carthage and Rome, once in friendly alliance, but now to become most bitter foes. Rome had scarcely reached the headship of united Italy when she was involved in a life-and-death struggle with this rival power. The three wars between them are known as the Punic[1] wars; they are the most famous contests that ancient history records; and they ended in the complete destruction of Carthage.

Political situation in 264 B.C.

More than a century before the traditional date at which Rome rose upon her seven hills, Phœnician colonists laid the foundations of a second Tyre. An old legend told how Queen Dido, fleeing from Tyre with her followers, sought another home on the African shore. She asked of the natives only as much land as a bull's hide could cover. When the request was readily granted, Dido cunningly cut the skin into thin strips, and with them encircled a spot on which she built a citadel called Byrsa (hide). Around this fort grew up the future metropolis of the West.

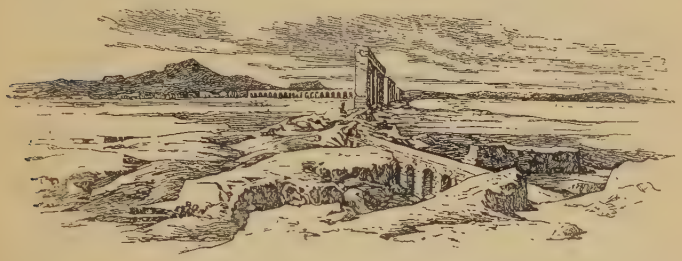
Foundation of Carthage.

The Phœnician colonists chose an admirable site. The new

[1] "Punic," from the Latin *Punicus*, is another form of the word "Phœnician." It serves as a synonym for "Carthaginian."

city bordered on rich farming land. It possessed the largest harbour of the north African coast. A position at the junction of the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean[1] gave it unsurpassed opportunities for trade. At the same time, Carthage was far enough away to be out of the reach of Persian or Macedonian conquerors.

Situation of Carthage.



ROMANO-CARTHAGINIAN AQUEDUCT

By the middle of the third century B.C., the Carthaginians had formed an imposing commercial empire. Their African dominions included the strip of coast from Cyrene westward to the Strait of Gibraltar. Their colonies covered the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and southern Spain. The western half of the Mediterranean had become a Carthaginian lake.

Commercial empire of Carthage.

Though the Carthaginians controlled a domain of imperial extent, they did very little fighting themselves. They bought their soldiers, as they bought everything else, from their subjects and allies. In their armies were Numidian horsemen who rode without saddles and shot their arrows while in full gallop, slingers from the Balearic Isles, wonderfully expert in casting stones or leaden balls, and infantry composed of dusky Africans, Spanish tribesmen, and half-naked Gauls. Such an array of barbarians, each with distinctive dress and weapons, must have presented a motley and curious appearance.

Army.

[1] See page 119.

Carthage possessed a republican form of government, something like that of Rome. The real power, however, lay with a body of one hundred men selected from wealthy merchant families. It was a government by capitalists who cared very little for the welfare of the slaves and poor freemen over whom they ruled.

Government.

The Carthaginians kept their Phœnician language, customs, and beliefs. If we may accept the statements of their enemies, the Carthaginians had a low standard of morals. The Romans always spoke of them as wanting in honesty, and used the phrase "Punic faith" as a synonym for treachery. They were a cruel people. The Romans punished runaway slaves with the lingering torture of crucifixion; the Carthaginians crucified their war captives and even their own unsuccessful generals. The religion of Carthage was both immoral and cruel. It demanded a constant stream of human sacrifices. The Carthaginian Moloch was represented by the figure of a bronze giant with extended arms. Victims, usually children, were placed in his hands to roll into a glowing furnace within the idol. When great danger threatened, the leading citizens of Carthage sacrificed their own offspring to appease the bloodthirsty god.[1]

Morals and religion.

Before the opening of the Punic wars, Carthage had been much enlarged by emigrants from Tyre, after the capture of that place by Alexander.[2] The city now numbered more than half a million inhabitants and, in comparison with Rome, appeared to be the stronger power. The wealth of Carthage enabled her to raise huge armies of mercenary soldiers. Her ships of war, in size, number, and equipment, easily surpassed those of any other Mediterranean state. And, as events were to show, the Carthaginian generals included some of the ablest commanders of antiquity.

Strength of Carthage.

These were great advantages, but there were elements of weak-

[1] Such human sacrifices were common among the Phœnicians, from whom the Israelites sometimes adopted them. See 2 *Kings*, xxiii, 10. [2] See page 273.

ness. The Carthaginian territories covered a wide area. Those of Rome centred in a single, easily defended peninsula. The subject peoples of Carthage were united to her by no such enduring ties as bound the inhabitants of Italy to Rome. Over her dependencies Carthage ruled as a tyrant, and there was none of them that would not welcome her downfall. Carthaginian soldiers were brave, but they fought for money, not for love of country. They met in the Romans the hardiest and most stubborn warriors of the age, men who served for love of country rather than for gain.

Weakness of Carthage.

In describing the course and outcome of the Punic wars, our sympathies naturally extend to the city which Rome conquered and so utterly destroyed. Yet our feelings must not blind us to the fact that, after all, Rome was fighting the battle of western civilization, just as surely as was Greece in its struggle against Persian might. The triumph of Carthage would have meant the spread of Oriental, instead of classical, civilization over western lands. From this fate the Romans saved Europe. On their shoulders had fallen the burden of the age-long feud between the East and the West.[1]

Meaning of the Punic wars.

140. First Punic War, 264–241 B.C.

The First Punic War was a contest for Sicily. For more than two centuries, since the days of Gelon of Syracuse,[2] Carthaginians and Greeks had been struggling for the possession of an island which, from its position, seems to belong half to Africa, half to Europe. During this long period, neither party had been wholly successful. Now, however, the fortunes of war were favouring Carthage. Year after year she pushed steadily forward, until it seemed that all Sicily would fall within her grasp. Such was the situation when the defeat of Pyrrhus gave Rome control of southern Italy, and brought the boundaries of the Roman state to the Strait of Messina.

Sicily a battle field of the nations.

[1] See page 186.

[2] See page 209.

Across this narrow barrier the two rising powers of the West for the first time faced each other. Carthage could not be expected to give up her designs on Sicily. Rome, on the other hand, saw in Carthage a rival who, having conquered Sicily, would surely overrun Italy also. The fear for her possessions, as well as the desire to gain new ones, led Rome to fling down the gage of battle. The war began in 264 B.C. In that fateful year a Roman army crossed over from Italy to relieve the city of Messana,[1] then besieged by the Carthaginians. "How fair a battlefield we are leaving to the Romans and the Carthaginians,"[2] Pyrrhus had said in prophetic words when, a few years before, he had withdrawn from Sicily.

Immediate occasion of the First Punic War.

The Romans at first met with uninterrupted success. The Greek cities of Sicily, including powerful Syracuse, were naturally friendly to the foes of Carthage. With their aid, the Romans captured the Carthaginian towns in the interior of Sicily, but could not subdue those on the coast. Carthage, mistress of the Mediterranean, was able to provide her colonies with troops and supplies, and even to ravage the maritime districts of Italy.

The Romans overrun Sicily.

The Romans, with characteristic energy, resolved to create a navy. Though their Greek allies could furnish triremes, no state in Italy possessed quinqueremes,[3] or battleships, such as the Carthaginians used in naval warfare. We are told, however, that the Romans secured a stranded quinquereme belonging to the enemy, and with this as a model began to build a fleet. While the work progressed, the crews were made to sit on benches along the shore and practise rowing on the sand. Within a short time—only two months, according to the story—Rome was able to oppose Carthage with a hundred quinqueremes, the "Dreadnoughts" of antiquity.

The Romans build a fleet.

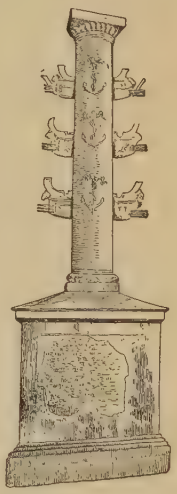
[1] See page 179, note 1.

[2] Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 23.

[3] The quinquereme is supposed to have had five banks of oars, one over the other.

The first naval engagement took place off the promontory of Mylæ, on the Sicilian coast. The ships of the Romans were clumsy and their sailors awkward, but they relied for success on a most ingenious device. Each Roman quinquereme was provided with a drawbridge containing a sharp spike at the end. When a Carthaginian vessel came alongside, the bridge was suddenly lowered with such force as to drive the spike into the deck of the enemy's ship and to hold it fast. Roman soldiers then boarded and overcame their foes in hand-to-hand fighting. The contest ended in the destruction of half the Carthaginian fleet. Duilius, the Roman commander, was honoured by a triumphal column set up in the Forum.

Battle of Mylæ, 260 B.C.



COLUMN OF DUILIUS (RESTORED)

The column was adorned with the brazen beaks of the captured Carthaginian vessels. Part of the inscription reciting the achievements of the Roman fleet has been preserved.

The victory of Mylæ encouraged the Romans to strike at the heart of their enemy — to "carry the war into Africa." They built another large fleet, again vanquished the Carthaginians on the sea, and landed their forces on the African shore. In this hour of peril, the Carthaginians put their army into the hands of Xanthippus, a Spartan soldier of fortune, who had been serving as a mercenary. He drilled his troops in the Spartan fashion and taught them how to use their elephants and cavalry to the best advantage. The result was a crushing defeat of the Romans and the capture of the consul Regulus.

Failure of the Roman invasion of Africa.

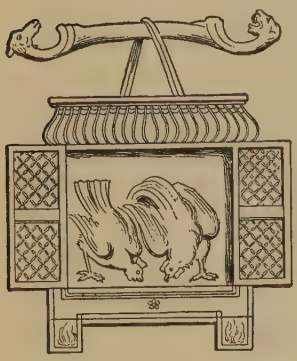
A famous legend declares that, some years later, the Carthaginians sent Regulus to Rome to make peace, under promise that he would return if unsuccessful. But Regulus, instead of advising peace, urged the Senate to keep up the struggle.

Legend of Regulus.

Then, with his eyes fixed on the ground, lest he should see his sorrowing wife and children, he turned away from his native city to suffer torture and death at the hands of the Carthaginians. Whether true or not, the story of Regulus illustrates what the Romans meant by devotion to their country.

After the failure of this effort for peace, the war continued on the sea. The Romans now were not so fortunate. They lost one large fleet to the enemy. Another was wrecked by a sudden storm. The former disaster the Romans believed to be due to the impiety of their commander. Just before the battle he learned that the sacred chickens would not eat — a sign of divine disapproval. Thereupon he had them thrown into the sea, exclaiming that, if the fowls refused to eat, at any rate they should drink. This Roman admiral, with his contempt for superstition, was a man in advance of his age.

Naval disasters.



COOP WITH SACRED CHICKENS

The relief represents the chickens in the act of feeding. The most favourable omen was secured when the fowls greedily picked up more of the corn than they could swallow at one time. Their refusal to eat at all was a portent of disaster.

The seat of war was transferred once more to Sicily. Here a great Carthaginian general, Hamilcar, surnamed Barca — "the Lightning" — proved himself more than a match for his Roman foes. In spite of bloody engagements in which now Carthage, now Rome gained the upper hand, neither side could strike a decisive blow. "The two nations," says a historian of the contest, "were like two well-bred gamecocks which fight to their last gasp. You may see them often, when too weak to use their wings, yet full of pluck to the end, and striking again and again."[1] Finally, when both sides were approaching

Indecisive character of the war.

[1] Polybius, 1, 58.

exhaustion, patriotic Roman citizens contributed from their own fortunes the money to build and equip another fleet. It soon won a complete victory over the enemy, and brought the war to a close.

The treaty of peace provided that Carthage should abandon Sicily, return all prisoners without ransom, and pay within twenty years an indemnity amounting to about £780,000. After having dragged out its weary length for twenty-three years, the First Punic War thus ended in a triumph for Rome.

Terms of peace.

141. The Interval of Preparation, 241–218 B.C.

Carthage, though beaten, had not been humbled. She had lost Sicily and the commercial monopoly of the Mediterranean. But she was not ready to abandon all hope of recovering her former supremacy. The peace amounted to no more than an armed truce. Both parties were well aware that the real struggle had yet to come. The actual conflict, however, was delayed for nearly a quarter of a century. During this interval, Rome extended her natural boundaries on the west and north, while Carthage sought in Spain new territories to make up for the loss of the old.

An armed truce.

The acquisition of the rich island of Sicily only whetted the Roman appetite for conquest. Off the western coast of Italy lay Sardinia and Corsica, the one, the oldest foreign possession of the Carthaginians, the other, covered with their trading posts and factories. As long as these islands continued in Carthaginian hands, the Romans felt that Italy remained exposed to attack. Just at this time Carthage was engaged in a terrible civil war with her mercenary soldiers and subjects in Libya. The weakness of the Punic city proved too great a strain upon the honour of the Romans. Their troops soon took possession of Sardinia and Corsica, which henceforth became a part of the Roman dominions.

The Romans annex Sardinia and Corsica.

Rome now began to strengthen her position in northern Italy.

Her first enterprise was the punishment of the Illyrian pirates who swarmed in the Adriatic and made commerce on its waters dangerous for Greeks and Romans alike. A two years' campaign swept the freebooters from the seas, and brought many towns on the western coast of Greece to accept an alliance with the rising power of Rome.

Chastisement of the Illyrian pirates.

The Romans also undertook the subjugation of the Gauls in the Po valley. The conquered territory was garrisoned with Latin colonies and traversed by a military road.[1] Rome felt safe from invasion, for she now controlled Cisalpine Gaul, besides Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. She could await the struggle with Carthage, unvexed by other enemies in front or rear.

Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul.

While Rome was extending her possessions in Italy, Carthage was creating a new empire in Spain. Previous Carthaginian settlements had been confined to the southern coasts of the Iberian peninsula. But now Hamilcar Barca saw in the Spanish silver mines the wealth that would supply fresh means for another struggle, and in the hardy tribes of Spain the soldiery that would match even the legions of Rome. During nine long years he fought and toiled in Spain, until at his death a large part of the peninsula had come under Carthaginian control. His son-in-law conquered the fertile eastern coast as far north as the river Ebro, and founded the important city of New Carthage. When Hamilcar's son, the famous Hannibal, took command, he found at his disposal resources in men and money for the mighty task that lay before him.

The Carthaginians in Spain.

The steady advance of the Carthaginian arms in Spain caused great uneasiness at Rome. When Hannibal captured the ancient Greek city of Saguntum, which Rome had taken under her protection, the act was regarded as an open declaration of hostilities. Roman ambassadors came to Carthage and demanded instant satisfaction for the injury. Hannibal must

Declaration of war.

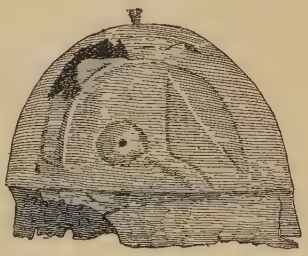
[1] See page 349.

be surrendered to them, and his deeds repudiated. The Carthaginians spurned such terms. Then one of the ambassadors held up his toga, saying, "'I carry here peace and war; choose which you will have.' 'Give us whichever you please,' answered the Carthaginians. The Roman in reply shook out the fold, and spoke again, 'I give you war.' The answer from all was, 'We accept it, and in the spirit with which we accept it, will we wage it.'"[1]

142. Hannibal

The First Punic War had been a contest between two nations for commercial supremacy. The Second Punic War was a titanic struggle for national existence — a struggle in which all the resources of a proud and mighty people were pitted against the military genius of one great man. **Rome and Hannibal.**

At the opening of the conflict, Hannibal had not quite reached twenty-seven years of age. While yet a mere child, so the story went, Hamilcar had led him to the altar, and bade him swear by the Carthaginian gods eternal enmity to Rome. He followed his father to Spain, and during the wars there learned all the duties of a soldier. "Bold to the extreme in incurring peril, he was perfectly cool in its presence. Toil could neither exhaust his body nor subdue his mind. Heat and cold he bore with equal endurance. The amount which he ate or drank was determined by the needs of nature, and not by the cravings of the palate. Such time as business left him, he gave to repose. Sleep he did not woo on a soft couch or in a quiet spot, but often you would see him wrapped in his military cloak, lying on the ground amid the sentries and **Hannibal as a soldier.**



A Carthaginian or Roman Helmet
British Museum
Found on the battlefield of Cannæ.

[1] Livy, xxi, 18.

pickets. He was the first to enter battle, and the last to leave the field."[1] Such a man was fitted to become the idol of his soldiers. In their new leader, the veterans saw a second Hamilcar to lead them on from victory to victory.

Character of Hannibal.

The figure of Hannibal is one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most pathetic, in ancient history. We know of him chiefly through the descriptions of his enemies, who neither understood nor cared to understand his real character. As a master of the art of war, he ranks with Alexander the Great. The Macedonian king conquered the world for the glory of conquest; Hannibal, burning with patriotism, fought to destroy the power which had humbled his native land. Hatred of Rome and intense love of Carthage were the principles to which he remained true through all his career, apparently without one selfish or ambitious thought. Had Carthage been worthy of Hannibal, he would probably have made her the first state of antiquity. He failed; and his failure left Carthage weaker than he found her. Few men have possessed a more dazzling genius than Hannibal, but no great man ever did less for the lasting good of the human race.

143. Second Punic War, to the Battle of Cannæ, 218–216 B.C.

Hannibal's invasion of Italy.

The Romans planned to conduct the war in Spain and Africa, at a distance from their own shores. Hannibal's bold movements totally upset these calculations. The Carthaginian general had determined that the conflict should take place in the Italian peninsula itself. He believed that the turbulent Gauls of the Po valley would rally to his standard, and that the Samnites, Etruscans, and other Italians, whom Rome had so recently conquered, would welcome a chance to wreak vengeance on the common oppressor of them all. Reasonable as were these hopes, Hannibal faced, nevertheless, a problem of

[1] Livy, xxi, 4.

tremendous difficulty. He dared not embark his troops on ships and make directly for the Italian coast. Carthage no longer controlled the sea, and Roman fleets now swept the Mediterranean. He must lead his army, with its supplies, equipment, and beasts of burden, by the long and dangerous land route from Spain to Italy.

In the summer of 218 B.C. Hannibal set out from New Carthage with a large force of infantry and cavalry, besides a number of elephants. Beyond the Ebro he found himself in hostile territory, through which the soldiers had to fight their way. To force the

ROMAN AND CARTHAGINIAN DOMINIONS IN 218 B.C.

passage of the Pyrenees and the Alps cost him more than half his original army. When, after a five months' march, he stood on the soil of Italy, Hannibal had scarcely twenty-five thousand troops with which to meet the gigantic power of Rome.

The Romans were surprised by the boldness and rapidity of Hannibal's movements. They had expected to conduct the war far away in foreign lands; they now knew that they must fight for their own hearths and homes. The first conflict, little more than a skirmish, took place on the banks of the Ticinus, a tributary of the Po. The defeat the Romans received showed them that they had to deal with no ordinary foe. A second Carthaginian victory followed at the

Two Roman defeats, 218 B.C.

Trebia River. After this success, some of the Gauls joined the Carthaginians. The close of the year 218 B.C. saw Hannibal master of northern Italy.

For the year 217 B.C., Hannibal planned the invasion of central Italy. As soon as the snows had melted in the mountain passes, he crossed the Apennines, cleverly avoided an army posted to block his advance into Etruria, and, in a narrow defile by the shores of Lake Trasimenus, caught and annihilated another Roman force of forty thousand men. Since the fateful days of the Gallic invasion,[1] Rome had not suffered so terrible a disaster.

A third defeat at Lake Trasimenus, 217 B.C.

Hannibal's victory cleared the way to Rome. His plans, however, did not include a siege of the capital. He would not shatter his victorious army in an assault on the strong walls of a fortified town. Hannibal's real object was to bring the Italians over to his side, to ruin Rome through the revolts of her allies. But now he learned, apparently for the first time, that Italy was studded with Latin colonies,[2] each a miniature Rome, each prepared to resist to the bitter end. Not a single city opened its gates to the invader. On such solid foundations rested Roman rule in Italy.

Hannibal's position in Italy.

"We have been beaten in a great battle"[3] were the laconic words which informed the Romans of this third defeat of Trasimenus. The Senate faced the crisis with characteristic energy. A new army was raised and intrusted to Quintus Fabius Maximus as dictator. Taught by the bitter experience of the past, the Roman commander decided to play a waiting game. He refused to meet Hannibal in a pitched battle, but followed doggedly at his enemy's footsteps as the latter ranged through central Italy, meanwhile drilling his soldiers to become a match for the Carthaginian veterans. This policy was little to the taste of the Roman populace, who nicknamed Fabius, *Cunctator*, "the Laggard." However, it gave Rome a

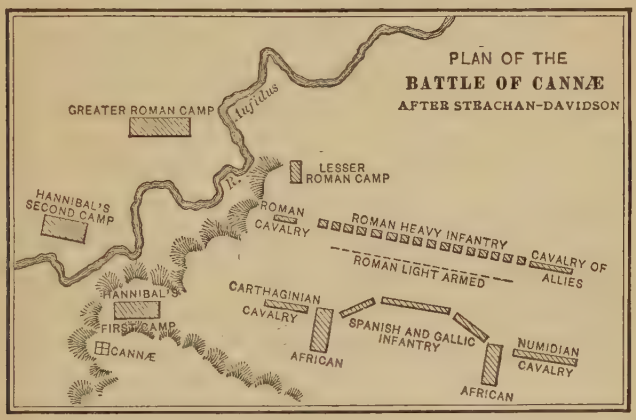
Dictatorship of Fabius Maximus.

[1] See page 339. [2] See pages 346–348. [3] Livy, xxii, 7.

brief breathing space and saved the city from another defeat that year.

In the following year (216 B.C.), the Romans bent every effort to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. The policy of delay, they believed, had been tried long enough. Unless Hannibal was speedily crushed, they could not much longer count on the fidelity of their Italian allies. Every precaution was taken, as far as numbers went, to secure a victory. The new consuls who succeeded the dictator Fabius in command headed the largest army Rome had ever placed in

The Romans prepare for a decisive struggle.



the field. They received specific orders to find Hannibal and to force a battle. The result was the disaster of Cannæ.

Hannibal's tactics at Cannæ are very interesting to the student of the art of war. He had less than fifty thousand men; the consul Varro, who commanded on the day of the battle, had over eighty thousand excellent troops. Hannibal's sole superiority lay in his cavalry, which was posted on the wings with the infantry occupying the space between. Hannibal's centre was weak and gave way before the Romans, who fought this time, not in open maniples, but massed in solid columns. The arrangement was a poor one, for it destroyed the mobility of the

Battle of Cannæ, 216 B.C.

legions. The Roman soldiers, having pierced the enemy's lines, now found themselves exposed on both flanks to the African infantry, and taken in the rear by Hannibal's splendid cavalry. The legions were thus attacked on three sides, a strong wind drove the dust in their faces, the sun shone in their eyes, and they were so closely huddled together that they could not even draw, much less wield their swords. The lost battle ended in a hideous butchery. So great was the slaughter that Hannibal is said to have sent to Carthage a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of the Roman knights. The consul Paulus died fighting bravely to the last. Varro escaped from the field, and with the wreck of his army fled to Rome. A Punic commander who survived such a disaster would have perished on the cross; the Roman commander received the thanks of the Senate "for not despairing of the republic."[1]

144. Second Punic War from Cannæ to Zama, 216–201 B.C.

The battle of Cannæ marks the summit of Hannibal's career. Four times he had measured his sword with the Romans, and each time he had been victorious. Now he began to reap the reward of victory. Almost immediately the rich Campanian town of Capua joined the invader. Tarentum, after Capua the most important city in Italy, came over to his side. The Sicilian cities, headed by Syracuse, declared for Hannibal. Even Philip V, the Macedonian king, made an alliance with the Carthaginian.

Hannibal gains allies.

Despite these real gains, Hannnibal could only weaken, he could not destroy, his adversary. Rome now went back to the waiting policy of Fabius and fought no more pitched battles with the enemy. Instead, she strained every nerve to recover her rebellious towns and to destroy Carthaginian influence abroad, where Hannibal could not direct affairs in person. After a two years' siege, Syracuse fell in 212 B.C.[2] The reconquest of Sicily quickly followed.

Capture of Syracuse, 212 B.C.

[1] Livy, xxii, 61.

[2] See page 292.

Soon after this success, three Roman armies surrounded Capua. Hannibal endeavoured in vain to relieve his ally. Hoping to draw off the besieging force, he suddenly marched northward and encamped within four miles of Rome. The city had a terrible fright; for generations Roman mothers used to frighten their children into quiet with the words, "Hannibal at the gates!"[1] But the march was fruitless. Hannibal did not possess the siege engines necessary for the assault of a city so strongly defended as Rome. The Romans, meanwhile, never relaxed their grip on Capua. The place was soon captured, and its inhabitants were sold into slavery — a signal warning to all who meditated revolt. Tarentum, not long afterwards, shared the same fate. By allying themselves with the Greeks, the Romans were able also to hold the Macedonian king in check.

Fall of Capua and Tarentum.

This was the situation when the ominous news reached Rome that a fresh Carthaginian force had descended upon Italy. Hannibal had left his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, where for several years he had been fighting with the Roman forces in that country. Under the young but able consul, Publius Scipio, the Romans won repeated victories, but could not prevent Hasdrubal from slipping away to rejoin Hannibal. Once more the Romans' command of the sea proved an indispensable element in their final success. Hasdrubal was compelled to take the land route over the Alps. When he entered Italy at the head of a strong army, he was separated from his brother by the entire length of the peninsula. If they could unite their veteran forces, it seemed that Rome must surely fall. That city was nearly exhausted by the long struggle. Her country was almost a wilderness. She had lost her best generals and the flower of her troops. Even the faithful Latin colonies were beginning to refuse aid.

Second Carthaginian invasion of Italy.

In this crisis of her national existence, Rome made a supreme effort. One hundred and fifty thousand men were thrown between

[1] *Hannibal ad portas!*

the two Carthaginian generals. Fortunately for Rome, the messengers whom Hasdrubal had dispatched to inform Hannibal of his approach were captured, thus revealing the Carthaginian plans to the enemy. The Roman consuls then stealthily united their forces and fell upon Hasdrubal at the Metaurus River. The Carthaginians were completely routed, and Hasdrubal himself was slain. The first knowledge of the disaster came to Hannibal when he saw the head of his brother which, with ghastly humour, had been flung into the Punic camp. In its distorted features, Hannibal read his own fate and the doom of Carthage.

Battle of the Metaurus, 207 B.C.

Metaurus was the final battle fought in Italy. The last blows were struck elsewhere. The brilliant Scipio destroyed what traces remained of the Carthaginian power in Spain and then, with greater chances of success than Regulus in the First Punic War, invaded Africa. The Carthaginians, in their dire peril, were compelled to summon Hannibal from Italy. He came, and on the field of Zama faced the most skilful and original military genius Rome had yet produced. Here Hannibal met his first and only defeat. Scipio, the victor, received the proud surname, *Africanus*.

Battle of Zama, 202 B.C.

Exhausted Carthage could now do no more than sue for peace on any terms that Rome was willing to grant. In the hour of defeat she still trusted her mighty soldier, and it was Hannibal who conducted the final negotiations. The conditions of peace were severe enough. The Carthaginians gave up Spain, and all their ships except ten triremes. They were saddled with a huge indemnity and bound to engage in no war without the consent of Rome. Thus Carthage became a dependent ally of the Roman city.

Peace in 201 B.C.

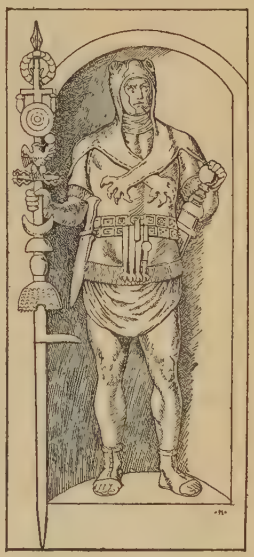
The long duel was over. A great nation had overcome a great man. Probably no other people ever went through a severer test of endurance than did the Romans, their colonists, and their Italian allies, in the Hannibalian war.

Roman patriotism.

The sense of duty and discipline never once failed them. They were ready to sacrifice everything for love of country.

War, even in defence of one's country, is always an ugly thing. A great war, so prolonged and bloody as that with Hannibal, can sow the seeds of much evil for the future. It was possible to rebuild the towns and villages which Hannibal had destroyed, and to cultivate again the fields which he had laid waste. Other losses could not be repaired. Tens of thousands of young and vigorous citizens had fallen in battle. Tens of thousands more were prevented from leading happy and useful lives through wounds and disease. These men represented the best blood of Italy. The cost of the Second Punic War, therefore, must be reckoned not so much in terms of money as of human life. The long struggle was also demoralizing, for it unfitted the Romans for the monotonous arts of peace, filled them with the excitements of the military life, and aroused their lust for conquest. Henceforth we shall see little more of the heroic qualities that had carried Rome through the greatest contest of her career.

Results of the war for Rome.



A Roman Standard-Bearer

Bonn Museum

From a gravestone of the first century A.D. The standard consists of a spear crowned with a wreath, below which is a crossbar bearing pendant acorns. Then follow, in order, a metal disk, Jupiter's eagle standing on a thunderbolt, a crescent moon, an amulet, and a large tassel.

145. Third Punic War, 149–146 B.C.

Rome, in the Second Punic War, had been fighting for existence. She emerged from it without a rival seriously to dispute with her the mastery of the world. During the next seventy years Rome firmly united her possessions in the West, and at the same time brought the eastern Mediterranean

countries under her control. But before the completion of these conquests, the remaining territories of Carthage in Africa, together with the city itself, had fallen into Roman hands.

Rapid expansion of Roman power.

Though Carthage had been left prostrate and humbled, she still enjoyed all the advantages of a magnificent commercial site, and every year grew in wealth and power. Rome watched with jealousy the reviving strength of her once mighty rival. Not long after the close of the Second Punic War, the Romans demanded the surrender of Hannibal. He fled from his native country, passed many years of exile abroad, and, at last, to avoid capture, took his own life.[1] Even with Hannibal out of the way, the Romans were not content. The story is often told how one of their statesmen, Cato the Censor, returning from a visit to Carthage, brought home a startling report of the prosperity and resources of the Punic city. Henceforth, it is said, he closed every speech he made in the Senate with the warning words, "Carthage must be blotted out." [2]

Roman jealousy of Carthage.

The Romans were now only watching and waiting for some pretext to declare another war. An opportunity came at last, when Carthage took up arms against Masinissa, king of Numidia, who had seized some of her richest territories. Masinissa was an ally of Rome; that city, indeed, even encouraged his attacks on Carthage. The Romans asserted, however, that the Carthaginians had violated the treaty of peace, and at once sent a large army to Africa.

Beginning of the Third Punic War, 149 B.C.

Resistance appeared hopeless, and the Carthaginians offered absolute submission. They condemned to death the leaders in the war against Numidia; they gave three hundred hostages, children of the noblest families, as a pledge of their sincere desire for peace. This was not enough for the Romans, who demanded the dismantling of the walls, the surrender

Demands of the Romans.

[1] In 183 B.C. His great antagonist, Scipio Africanus, died in the same year.

[2] *Censeo ceterum, Karthaginem esse delendam* (Plutarch, *Marcus Cato*. 27).

of the fleet, the yielding up of all armour and munitions of war. "If you really want peace," said the consuls, "why do you need arms?" The Carthaginians met even these severe requirements. "We congratulate you on your promptness," the consuls continued; "now yield Carthage to us and settle wherever you like within

A TESTUDO

A relief from the Column of Trajan, Rome. The name *testudo*, a tortoise, was applied to the covering made by a body of soldiers who placed their shields over their heads. The shields fitted so closely together that men could walk on them and even horses and chariots could be driven over them.

your own land, ten miles from the sea; for we are resolved to destroy your city."[1]

These words were as tidings of death to the Carthaginians. They resolved to perish in the ruins of their capital rather than obey the cruel orders of the Romans. Secretly, and with all possible speed, the entire population took up the task of defence. The whole city became a vast workshop of war. Lead and iron were torn from the public buildings and temples to provide armour; even the women, it is said, cut off their hair and twisted it into ropes for the catapults. When the Romans

The courage of despair.

[1] Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii, 12.

appeared before the walls, they found the gates closed and the Carthaginians prepared for a desperate defence.

Carthage held out for three years against every device the Romans could employ. "As the bites of dying beasts are wont to be most fatal, so there was more trouble with Carthage half ruined than when it was in its full strength."[1] The doubtful honour of its capture belonged to Scipio Æmilianus, grandson by adoption of the victor of Zama. The starving city was finally stormed in the spring of 146 B.C. For seven days the legionaries fought their way, street by street, house by house, until only fifty thousand inhabitants were left to surrender to the tender mercies of the Romans. The Senate ordered that Carthage should be burned by fire, and its site ploughed up with salt and dedicated to the infernal gods.[2] As Scipio watched the smouldering ruins, he thought that such might yet be the fate of his own city; and he repeated sadly the words of Homer, "The day will come when sacred Troy shall fall, and Priam, and all Priam's folk."[3]

Destruction of Carthage, 146 B.C.

146. Roman Supremacy in the West, 201–133 B.C.

The two European countries, Sicily and Spain, which Rome had wrested from Carthage, presented very different problems to the conqueror. Sicily had been long accustomed to foreign masters. Its civilized and peace-loving inhabitants were as ready to accept Roman rule as they had been in the past to acknowledge the sway of Greeks and Carthaginians. Every year the island became more and more a part of Italy and of Rome.

Sicily.

Spain, on the contrary, gave the Romans some of the hardest fighting of their career. The wild Spanish tribes loved their liberty,

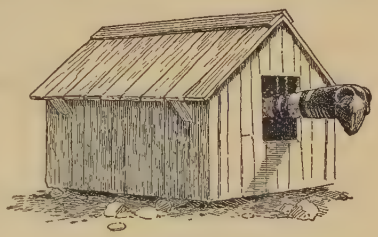
[1] Florus, ii, 15.

[2] In 29 B.C., one hundred and seventeen years after the destruction of Carthage, a new town was founded by Augustus near the old site. It became in time the third city of the Roman Empire. It was destroyed by the Arabs in 638 A.D. Little survives of the Roman city, because for centuries the ruins were used as a quarry by neighbouring towns. The most impressive remains are the arches of an aqueduct once fifty miles long (see illustration, page 357).

[3] *Iliad*, vi, 448–449.

and in their mountain fastnesses long kept up a desperate struggle for independence. In Viriathus, a chief of Lusitania, they found a hero leader who for years baffled the best efforts of the Roman generals. He overwhelmed five Roman armies and compelled even a consul to treat for peace. Rome got rid of him only by securing his assassination. We ought to remember this brave Viriathus, for he was the first of those national leaders whom the Roman policy of expansion was to call forth among the yet unconquered peoples of the West. Not long after his death, the last embers of Spanish liberty blazed up in the heroic defence of Numantia, an unwalled city in the northern part of the peninsula. It was not until the Romans dispatched their ablest commander, Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage, that Numantia was starved into submission. Its inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the city itself was blotted out of existence. Thus cruelly did Rome treat those who fought for their country.

Spain.



A Battering Ram

The ram works through a hole in the strong shed which protects the soldiers managing the machine.

The capture of Numantia (133 B.C.) put an end to the Spanish resistance. Henceforth all Spain, except the inaccessible mountain district in the northwest, became Roman territory. Many colonists settled there; traders and speculators flocked to the seaports; even the legionaries, quartered in Spain for long periods, married Spanish wives, and when they retired from active service made their homes in the peninsula. Rome thus continued in Spain the process of Romanization which she had begun in Italy, and which she was to repeat in Gaul and Britain. Her way was prepared by the sword; but after the sword came civilization.

Romanization of Spain.

During this same period Rome thoroughly established her rule in the West by connecting Spain with Italy. The first step was to punish the Gallic tribes of northern Italy (Cisalpine Gaul) for aiding Hannibal. A subsequent step secured a land route through Transalpine Gaul, between the Italian and Spanish peninsulas. Here the Romans made a lasting alliance with the ancient and flourishing Greek colony of Massilia.[1] This formed a base for further conquests which some years later added the Rhone lands to the Roman possessions.

Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul.

147. Roman Supremacy in the East: Protectorates, 201–190 B.C.

When Alexander died at Babylon in the year 323 B.C., Rome was in the midst of the Samnite wars. Her victories over the Samnites and the cities of Magna Græcia gave her, by 264 B.C., the supremacy of the Italian peninsula. During the next half century she was too busy with the Carthaginians to think of interference in the affairs of the East. The end of the Second Punic War afforded Rome a chance to pursue her designs abroad. In the West, as we have just seen, she subdued the barbarous tribes of Spain and Gaul. In the East, she extended her influence over the highly civilized peoples of Greece and Asia.

Rome and the East.

Rome, ever since the repulse of Pyrrhus, had been slowly drifting into closer contact with the East. The chastisement of the Illyrian pirates earned for her the gratitude of the commercial cities of the Greek peninsula. A little later, she aided some of the Greeks against the Macedonian king, Philip V, who had allied himself with Hannibal and threatened an invasion of Italy. This First Macedonian War, as it is called, brought important consequences. It drew closer the ties which bound Rome to the Greek states

Beginnings of Roman contact with the East.

[1] See page 180.

as their natural champion against Macedonia. It inspired the Roman Senate with bitter resentment toward Philip for his assistance to Carthage.

Rome had no sooner crushed Hannibal than she turned her attention to Philip. It was easy to find a pretext for another conflict with Macedonia. Philip was an ambitious monarch whose schemes for conquest threatened Rome's allies in the East — Egypt, Rhodes, and Athens. These allies sent to the great Italian republic urgent calls for help. The Roman people were weary of fighting, but the Senate used all its influence and forced through the *comitia centuriata* a declaration of war against Philip.

Second Macedonian War, 200–196 B.C.

The Second Macedonian War was settled by a single battle. The consul Flamininus met the enemy at Cynoscephalæ ("Dog's Heads"), a range of low hills in Thessaly. It was a fateful moment when, for the second time, the legions faced the phalanx. After a sharp struggle, the Romans won and Philip sued for peace.

Battle of Cynoscephalæ, 197 B.C.

Rome did not feel ready to absorb the territory of Macedonia and thus found an eastern empire. Philip still kept his kingdom, but lost his possessions in Greece. He was forbidden, as Carthage had been, to wage war without Roman consent. Macedonia in this way became a dependent ally of Rome.

Roman protectorate over Macedonia.

Shortly after these events, Rome announced the independence of Greece. It was then spring, and a vast number of Greeks had gathered at Corinth to witness the athletic games. Suddenly a herald appeared and proclaimed that, by the orders of the Roman Senate, Greece was henceforth free. The people could hardly believe his words, so unexpected was the news. When the festival was over, they nearly killed Flamininus with their demonstrations of joy. Some wanted to look him in the face and call him their preserver, others were eager to grasp his hand, and others covered him with

The "freedom of Greece," 196 B.C.

garlands and fillets. Rome was hailed as "the nation which, at its own expense, with its own labour, and at its own risk, waged war for the liberty of mankind."[1] So, all in all, it was a great day for Greece.

War with Antiochus of Syria, 192–189 B.C.

Quiet had scarcely been restored in Macedonia before Rome was drawn into another war in defence of her allies. Her new foe was Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. He had invaded Greece with the hope of securing some of the Macedonian possessions which Rome had declared free and independent. The Romans began the conflict with reluctance, for Antiochus, the Great King, the lord of Asia, seemed to them a dangerous antagonist. One blow, however, placed the long-dreaded Orient at the feet of Rome.

Battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C.

The Roman army soon drove Antiochus out of Greece and then followed him to Asia Minor. The king suffered an overwhelming defeat at Magnesia in Lydia. This was the first, but by no means the last, battle which the legions were to wage on the Asiatic continent. By a strange coincidence, in the Roman army was Scipio Africanus, and in the camp of Antiochus, Hannibal. Thus the two great leaders of the Second Punic War again came face to face. Had Antiochus been willing to entrust the campaign to the mighty Carthaginian, perhaps the Romans would not have won so easy a victory.

Roman protectorate over Asia Minor.

After Magnesia, Rome pursued the same policy as after Cynoscephalæ. She made no annexations. Antiochus was compelled to give up all his possessions in Asia Minor west of the line formed by the Halys River and Mount Taurus. The ceded dominions were divided among the friendly states of Asia Minor, particularly Rhodes and Pergamum, over which Rome established a protectorate. After this loss of territory, the once extensive empire of the Seleucidæ, which for more than a century had been the chief power in Asia, dwindled to the petty confines of Syria.

[1] Livy, xxxiii, 33.

THE EXPANSION OF
ROMAN DOMINIONS
264-133 B. C.
Roman Possessions in 264 B.C.
Acquisitions 264-241 B.C.
Acquisitions 218-201 B.C.
Acquisitions 201-133 B.C.
Carthaginian Possessions in 264 B.C.
Carthaginian Possessions in 218 B.C.
Routes of Hannibal
Roman Acquisitions from Carthage have the yellow colour underneath the pink, making a buff colour.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich
Cantabrian Sea
Black Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Adriatic Sea
Aegean Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SPAIN
GALLIA
NARBONENSIS
CISALPINA
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DACIA
ILLYRIA
ITALY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
THRACE
MACEDONIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CARIA
ACHAIA
CRETE
CYRENAICA
AFRICA
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Pyrenees Mts.
R. Ebro
R. Garonne
R. Loire
R. Rhine
R. Rhone
R. Ister or Danube
Vienna
Valentia
Nemausus
Massilia
Narbo
Gerunda
Tarraco
Dertosa
Saguntum
Valentia
Balearic Is.
New Carthage
Gades
Hispalis
Malaga
Olisipo
Numantia
Augusta Taurinorum
Ticinium
Placentia
Parma
Genua
Pisae
L. Trasimenus
Ariminum
Sena
Ancona
Sentinum
Tiberium
Telamon
Asculum
Aleria
Rome
Capua
Beneventum
Cannae
Tarentum
Heraclea
Croton
Rhegium
Messana
Locri
Thermae
Aegatian Is.
Tauromenium
Agrigentum
Syracuse
Utica
Carthage
Zama
Hadrumetum
Lesser Syrtis
Sabrata
Leptis Major
Greater Syrtis
Arae Philaeni
Cyrene
Barca
Tergeste
Salonae
Narona
Scodra
Brundisium
Apollonia
Pydna
Pharsalus
Corcyra
Nicopolis
Corinth
Athens
Sparta
Byzantium
Pergamum
Magnesia
Carnuntum

148. Roman Supremacy in the East: Provinces, 190–133 B.C.

Rome had won a series of amazing triumphs in the East. She had broken the power of Macedonian and Syrian kings, the successors of Alexander, and had made their kingdoms into virtual protectorates. It remained to be seen whether these protectorates could be preserved, or whether Rome would finally adopt the policy of annexation which she had employed from the first in Sicily and Spain.

Protectorates or provinces?

Although the Romans had so far taken nothing for themselves in the eastern wars, their allies in Macedonia and Greece grew restless as they noted the rising greatness of the Italian power. Feelings of dissatisfied ambition or of sullen resentment replaced the enthusiasm with which the Greeks had welcomed their Roman liberators. To the Macedonians the peace declared after the battle of Cynoscephalæ brought nothing but humiliation. When Philip V was succeeded by his son Perseus, that prince sought to revive the national aspirations of the Greeks and to pose as a champion of Hellas against barbarian Rome. The Senate, to prevent so formidable a combination, once more took up arms against Macedonia.

Third Macedonian War, 171–167 B.C.

The Third Macedonian War was short and decisive. The Roman commander, Æmilius Paulus, a son of the consul slain at Cannæ, met the enemy near Pydna. "Paulus had never seen a phalanx till he saw it in the army of Perseus on this occasion; and he often admitted to his friends at Rome afterwards that he had never beheld anything more alarming and terrible."[1] The phalanx, however impressive, proved no match for the legion. Perseus soon fled from the field, leaving his army to its fate. He was captured later and taken to Rome, where he graced the triumphal procession of his conqueror.

Battle of Pydna, 168 B.C.

Macedonia, as a kingdom, ceased to exist. The country was

[1] Polybius, xxix, 17.

divided into four states, free in name, but in reality the subjects of Rome. A few years later (146 B.C.), the Romans took away even this vestige of independent rule and converted Macedonia into a province. Thus disappeared a great power which Philip had founded, and Alexander had led to the conquest of the world.

Macedonia a subject state.

For Greece also, the end of "freedom" was drawing nigh. After the victory at Pydna, all Greeks suspected of sympathizing with Macedonia were transported to Italy as hostages for the loyalty of their several cities. Among these were a thousand members of the Achæan League.[1] The survivors, after sixteen years of captivity, were allowed to return to their homes. "It is only a question," said Cato the Censor, "whether a parcel of worn-out Greeks shall be carried to their graves here or in Achæa."[2] This cruel treatment helped further to inflame the spirit of hatred toward Rome. At length the Achæan League rashly declared war. It could have only one outcome — the downfall of Greece, the triumph of Rome.

War with the Achæan League.

The heavy hand of Roman vengeance descended on Corinth, the chief member of the league, and at this time one of the most beautiful cities of the world. In 146 B.C., the same year in which the destruction of Carthage occurred, and just half a century after Flamininus had proclaimed the liberation of Greece, Corinth was sacked by the Roman soldiery and burned to the ground.[3] A Greek historian, who was an eye-witness of the destruction of Corinth, tells us that the rude Romans cared little for the treasures of art which filled the city. "I saw with my own eyes pictures thrown on the ground and soldiers playing dice on them."[4] The Roman general Mummius was hardly less boorish. When the priceless paintings and statues were taken to Rome to be exhibited at his triumph, he

Destruction of Corinth, 146 B.C.

[1] See pages 283–284. [2] Plutarch, *Marcus Cato*, 9.

[3] Corinth offered too good a site to remain long in ruins. Resettled in 46 B.C. as a Roman colony, it soon became one of the great cities in the empire. It was to the Corinthians that St. Paul wrote a well-known *Epistle*. [4] Polybius, xxxix, 13.

gave orders that any lost on the way should be replaced "by others of equal value"! Rome was great enough in war, but in everything else was still barbarian.

The fall of Corinth may be said to mark the final extinction of

STORMING A CITY (RECONSTRUCTION)

Greek independence. Though the Hellenic cities and states were allowed to rule themselves, subject to the oversight of the Roman governor of Macedonia, they paid tribute and thus acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. A century later, Greece became in name, as well as in fact, a province of the Roman Empire.[1]

Greece a subject state.

The same year that marked the complete establishment of

[1] The Greeks were not again a free people until the nineteenth century of our era. In 1821 they rose against their Turkish masters in a glorious struggle for liberty. Many friends of Greece in England and on the Continent came to their aid, including the famous poet, Lord Byron. In 1829 the powers of Europe forced the Sultan to recognize the freedom of Greece. That country then became an independent kingdom, with its capital at Athens. Recently there has been an enormous emigration of Greeks to the United States. During the thirteen years 1900–1912, over 280,000 Greeks left their native land, the population of which, in 1907, was only about 2,600,000.

Roman rule in Spain saw Rome gain her first possessions at the opposite end of the Mediterranean. In 133 B.C., the last king of Pergamum[1] bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people.

Acquisition of Asia, 133 B.C.

The new province of Asia,[2] which now came into existence, included all the western part of Asia Minor, together with the Greek cities that lined the coasts. The country took rank among the most valuable of Roman dependencies. Thus the lordship of Asia, held in turn by Cyrus and Darius, by Alexander of Macedonia, and by Antiochus the Great, passed finally into the hands of the Italian republic.

Roman supremacy over the Mediterranean world was now all but complete. In 264 B.C., Rome had been only one of the five great Mediterranean states. In 133 B.C., no other power existed to match its strength with that of imperial Rome. To her had fallen in the West the heritage of Carthage, in the East the heritage of Alexander. At a terrible cost in blood and treasure, Rome had built up this mighty empire. Let us see what use she was to make of it.

Political situation in 133 B.C.

149. The Provincial System

Rome's dealings with the new dependencies across the sea did not follow the methods that had proved so successful in Italy.

Creation of the provincial system.

The Italian peoples had been treated, as we have learned, with great liberality. Rome regarded them as allies, exempted them from certain taxes, and in many instances gave them Roman citizenship. It did not seem possible to extend this wise policy to remote and often barbarous lands beyond the borders of Italy. Rome adopted, instead, much the same system of imperial rule that had been previously

[1] See page 287.

[2] "Asia" in this sense refers only to that part of the peninsula of Asia Minor lying west of the Halys and the Taurus. This earlier meaning of a term now applied to the largest of the continents appears in New Testament writings, as in St. Paul's statement that "all they who dwelt in Asia" heard the word (*Acts*, xix, 10).

followed by Persia and by Athens.[1] She treated the foreign peoples from Spain and Asia as subjects, and made her conquered territories into provinces.[2] Their inhabitants were compelled to pay tribute, and to accept the oversight of Roman officials. In this way, republican Rome ruled outside of Italy as an imperial mistress of dependent communities.

Evils of the provincial system.

The proper management of conquered territories is always a difficult problem for the best-intentioned state. But it cannot be truly said that even Rome's intentions were of a high order. There was little desire to govern for the good of the subject peoples. As the Romans came more and more to relish the opportunities for plunder afforded by a wealthy province, its inhabitants were often wretchedly misgoverned.

Arbitrary rule of the Roman governors.

The most glaring weakness of the Roman provincial system appeared in the arbitrary rule of the governors. A governor was a Roman magistrate who, after a year of service at home as consul or prætor, was sent abroad to serve another year as proconsul[3] or proprætor. He enjoyed almost absolute sway over his province. No watchful Senate could mark his actions; no jealous colleague could restrain his conduct. He was, in fact, a tyrant.

Exactions of the governors.

A governor usually looked on his province as a source of personal gain. It had cost him an immense sum to secure his election to office at Rome. Accordingly, during the brief period of his rule, he tried to wring all the money he could from his subjects to pay his debts and make himself rich for the remainder of his days. The provincials, to be sure, could complain of the governor's extortion, but their injuries stood little chance of redress by Roman jury courts com-

[1] See pages 67–68, 223–224.

[2] In 133 B.C., there were eight provinces — Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, Farther Spain, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia, and Asia.

[3] *Pro consule;* that is, with the power of a consul.

posed of senators who knew little of provincial affairs and were notoriously open to bribery. Even were a governor honest and upright, he could accomplish little during his short term of twelve months toward correcting abuses and bringing about the prosperity of his subjects.

Burdensome system of taxation.

Besides the extortions of the governors and other Roman officials, the provincials often suffered terribly from the methods of tax collection. The taxes were not gathered by government officials as in all civilized countries to-day. They were farmed out to private individuals who wrung all they could from the natives, paid the Roman state its stipulated amount, and then kept the balance for themselves. These *publicani* were so grasping that the name "publican" became a byword for all that was rapacious and greedy.[1]

Final judgment on the provincial system.

Roman rule certainly conferred some very real benefits on the provinces. It brought peace and tranquillity; it protected civilized lands from the barbarians; it encouraged commerce; it policed the seas. All this was a permanent good. And yet in her first effort to manage the world she had won, Rome had made a failure. A city-state could not rule an empire as large as Alexander's. At a later time, however, Rome's early failure was to be redeemed by marvellous success.

150. Effects of Foreign Conquests on Roman Society

The early Roman character.

In the old days before Rome entered on a career of foreign conquest, her citizens were famous among men for their love of country, their simple lives, their conservative, old-fashioned ways. They worked hard on their little farms, fought bravely in the legions, and kept up with careful piety all the ceremonies of their religion. The ideal

[1] In the New Testament "publicans and sinners" are mentioned side by side. See *Matthew*, ix, 10.

Roman was a Cincinnatus, who left his fields to take the dictatorship,[1] or a Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus. Curius had celebrated three triumphs, but still lived modestly in a cottage on a four-acre plot which he tilled with his own hands. To him came envoys from the Samnites offering rich bribes. "Go tell the Samnites," he answered, "that Curius counts it glory, not to possess wealth, but to rule those who do."[2] Such men as these, despite their many faults, had made the little city-state by the Tiber great among the nations.

But now the Roman republic, with its centuries of courage, patriotism, and splendid achievement, was an imperial power with all the privileges of universal rule. Her foreign wars proved to be immensely profitable. At the end of a successful campaign, the soldiers received large gifts from their general, besides the booty taken from the enemy. The Roman state itself profited from the sale of enslaved prisoners and their property. Large sums of money were sometimes seized and taken to Rome. At the end of the Second Punic War, Scipio brought home one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of silver. After the treasure of King Perseus of Macedonia had been deposited in the public chest, the state felt so rich that it abolished all taxes on Roman citizens. When once peace had been made, the Roman governors and tax collectors followed in the wake of the armies and extorted money from the provincials at every turn. The Romans, indeed, seem to have conquered the world less for glory than for profit.

The profits of conquest.

So much wealth poured into Rome from every side that there could scarcely fail to be a sudden growth of luxurious tastes. These Romans, "newly rich," were like the Macedonians and Greeks after Alexander's conquest. Wealthy nobles suddenly developed a relish for all sorts of reckless display. They built fine houses adorned with statues, costly paintings, and furnishings. They surrounded themselves with troops

Growth of luxury.

[1] See page 338.

[2] Plutarch, *Marcus Cato*, 2.

of slaves. Instead of plain linen clothes, they and their wives wore garments of silk and gold. At their banquets, they spread embroidered carpets, purple coverings, and dishes of rich plate. Pomp and splendour replaced the rude simplicity of an earlier age.

The opposition led by Cato the Censor.

All these changes excited vigorous opposition on the part of those who clung to old-fashioned habits, and who saw in the new luxury a grave danger to the state. Cato the Censor, whose activity falls between the Second and the Third Punic wars, spent most of his life in trying to bring his countrymen back to the "customs of the fathers." He was industrious, frugal, stern, and honest; and he sought to make every one else like himself. In a speech delivered when he was consul, Cato drew a gloomy forecast of the results of Rome's conquests: "As the empire develops, I dread the more these vices of greed and luxury, for fear that our possessions have captured us and not that we have captured them. Hateful, I assure you, are the works of art brought to this city from Syracuse. Already I hear too many persons expressing admiration for the statues of the gods at Corinth and Athens, and laughing at the little clay images of Roman gods."[1]

Sumptuary laws.

The common people liked such speeches, and applauded Cato's attacks on the nobles of the new type who were elegant and extravagant. They supported his laws against luxury. One regulation provided that no woman should wear more than one ounce of gold on her person. Another limited the number of guests whom a man could entertain at dinner, and the amount of money he could spend on the meal. Such sumptuary laws, as they are called, accomplished little good, because they could be so easily evaded.

Cato's censorship.

The censorship of Cato was long remembered. He gained great popularity by expelling from the Senate a number of its disreputable members, by taxing articles of luxury at ten times their real value, and by holding the publicans

[1] Livy, xxxiv, 4.

strictly to their contracts. At the end of his term, the people raised a monument to him with the following inscription: "This statue was erected to Cato because, when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, he, by wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it." [1] But Cato fought against symptoms rather than against the disease itself; he could not remake Rome.

We must not imagine, however, that all the changes in Roman life worked for evil. If the Romans were becoming more luxurious, they were likewise gaining in culture. The conquests which brought Rome in touch, first with Magna Græcia and Sicily, then with Greece itself and the Hellenic East, prepared the way for the entrance of Hellenism. Roman soldiers and traders carried back to Italy an acquaintance with Greek customs and ideas. Thousands of cultivated Greeks, some as slaves, others as freemen, settled in the capital as actors, physicians, artists, and writers. There they introduced the Greek language, as well as the religion, literature, and art of their native land. Roman nobles of the better type began to take an interest in other things than simply farming, commerce, or war. They imitated Greek fashions in dress and manners, collected Greek books, and filled their homes with the productions of Greek artists.

Hellenic influence at Rome.

As an example of the cultured Roman noble, we may take the great Scipio Æmilianus. His father was Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. After serving as consul, Paulus retired to private life and devoted himself to the education of his children. He procured for them Greek teachers of grammar and rhetoric, of philosophy and the fine arts. The result of this training is seen in his son, Scipio Æmilianus, who was adopted into the family of the Scipios. Scipio Æmilianus was a man of action, a general, and a statesman, but he was also a student not too proud to learn from the Greeks. He gathered about him a group of refined and able men who did much to popularize among the Romans the

Scipio Æmilianus and Hellenic culture.

[1] Plutarch, *Marcus Cato*, 16.

literature and philosophy of Hellas. Scipio himself was a most delightful character. Fate was surely unkind to this lover of art and letters in singling him out to complete the destruction of Numantia and Carthage.

Cato and Hellenism.

The growth of Hellenism, however, was not without its detractors. The stern old Cato, the uncompromising adversary of the spirit of the time, in a letter to his son Marcus, inveighs against the new culture in the following terms:

"I shall tell you, my son, what I have discovered at Athens about those Greeks and all the good that can be gained by dipping into their literature, for there is no benefit in studying it thoroughly. As a race they are utterly worthless and incapable of good—take these as the words of a prophet. Whenever that nation gives us its literature it will corrupt everything, and all the more if it sends its doctors here. They have entered into a conspiracy to kill all barbarians by their medicine; this trade they ply for hire, so that they win men's confidence, and thus destroy them with ease. Us, too, they persist in calling barbarians, and by such a term degrade us below the level of rude aliens. I forbid you to have anything to do with doctors."[1]

The new epoch.

From now on, century after century, every aspect of Roman society felt the quickening influence of the older, richer culture of the Hellenic world. It was a Roman poet who wrote, "Captive Greece captured her conqueror rude."[2] In subsequent chapters we shall deal more fully with what Greece gave to Rome, showing how out of the union of Hellenic and Roman society the later classical civilization arose. Here we need only note that Rome had now lost her narrow-

[1] Plutarch (*Cato*, ch. xxiii) thus comments on Cato's view: "In Cato's endeavours to dissuade his son from the study of Greek literature he prophesied that the Romans would ruin their empire by too intimate a knowledge of the arts of Greece. Time, however, has proved this to be a mere empty slander, seeing that since his time Rome has risen to wonderful power and glory, and yet is thoroughly conversant with Greek writings and pursuits."

[2] Horace, *Epistles*, ii, 1, 156.

mindedness and conservatism. She had abandoned her old ways, and had entered on new and untried paths. This wonderful growth of a single city-state, this opening of the world to Rome, and of Rome to the world, were to produce during the next century far-reaching changes in the Roman state. To this new epoch we now turn.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE REPUBLIC, 133–31 B.C.

151. Social Classes in the Later Republic

In 133 B.C., when the conquest of the Mediterranean was all but complete, Roman society presented a very different picture from that of 264 B.C., when the Punic wars began. Although the old distinction between patricians and plebeians had faded out, Rome still possessed an aristocracy, partly of birth, partly of wealth. First came the senatorial order,[1] including all who had held one of the higher magistracies, or whose fathers had been so honoured. These nobles controlled elections, made up the membership of the Senate, and really ruled Rome.

Senatorial order of nobles.

Roman nobles in this age were often very pleasant gentlemen, dignified in manner, and kindly toward each other. As a class, however, the nobility was not patriotic. It had lost interest in the welfare of the state. Most of the members of the senatorial aristocracy led lives of luxury and ease, and showed energy only when pursuing their own business or pleasure. They thought less of the republic than of themselves.

Character of the nobles.

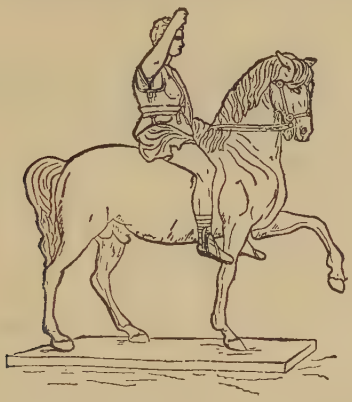
Below the nobles there gradually grew up a second class of wealthy and educated men called knights (Latin, *equites*). They made up the equestrian order. These men were not necessarily soldiers; they might never have served in the cavalry or mounted a horse. Any citizen, not a member of the Senate, could call himself a "knight,"

The knights or equestrian order.

[1] See page 336.

provided his property reached a certain amount. Since senators and the sons of senators were not allowed to engage in occupations which would take them out of Italy, most of the business of the Roman world fell naturally into the hands of the equestrian order.

The knights enjoyed excellent opportunities for money-making. They grew rich on government contracts for collecting taxes, for



Mounted Roman Officer

aying out the great military roads, for the construction of harbours and buildings. They were bankers and capitalists who lent vast sums at high rates of interest to cities and provinces throughout the Roman dominions. At Rome one could borrow at four per cent.; in the provinces twelve per cent. was the usual rate. The knights often organized joint-stock companies in which a large number of people might hold shares. The Forum at Rome, where this business centred, may be regarded as an immense stock exchange for speculation of every kind.

Money-making at Rome.

The tax-farmers and the money-lenders played into each other's hands in wringing money from the helpless provincials. We have already seen how they looked on the provinces as "farms of the Roman people,"[1] to be plundered almost at will. Their huge

[1] The phrase is Cicero's (*Against Verres*, ii, 3).

fortunes, gained so easily and so rapidly, helped still further to lower the moral standard of the Romans. In the exciting pursuit of wealth, men lost all sense of public duty. The knights were even more selfish, grasping, and unpatriotic than the nobles. A Roman writer remarked, with bitterness and probably with truth, "The arts of avarice are those most cultivated at Rome."[1]

Character of the knights.

Nobles and knights formed, of course, only a small fraction of the citizen body. Rome was a populous city which must have contained many professional men, such as school-masters, architects, and physicians, besides thousands of shopkeepers and respectable artisans. Unfortunately, the capital was now filling up with a less useful class of citizens—ruined peasants from the country districts of Italy.

The common people.

After Rome became mistress of the Mediterranean, her markets were flooded with the cheap grain raised in the provinces, especially in those rich granaries, Sicily and Africa. The price of wheat fell so low that Roman peasants could not raise enough to support their families and pay their taxes. When agriculture became unprofitable, the farmer was no longer able to remain on the soil. He had to sell out, often at a ruinous sacrifice. His land was bought by rich men who turned many small fields into vast sheep pastures and cattle ranches. Gangs of slaves, labouring under the lash, gradually took the place of the old Roman peasantry, the very strength of the state. Not unjust was the famous remark, "Great domains ruined Italy."[2]

Disappearance of the peasantry.

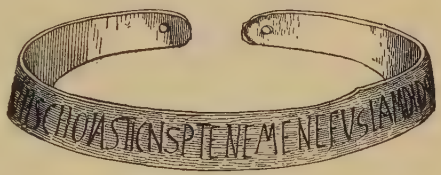
ROMAN SHEPHERD

[1] Pliny, *Natural History*, xiv, 1.

[2] *Latifundia perdidere Italiam* (Pliny, *Natural History*, xviii, 7).

The decline of agriculture and the disappearance of the small farmer under the stress of foreign competition may be studied in modern England as well as in ancient Italy. Nowadays an English farmer, under the same circumstances, will often emigrate to America or to Australia, where land is cheap and it is easy to make a living. But these Roman peasants did not care to go abroad and settle on better soil in Spain or in Africa. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans were not willing to start life afresh in a new land. They thronged, instead, to the cities, to Rome especially, where they laboured for a small wage, fared plainly on wheat bread, and dwelt in huge lodging houses, three or four stories high.

The exodus to the cities.



A Slave's Collar

A runaway slave, if recaptured, was sometimes compelled to wear a metal collar riveted about his neck. One of these collars, still preserved at Rome, bears the inscription: *Servus sum dom(i)ni mei Scholastici v(iri) sp(ectabilis). Tene me ne fugiam de domo.* — "I am the slave of my master Scholasticus, a gentleman of importance. Hold me, lest I flee from home."

We know very little about this poorer population of Rome. They must have lived from hand to mouth. Since their votes controlled elections,[1] they were courted by candidates for office, and kept from grumbling by being fed and amused. "The majority of these people," said an ancient writer, "have slipped within our walls, leaving the scythe and the plough; they prefer clapping their hands at the circus to working in their fields and vineyards." Such poor citizens, too lazy for steady work, too intelligent to starve, formed, with the other riffraff of a great city, the elements of a dangerous mob.[2] And the mob, henceforth, plays an ever larger part in the history of the times.

The city mob.

[1] See pages 334, 345-346.

[2] The population of ancient Rome is not known with any certainty. The lowest estimate reckons the number of inhabitants at 800,000 about the close of the last century B.C.

152. Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B.C.

Until near the close of the second century before Christ, the history of Rome was the history of great achievements by men who were themselves not great. Except for a few individuals, such as the two Scipios and Cato the Censor, the generals and statesmen who made Rome a world-power are scarcely more to us than names. Now, however, comes an epoch crowded with interesting personalities, in the story of whose lives we can read the decline and fall of the Roman Republic.

An epoch of great personalities.

In the year 133 B.C., a year otherwise made memorable by the final subjugation of Spain and the acquisition of Asia,[1] efforts began at Rome to remedy some of the disorders which were sapping the strength of Roman society. The first persons to undertake the work of reform were the two brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, each in turn. The Gracchi belonged to the highest nobility of Rome. Their father had filled a consulship and a censorship, and had celebrated triumphs. Cornelia, their mother, was a daughter of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. A fine type of the Roman matron, she called her boys her "jewels," more precious than gold, and brought them up to love their country better than their own lives. To Cornelia's careful training, Greek tutors added instruction in the literature and philosophy of Hellas. Thus education as well as birth fitted them for brilliant careers. Tiberius, the elder brother, served under Scipio Æmilianus in the Spanish wars, and on his return to Rome secured an election to the tribunate for the year 133 B.C. He was then only thirty years of age.

The Gracchi.

In order to understand the reforms which Tiberius championed, a reference to the land problem at Rome is necessary. Ever since the republic had become a conquering power, it had been

[1] See pages 377, 384.

customary to seize part of the soil of vanquished enemies. Very often these public domains were not sold outright to private persons in the manner in which the United States, for example, has always disposed of its territory. The Roman government would keep the legal title to the land, but at the same time would allow any citizen to "squat" upon it, on condition of paying rent. As a matter of fact, most of the "squatters" were well-to-do men, who alone had the money necessary to stock the new lands with cattle and slaves. The public domains, instead of becoming the refuge of the poor, thus proved a benefit only to the rich class at Rome.

The public lands of Rome.

Tiberius now brought forward his celebrated agrarian law. It required each holder of state lands to surrender all that he held in excess of a certain amount — about three hundred acres for a man without sons. The territory so reclaimed was to be divided into small tracts and given to the poorer citizens. Such a measure, Tiberius hoped, would revive the drooping agriculture of Italy. He wished to get the people back again on the soil, where they could support themselves.

Agrarian proposals of Tiberius Gracchus.

This agrarian law, though well intended, was bad from every point of view. It did not go to the roots of the real difficulty — foreign competition. No legislation could have aided the farming class except import duties to keep out the cheap grain from abroad. But the idle mob at Rome, controlling the assemblies, would never have voted in favour of taxing their food, and thus making it more expensive. At the same time, the proposal to take away part of the public domains from its possessors roused a hornet's nest about the reformer's ears. Rich people had occupied the public land for so long a time that they had come to look upon it as really their own. They would be very sure to oppose such a measure with all their might. Poor people, of course, welcomed a scheme which promised to give them farms for nothing. Tiberius even

Defects of the agrarian law.

wished to use the public funds to stock the farms of his new peasantry. This was socialism, or state philanthropy.

In spite of these glaring defects in his measure, Tiberius urged it with all his fiery eloquence. "The wild beasts of Italy," said he, "have at least their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for Rome have nothing left, when they come back from the wars, except the light and the air they breathe. Without hearth or home, they wander like beggars from place to place with their wives and children. A Roman general does but mock his army when he exhorts his soldiers to defend their tombs and temples against the enemy. For in these days how many are there of the rank and file who possess an altar that their forefathers reared, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest? They fight and die merely to increase the wealth and luxury of others; they are called masters of the world without having even a clod to call their own."[1]

Speech of Tiberius.

This speech gained for Tiberius the support of the dispossessed farmers who crowded the Forum. It also earned for him the hostility of the great landowners in the Senate, who would be injured by the passage of the law. The senators now got another tribune, who was devoted to their interests, to place his veto on the proposed legislation. The impatient Tiberius, fearing for the success of his cherished measure, at once took a revolutionary step. Though a magistrate could not legally be removed from office, Tiberius had his adversary deposed, on the ground that a tribune who disregarded the will of the people thereby forfeited his right to hold the post. The law was then passed without further opposition.

The illegal action of Tiberius placed him clearly in the wrong. The aristocrats threatened to impeach him as soon as his term was over. Tiberius, however, had determined to seek re-election to the tribunate for the following year. This again was contrary to custom, since no one might hold office for two successive terms. On the day appointed for

Untimely end of Tiberius, 133 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, *T. Gracchus*, 9.

the election, while voting was in progress, a crowd of angry senators burst into the Forum and slaughtered Tiberius with three hundred of his followers. Both sides had now begun to display an utter disregard for law. Force and bloodshed, henceforth, were to decide political disputes.

153. Gaius Gracchus, 123–121 B.C.

Tiberius Gracchus, in his efforts to secure economic reform, had unwittingly provoked a conflict between the Senate and the assemblies, between the senatorial order and the common people. The Senate had governed Rome for more than two centuries. Its supremacy was now to be openly and seriously challenged. **Fresh agitation.**

Ten years after the death of Tiberius, Gaius Gracchus came to the front. For a time he had avoided politics, but fate called him to take up his brother's task. One night he dreamed that the spirit of Tiberius came to him and said, "Gaius, why do you delay? It is your destiny, as mine, to spend life and meet death in the service of the people."[1] While quite as sincere and patriotic as Tiberius, Gaius possessed far greater ability as a politician and orator. He was a most vehement speaker. We are told how he used to stride excitedly up and down the *rostra*, or platform, and how he would cast his toga off his shoulders by the violence of his gestures. In speaking, he was liable at times to lose control of his voice and scream. To check this failing, he employed a slave musician who stood behind him and sounded a warning note on a pitch pipe, whenever the oration tended to become a screech. The opponents of Gaius liked to compare him with Cleon,[2] the blustering demagogue of Athens. **Gaius Gracchus.**

Gaius quickly made himself a popular leader with the set purpose of remodelling the government of Rome. He found in the

[1] Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 1.

[2] See page 236.

tribunate an office from which to work against the Senate. After the death of Tiberius, a law had been passed permitting a man to hold the position of tribune year after year. Gaius intended to be a sort of perpetual tribune, and to rule the Roman assemblies very much as Pericles had ruled the people at Athens.[1]

How Gaius won the mob.

One of his first measures was a law permitting the sale of grain from the public storehouses to Roman citizens at about half the market price. This measure, of course, won over the city mob. The lazy rabble that crowded the Forum hailed Gaius as a true friend of the people. The law, however, was utterly vicious. It saddled the treasury with a heavy burden, and later the government had to furnish the grain for nothing. By the middle of the first century B.C., over three hundred thousand persons were receiving free food from the state. Indiscriminate charity of this sort increased, rather than lessened, the number of paupers. To such depths had fallen the once sovereign people of Rome.

With the aid of the populace, Gaius was able to secure the additional legislation which he deemed necessary to carry out his brother's work. He reënacted the land laws for the benefit of the peasantry, and furnished work for the unemployed by building roads throughout Italy. He also began to establish colonies of poor citizens, both in Italy and in the provinces. This was a wise policy. Had it been allowed to continue, such state-assisted emigration, by providing the landless poor of Italy with farms abroad, would have relieved the economic distress of the peninsula.

Measures of Gaius to relieve the poor.

Gaius was a born administrator. He liked to attend personally to his various undertakings, sparing no pains and amazing every one by the restless energy with which he worked. His house became a sort of court, frequented alike by foreign ambassadors, magistrates, architects, engineers, and philosophers. He had business with them all and met

Gaius as an administrator.

[1] See page 227.

them all on terms of easy familiarity, "ever dignified, yet ever courteous"[1] in his dealings with men. It was easy for the enemies of Gaius to declare that Rome already had a king with nothing wanting but the crown.

Gaius now came forward with another measure which marked him as an able and prudent statesman. He proposed to bestow the right of voting in the Roman assemblies upon the inhabitants of the Latin colonies. He wished, also, to give the Italian allies the privileges of intermarrying with Romans and of holding property under the protection of the Roman law. No doubt Gaius believed that the time might come when all the Italian peoples would be citizens of Rome. This time did come, thirty years later, but only after a terrible war that nearly ruined Rome.

An effort to extend Roman citizenship.

The effort by Gaius to extend Roman citizenship cost the reformer all his hard-won popularity. It aroused the jealousy of the selfish city mob, which believed that the entrance of so many new citizens would mean the loss of its privileges. There would not be so many free shows and so much cheap grain. So the people rejected the measure, and turning from their former favourite, failed to re-elect him to the tribunate. When Gaius was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribune's office, he fell an easy victim to senatorial hatred. Another bloody tumult broke out in which Gracchus and three thousand of his followers perished. The consul who quelled the disturbance erected at the head of the Forum a temple to Harmony (*Concordia*).

Fate of Gaius.

The Gracchi became in death the martyrs and saints of the popular party. "The people, though humbled and depressed for a time, soon showed how deep was their regret. For statues of the two brothers were set up in public places, and the spots on which they fell were declared holy ground, to which the multitude brought all the first fruits of the seasons,

The lost leaders.

[1] Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 6.

and made sacrifices there and worshipped just as at the temples of the gods."[1] Cornelia long survived her two sons. She bore their loss with an undaunted spirit and could speak of them without a sigh or tear. To those who heard her relating all their deeds and misfortunes it seemed as if she spoke, not of her own children, but of some ancient heroes who had given their lives to their country.

The Gracchi begin the revolution.

The pathetic career of the Gracchi has much significance in Roman history. They were the unconscious sponsors of a revolutionary movement which did not end until the republic had come under the rule of one man. They failed because they put their trust in the support of the Roman mob. Future agitators were to appear with legionaries at their heels.

154. Marius

Rule of the senatorial oligarchy.

After the death of Gaius Gracchus, the democratic cause suffered for lack of leadership. No new popular hero appeared to direct a fresh attack on the Senate and the supremacy of the nobles. Senatorial rule now waxed more corrupt and incompetent than ever. The aristocracy at the head of affairs sought only the spoils of office and the spoils of conquest. Before long, however, two foreign wars revealed its weakness and depravity, and brought to the front a military master, Gaius Marius.

Rise of Gaius Marius.

This man was of very different stamp from either of the Gracchi. He was a peasant's son, a coarse, rude soldier, who despised the new learning and culture of his time. Accustomed to the hardships of the farm and the camp, honest, courageous, industrious, Marius was a good example of the old Roman. Beginning as tribune, he fought his way steadily upward against the obstacles which the nobility always put in the path of a "new man"[2] who aspired to succeed in politics. He had

[1] Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 18.

[2] See page 336.

already held the chief grades of honour, except the consulship, when circumstances brought that office likewise within his grasp.

Marius found his opportunity in one of those border conflicts which were always raging in one quarter or another of the Roman world. The Jugurthine War, as it is called, arose out of the efforts of Jugurtha, an African prince, to make himself king of Numidia,[1] a state allied to Rome. He assassinated his relatives, whom the Roman Senate had made his colleagues on the throne, and, with liberal bribes, bought off two senatorial commissions sent to Africa for the purpose of investigating his misdeeds. When public opinion at last forced the reluctant Senate into a declaration of war, the wily African found the Roman commanders equally ready to accept his gold and do nothing. The contest dragged along in disgraceful fashion, year after year. In the interval between campaigns, Jugurtha even ventured to carry on his negotiations in Rome itself. He well described it as "a venal city, ready to perish whenever it could find a purchaser." [2]

The Jugurthine War, 112–106 B.C.

Marius, who had served with distinction against Jugurtha, persuaded the people to elect him consul and intrust him with the conduct of the war. By generalship and good fortune, he speedily concluded the struggle and brought Jugurtha in chains to Rome. After appearing in the triumphal procession of Marius, the Numidian king was cast into a cold dungeon beneath the Capitoline Hill, to die of starvation.

Marius ends the war.

During the Jugurthine War, a still more formidable danger had arisen to threaten Roman power. The barbarians far away in the north were beginning those invasions and migrations which Rome was henceforth to face in every century of her national existence. Two peoples, known as the Cimbri and Teutones, entered Transalpine Gaul, and attacked the new province which had been established in the southern part of that region.[3] Five Roman armies, one after

Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones.

[1] See page 374. [2] Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 35. [3] See page 378.

another, were defeated by these formidable enemies. Not a soldier remained to guard the passes of the Alps.

Battles of Aquæ Sextiæ, 102 B.C., and Vercellæ, 101 B.C.

At this crisis all eyes were fixed on Marius. Hurrying northward with his seasoned African troops, he found that the Germans, by some caprice, had turned aside from Italy to range through Gaul and Spain. While Marius waited for their return, year after year, the Roman people reëlected him consul four successive times — an illegal act which only the grave danger of the state could justify. The decisive conflict took place at Aquæ Sextiæ in southern Gaul, where Marius annihilated two hundred thousand warriors of the Teutones with their wives and children. For years, it is said, the bones of those who perished in this massacre were used for vineyard fences. The following spring the Cimbri, who had penetrated beyond the Alps into the Po valley, were destroyed near Vercellæ. These two great victories, the importance of which can scarcely be overestimated, preserved the classical world for five centuries more of civilized life.

Changes in the Roman army.

During these wars abroad, the Roman army under Marius became even more effective as a fighting machine. The former system of three lines was given up, and all the soldiers of the legion were equipped alike.[1] The legionaries received a careful discipline during their term of service, which lasted usually for twenty years. Most of them were now poor citizens who made fighting their profession. Such soldiers of fortune cared little for either the Senate or the laws. They obeyed only their commander and looked to him, not to Rome, for pay, promotion, and discharge. A popular and successful general, henceforth, could always rely on the support of his legionaries.

Marius returned to Rome after his victories and enjoyed a

[1] The standard of the legion was a silver eagle on a staff. To preserve it from the enemy, even in the hour of defeat, formed the first principle of legionary honour. The French emperor, Napoleon, adopted an old Roman custom, when, in 1804, he distributed the famous eagles of France to his Grand Army.

splendid triumph. He was hailed as the second Camillus, as the third Romulus. With the swords of his soldiers, he might then and there have made himself king. But Marius remained loyal to the republic and contented himself with another consulship. The great general now entered politics and posed as the head of the democratic party. Soon, however, he had to make way for a new leader, who championed the cause of the aristocrats.

Marius as a party leader.

155. Sulla

Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the extraordinary man who in these troublous times was to win supremacy at Rome, came of an old patrician family, but one poor and without influence in the state. In his youth, we are told, he had not even a home of his own, but lived in a lodging house, only a floor below the garret. Plain living and high thinking had no attractions for Sulla; as his fortunes rose he plunged with abandon into every form of dissipation which the capital city offered. His devotion to the banquet and the wine cup ruined a splendid constitution, and turned his handsome face into the "mulberry besprinkled with meal"[1] to which it was compared in his middle age.

Character of Sulla.

But Sulla was an Epicurean,[2] also, in the better sense of that word. He could appreciate Greek art and letters, affected a taste for philosophy, and with his social gifts, his urbanity, his knowledge of men and the world, presented a sharp contrast to Marius, who resembled him in nothing except bravery and good generalship. In Sulla's strange, almost repulsive character, there ran a vein of savage cruelty and superstition. He would send men to death with a jest; scoffed at the old Roman gods, yet styled himself "the favourite of Venus"; and had a profound belief in his lucky star. It never failed him.

[1] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2.

[2] See page 298.

Sulla's great abilities quickly brought him into public notice. He served as quæstor under Marius in the Jugurthine War, and gained his first distinction by the capture (through treachery) of Jugurtha himself. Sulla then stood for the prætorship, only to be rejected because he could not afford to entertain the people with the show of African wild beasts which had been expected of him. In the Cimbric War, Sulla again showed his surpassing skill as a commander. Shortly afterwards he obtained the prætorship, and at the conclusion of his year of office, the proprætorship of Cilicia in Asia Minor. When Sulla returned to Rome, the money which he had wrung from the provincials and the reputation which he enjoyed for unvarying success in every undertaking, gave him a high place among the leaders of the senatorial party. He was soon to have another opportunity of justifying his title of "the Fortunate," in a struggle which was to shake Roman society to its foundations.

Rise of Sulla.

The Social War, which broke out in 90 B.C., came as the consequence of Rome's refusal to grant the rights of citizenship to her Italian allies (*socii*).[1] The latter cared little for the privilege, which they would seldom exercise, of voting at Rome. They did demand, however, the protection before the law and the rights of property and trade enjoyed by Roman citizens. When it grew clear that neither the democratic nor the aristocratic party at Rome would make the desired concessions, the allies revolted and established an independent government. They aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the Roman city and the founding of a new state to include the whole of the peninsula. For a capital they chose the city of Corfinium in the heart of the Apennines, renaming it Italica.

The Social War, 90–88 B.C.

The strength of the rebellion lay among the Samnites and other peoples of central and southern Italy. As in the time of Hannibal's invasion, the Latin colonies remained

Course of the war.

[1] See page 346.

faithful to Rome. Nevertheless, the contest was by no means unequal. The sturdy mountaineers of the Apennines, who had learned to fight under the Scipios and Marius, were more than a match for the town-bred legions opposed to them. The war came to an end only when Rome promised the franchise to all Italians who returned to their allegiance.

The Social War marks a significant moment in ancient history. It compelled Rome to return to her old policy of making conquered peoples equal with herself. Before many years had passed, the inhabitants of nearly all the Italian towns south of the Rubicon River received Roman citizenship. It was this same wise policy, afterwards extended to the provinces, which in time was to make Roman all the ancient world.

Results of the Social War.

What military honours were gained in the Social War belonged to Sulla. His reward was the consulship, and an appointment as

general in another struggle which distracted Rome had now to face. While the city had been busy with civil enemies and barbarian foes, a new and powerful state had been growing up in the East. Pontus, a kingdom on the shores of the Euxine, was one of those minor Asiatic states which arose on the ruins of the Alexandrian Empire.[1] Under Mithradates VI, the Pontic territory came to include a large part of Asia Minor. When Mithradates advanced into the rich province of Asia,[2] the inhabitants, grown weary of Roman governors and tax collectors, received him gladly. At the instigation of the king, they massacred every Italian in the entire region. Mithradates then boldly crossed the Hellespont, overran Thrace and Macedonia, and entered in triumph the Greek cities of the peninsula. Rome found herself threatened with the loss of all her eastern possessions.

First and Second Mithradatic Wars, 88–81 B.C.

Mithradates was a remarkable figure in ancient history. He claimed descent from Cyrus and Darius, two great Persian monarchs who had once ruled all Asia. As their successor he sought to create an Asiatic empire strong enough to resist Rome.

Mithradates.

Sulla's campaigns against this formidable enemy illustrate his conspicuous ability as a general. With greatly inferior forces, he met and repeatedly overcame the soldiers of Mithradates. In one great battle on the historic field of Chæronea, he defeated an army five times as numerous as his own. Sulla then took Athens by storm and afterwards carried the war into Asia Minor, where he compelled the humbled monarch to abandon his conquests, surrender his fleet, and pay a huge indemnity. These great victories settled the fate of the East. It was to remain for many centuries in Roman hands. If Marius had the glory of repelling the tide of barbarian invasion, Sulla had the honour of preserving Rome's possessions in the Orient.

Sulla's campaigns against Mithradates.

[1] See page 280.

[2] See page 384.

156. Civil War between Marius and Sulla

During Sulla's absence abroad, stirring events were taking place at Rome. That city had long been familiar with the street broil and the riot as a method of deciding quarrels between rival parties. Now it found that a fierce and prolonged civil war, which was to put scores of legions into the field, could result from the personal rivalry of two popular leaders. The struggle between Marius and Sulla, settled as it was by the sword, marks an epoch in the history of the republic.

Rivalry of Marius and Sulla.

Marius had watched with growing envy the rapid elevation of his rival. When Sulla as consul received command against the dreaded Mithradates, Marius felt deeply mortified. Although old enough to retire from active life, he was anxious to close his career by a brilliant victory over the Pontic king which would restore him to his former position of influence at Rome. So Marius once more entered politics and, aided by a popular tribune, got the *comitia centuriata* to pass a measure depriving Sulla of his command and appointing himself to the post.

An attempt to deprive Sulla of his command.

Sulla had no mind to give up a position which he held by legal appointment of the Senate. At this time he was still in Italy with his army of devoted soldiers. When the decree of the assembly reached him, he refused to obey it. Instead, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and marched directly on Rome. After desperate fighting in the streets, Sulla defeated the democrats and drove their leaders, including Marius, from the city. Sulla had broken with the most sacred traditions of Rome: he had brought armed legions within the city walls. Though virtually master of the state, Sulla used his power only to restore the rule of the Senate and the aristocrats. Then, with his army, he proceeded to the East to enter on the campaign against Mithradates.

Sulla marches on Rome.

Meanwhile, what had become of Marius? Plutarch tells us that

he set sail from Ostia, intending to reach Africa. A storm came on and compelled him to land again on the Italian coast. As he wandered about, hungry and anxious, the old soldier kept up his courage by recalling how, when a boy, he had found an eagle's nest with seven young ones in it, and how the soothsayers had foretold that he should be consul seven times. His foes were hot on his trail, and before long he was captured and condemned to death. A Cimbrian slave was ordered to kill him, because no citizen would do it. But the executioner dropped his sword and fled, when he heard a terrible voice crying from the dark cell, "Darest thou slay Gaius Marius?"[1] Marius finally received his liberty and reached Africa, where, a fallen hero, he sat amid the ruins of Carthage, waiting for vengeance and his seventh consulship.

Marius in exile, 88 B.C.

Sulla had scarcely embarked from Brundisium for the East, when the democrats once more got the upper hand. Marius returned from exile, and together with the consul Cinna marched with an army on Rome. Long before this time the better elements in the character of Marius had disappeared; old age found him a revengeful partisan, whose wild fury against the aristocrats knew no bounds. When he entered the city, he had the gates closed, and then for five days glutted himself with the blood of every personal enemy and political foe he had ever known. Nearly all the prominent members of the aristocratic party perished in this massacre. The reign of terror at last ended when Marius himself died, just after having entered upon his seventh consulship.

The return of Marius, 87 B.C.

Sulla had not yet engaged Mithradates, when he learned of the new turn of affairs at Rome. After completing his work abroad, he sent a dispatch to the Senate, in which he described his campaigns against Mithradates and added, grimly, that he was now returning home to punish his enemies. Although Sulla's forces were smaller than Hannibal's, victory proved

Sulla at the Colline Gate, 82 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, *Marius*, 39.

to be unexpectedly easy. The war in Italy was finished with a desperate encounter under the very walls of Rome. Here the democratic armies were joined by the Samnites, who seized this moment to revenge themselves for all their past defeats. The Samnite leader rode round his troops crying, "Rome's last day has come; the tyrant city must be destroyed to her foundations. These Roman wolves, the bane of Italian liberty, will never be got rid of until their lair is laid waste."[1] But Sulla "the Fortunate" conquered here as elsewhere. His triumph at the Colline Gate made him master of Rome.

157. The Rule of Sulla, 82–79 B.C.

Sulla's accession to power proved the signal for a carnival of massacre, surpassing in horror even the outrages under Marius. In systematic fashion, Sulla proceeded to cut off every man of note in the democratic party. His purpose was to deprive the popular cause of the leaders who might unite it for future assaults on the aristocratic order. Murder now became a fine art. Day after day, Sulla issued a list of persons on whose heads a price was set. These were the "proscribed," whom anyone might slay. The friends of Sulla received permission to include their private enemies in the list. Debtors had their creditors murdered. Others were killed simply because their estates were coveted by Sulla's favourites. A wealthy noble, coming into the Forum and finding his own name posted, exclaimed, "Alas! my Alban villa has proved my ruin!"[2] Several thousand persons perished in the capital, and worse massacres took place throughout Italy. The terror inspired by the Sullan proscription never faded from Roman memory.

The "proscriptions."

Sulla regarded this legalized butchery as a necessary step to his self-appointed task of putting the Roman government once more to rights. He now received the title of "Perpetual Dictator," with complete authority to

Sulla as "Perpetual Dictator."

[1] Velleius Paterculus, ii, 27. [2] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 31.

govern the state until the new order of things should be established. Rome came under the rule of one man for the first time since the expulsion of the kings.

Sulla lacked personal ambition. His sole aim was to restore the supremacy of the Senate. Under senatorial rule, the Roman state had reached its great prosperity and power. The attempts of the Gracchi to make the assemblies rather than the Senate supreme had worked no lasting good. Even though the Senate was now corrupt and incapable, the people were no better. Sulla preferred the rule of a selfish aristocracy to that of a fickle mob. He aimed, therefore, to place the Senate's authority on a solid basis and to give it by law the same high position it had enjoyed in former times by custom and universal assent.

Sulla attempts to make the Senate supreme.

The various measures by which Sulla entrenched the Senate in power did not long survive his death, and hence had no lasting influence on Roman politics. After a rule of three years, Sulla voluntarily gave up the dictatorship and retired to his villa on the Bay of Naples. He died a few months later. The Senate honoured him with a public funeral, the most splendid that Rome had ever seen. His monument bore an inscription which the dictator himself is said to have composed: "No friend ever did him a kindness, and no enemy a wrong, without being fully repaid."[1] That was one epitaph which told the truth.

Sulla's death, 78 B.C.

158. Pompey and Crassus

Roman politics for two decades after Sulla's death centred about the personalities of Pompey and Crassus. Pompey was an able soldier. His services during the Civil War brought him the honour of a triumph. Sulla even flattered the young man of twenty-five by hailing him as "the Great." Crassus, his associate, though less distinguished

The successors of Sulla.

[1] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 38.

as a general, possessed a huge fortune which made him a power in the state. He was as clever in managing the politics of the Roman city as Pompey was in conducting its foreign campaigns. Such were the two men on whom had fallen the mantle of the great dictator.

Although the strife between the partisans of Marius and Sulla had ended in Italy, it continued in Spain. Here Sertorius, at once the ablest and the noblest of the democratic leaders, long offered a successful resistance to the senatorial armies. Finally, the Senate made Pompey a proconsul — though he had never held any civil office — and sent him to Spain to subdue the peninsula. Pompey and Sertorius maintained for five years a wearisome struggle, now become less a civil conflict than a national war in which the Spaniards sought to regain their former independence, and the Romans to win back a lost province. Sertorius at length was murdered by one of his own officers, and the war came to an end (72 B.C.).

The war with Sertorius.

GNÆUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS
Spada Palace, Rome

While Pompey was absent in Spain, an event occurred which showed how near Roman society stood to destruction. This was a revolt of the slaves, headed by a gladiator named Spartacus. He and his comrades escaped from a training school at Capua, and fled to the crater of Vesuvius, near Naples. The fugitives were soon joined by great numbers of runaway slaves, outlaws, and poverty-stricken peasants. At the head of seventy thousand men, Spartacus thrice defeated the Roman armies, and then, bent on plunder and revenge, ranged almost at will throughout southern Italy. He even threatened the city of

"War of the Gladiators," 73–71 B.C.

Rome. It required the generalship of Crassus, supported by no less than six legions, to crush the rebellion. Pompey, returning from Spain, caught the last bands of the fugitives as they tried to escape into Gaul, and utterly destroyed them. Several thousand captives were crucified on the Appian Way.

From the north and from the south the two victorious generals were now approaching Rome. Both detested the Sullan constitution, which stood in the way of their advancement; both had loyal and devoted armies. Pompey and Crassus at once joined their forces and had themselves elected consuls. Then they repealed Sulla's laws relating to the Senate and allied themselves with the democratic party.

Overthrow of Sulla's legislation.

Pompey was now the leading man at Rome. Sovereignty lay within his grasp. He might have ascended the empty seat of Sulla and have become Rome's master. But his aspirations were to be rather the first general and citizen of the republic. After his year of office, he withdrew to private life. It was not long, however, before a new danger summoned him from honourable retirement, and opened the way for the most distinguished services of his career.

Pompey's place at Rome.

One of those responsibilities of empire which a lax, incompetent Senate had been either unable or unwilling to discharge, was the suppression of piracy throughout the Mediterranean. That region swarmed with pirates who sallied forth in squadrons, a hundred vessels strong, preyed on commerce, and plundered wealthy cities near the coast. They even captured the vessels laden with grain for the Roman market, and so threatened the capital city with famine. In this extremity, the people turned to Pompey. A law was passed which empowered him to raise all the money, ships, and troops necessary to sweep the Mediterranean of its marauders. He was to have for three years absolute sway over all Roman territory within fifty miles of the sea. Armed with these mighty powers, which Rome had never before intrusted to a single man, Pompey fulfilled his

Pompey and the War with the Pirates, 67 B.C.

THE EXPANSION OF
ROMAN DOMINIONS
133-31 B.C.
Roman Possessions in 133 B.C.
Additional Possessions at the death of Sulla, 78 B.C.
Additional Possessions at the end of the Mithradatic War, 64 B.C.
Additional Possessions at the Death of Cæsar, 44 B.C.
Acquisitions, 44-31 B.C.
THE M. N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
English Channel
BRITAIN
Londinium
LOWER GERMANY
BELGICA
LUGUDUNENSIS
Loire R.
GAUL
AQUITANIA
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Narbo
Aquae Sextiae
Massilia
Arausio
CORSICA
SPAIN
Ebro R.
Numantia
Olisipo
Anas R.
Valentia
Gades
Munda
New Carthage
Balearic Is.
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MAURETANIA TINGITANA
MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS
Utica
Cirta
NUMIDIA
Carthage
Zama
Thapsus
PROCONSULAR AFRICA
Sabrata
GERMANY
Rhine R.
UPPER GERMANY
Danube R.
RAETIA
NORICUM
Noreia
PANNONIA
GALIA
Vercellae
CISALPINA
Pisae
Bononia
ITALY
Rome
Capua
Misenum
Tyrrhenian Sea
Adriatic Sea
ILLYRIA
DALMATIA
Brundisium
Croton
Mylae
Ionian Sea
Syracuse
SICILY
Actium
MACEDONIA
Philippi
THESSALIA
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Sparta
Athens
Lesbos
Chaeronea
Aegean Sea
CRETE
Rhodes
Dardanus
ASIA
Sardis
Miletus
PHRYGIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
LYCAONIA
CILICIA
CYPRUS
Antioch
Carrhae
SYRIA
Damascus
Tyre
PHOENICIA
PALESTINE
Gaza
Alexandria
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
ARABIA
Euphrates R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris R.
ARMENIA
MEDIA
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Sea of Azov
Don R.
Dnieper R.
SARMATIA
DACIA
Danube R.
UPPER MOESIA
LOWER MOESIA
THRACE
Byzantium
Black Sea
BITHYNIA
Zela
PONTUS
GALATIA
Halys R.
CAPPADOCIA
KINGDOM OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS

task quickly and thoroughly. He cleared the seas, captured the pirate strongholds in Cilicia, and reëstablished Roman rule over that distant province.

Such brilliant successes marked out Pompey as the one best

GLADIATORS

From a stucco relief on the tomb of Scaurus, Pompeii. Beginning at the left are two fully-armed horsemen fighting with lances. Behind them are two gladiators, one of whom is appealing to the people. Then follows a combat in which the defeated party raises his hand in supplication for mercy. The lower part of the relief represents fights with various wild beasts.

fitted to end the war with Mithradates, who had again risen in arms against Rome. Pompey received command of all the countries of the East, in addition to the powers he already held. Within a single year, Mithradates was driven from his kingdom. The Pontic monarch soon afterwards took his own life, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans. His death removed Rome's most dangerous antagonist since the time of Hannibal.

Pompey and the Third Mithradatic War, 74–63 B.C.

Pompey now turned southward, entered Syria, and annexed it to the Roman dominions. After capturing the Temple at Jerusalem, he made his way into the Holy of Holies, and marvelled at

this strange sanctuary of the Jews, where a bare room, without even an image, was set aside for the earthly abode of Jehovah.

Pompey in Syria, 64–63 B.C.

All the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean had now been added to the Roman possessions. Thus Pompey worthily completed Sulla's work in the East. When he returned to Italy, he brought with him a reputation as the most successful general of his time.

159. Cato and Cicero

We have seen how steadily since the days of the Gracchi the Roman state had been moving toward the rule of one man.

Republican leaders.

Marius, Sulla, and Pompey each represent a step in the direction of monarchy. Yet there were still able and patriotic leaders at Rome who believed in the old order of things and tried their best to uphold the fast-perishing republic.

No republican statesman was more devoted to the constitution than Cato, called "the Younger," to distinguish him from his

Cato the Younger.

famous ancestor, Cato the Censor. He was a thoroughly honest man, stern, vigorous, unyielding, in character so like the heroic figures of an earlier age that when he died people said that there had passed away "the last of the Romans." At the time of Pompey's return, Cato held a prominent position in the Senate as one of the champions of that body against the army and its leaders.

Joined with Cato as a defender of the Senate and the old order, was another man of greater genius, but of less faultless character.

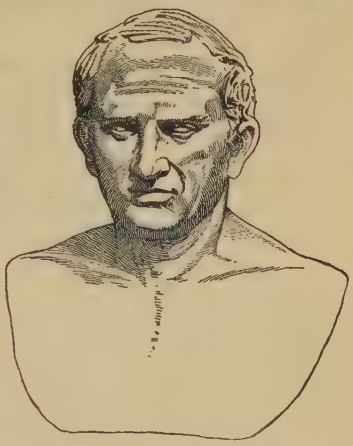
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

This was Cicero. A native of Arpinum, the same Italian town which had already given birth to Marius, Cicero came to Rome a youth without wealth or family influence. He made his way into Roman society by his social and conversational powers and by his capacity for friendship. His mind had been carefully trained under the influence of Hellenic culture; he had travelled and studied in Greece; and throughout life he loved to steal away from the tumult of the Forum and the law courts and

enjoy the companionship of his books. Though the proud nobles were inclined to look down on him as a "new man," Cicero's splendid eloquence soon gave him prominence in the field of politics. He ranks in fame as the second orator of antiquity, inferior only to Demosthenes.

Cicero possessed an attractive and lovable personality. We know him as a man of many friends, as a faithful husband and a devoted father. He never used his gifts or opportunities to do harm to others, whether political foes or helpless provincials. Vanity was a prominent trait of Cicero's character; no one liked better to hear his own praises sung, yet, as Plutarch remarks, he never envied his rivals their good fortune. He has been accused of being a "trimmer" in politics, because he could not take sides either with the extreme democrats or with the selfish and exclusive nobles. Even some of his contemporaries used to say that Cicero sat "upon two stools." The truth seems to be that Cicero was sincerely attached to the republican order and desired to restore the good old days when the Senate represented the worth as well as the wealth of the community. He believed that Rome might yet go back to the ideal of a free commonwealth; that Roman citizens could never accept the slave's ideal of a good but absolute master. Cicero's aims, though high, were all too impracticable in that corrupt and evil age. He lived to witness the downfall of the republic, and to seal with his blood his devotion to the state. We may agree in our judgment of Cicero with the words which

Cicero's character and aims.



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
Vatican Museum, Rome

one of his bitter enemies pronounced over him — "A great orator, and a man who loved his country well." [1]

Cicero's first distinguished service was the prosecution of Verres, a Roman proprætor of Sicily. The career of Verres in that island affords a striking illustration of the abuses of the provincial system.[2] During his three years as governor, Verres robbed the Sicilians unmercifully. He disposed of all the offices and of all his decisions as judge to the highest bidder. Sicily was the granary of Rome; Verres compelled the farmers to give up the greater part of their crops, which he sold to swell his already enormous fortune. Sicily was filled with rich and splendid cities; Verres plundered them of their choicest works of art — the statues and paintings in the temples, the gems, vases, and other treasures of private individuals. Nothing beautiful, it was said, escaped his thieving fingers.

A Roman governor.

Verres had powerful friends among the nobles at Rome and counted on his influence and wealth to escape punishment. Indeed, he openly boasted that he had plunder enough to live in luxury, even though he had to surrender two-thirds of it as fees to his lawyer and bribes to the jury. But Verres had not reckoned with the brilliant young advocate who took up the cause of the oppressed provincials. Cicero hurried to Sicily and there collected such an overwhelming mass of evidence that the bare statement of the facts was enough to condemn the criminal. Verres went into exile. Cicero became the head of the Roman bar. Seven years later he was elected consul.

Impeachment of Verres, 70 B.C.

The year of Cicero's consulship was marked by an event which throws a lurid light on the conditions of the time. Lucius Catiline, a young noble of ability, but bankrupt in character and purse, organized a conspiracy to seize Rome, murder the magistrates, and plunder the rich. He gathered about himself outlaws of every description, slaves, and

Conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, *Cicero*, 49.

[2] See pages 385–386.

starving peasants — all the discontented and needy classes throughout Italy. Catiline entertained no purpose of reforming society. He and his associates were desperate anarchists who sought to restore their own broken fortunes by overturning the government. Since no regular police force for keeping order existed in Italy, the conspiracy constituted a grave danger to the republic.

The spread of the insurrection was checked by Cicero's vigorous measures. In a series of famous speeches he exposed Catiline's plans to the astounded Senate. Catiline was in the Senate-house and listened to Cicero's first oration against him, but when he attempted to reply, the angry senators drowned his voice with cries of "Traitor." The arch conspirator then fled to his camp in Etruria, and shortly afterwards perished in battle with three thousand of his followers. Catiline's accomplices in the city were arrested, and on Cicero's motion were put to death without trial. Cicero now gained fresh popularity and honour. The citizens called him "Father of his country" (*Pater Patriæ*). "If you have saved the republic abroad," he said to Pompey on the latter's return from Asia, "I have saved it at home."

Cicero and Catiline.

160. The First Triumvirate: Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, 60 B.C.

Pompey reached Rome in 62 B.C., the year after the conspiracy of Catiline. His enemies called him the "New Sulla," and feared that he might march on the city and begin another proscription. This simple-minded soldier, however, had no intention of playing the tyrant. He dismissed his legions, and presented himself as a private citizen for the honours he had so justly earned. But the Senate distrusted Pompey, and, acting on the advice of Cato, refused either to confirm his acts in the East or to reward his veterans with grants of land and money. By treating Pompey thus ungenerously, the Senate converted him into its enemy, when he would have preferred to be its friend.

Pompey in Rome.

Pompey now went over to the democratic party. With its two leaders, Crassus and Julius Cæsar, he formed an alliance called the First Triumvirate. To this "ring" Pompey contributed his military reputation, Crassus, his unlimited wealth, and Cæsar, his influence over the Roman mob. Supported both by the people and by the army, these three men were really masters of Rome.

Formation of the First Triumvirate.

One of the first results of the First Triumvirate was the election of Cæsar, its youngest member, to the consulship. Gaius Julius Cæsar belonged to an ancient patrician family. His father, however, had favoured the democratic cause, and his aunt had married no less a personage than the great Marius. Having escaped the Sullan proscriptions, Cæsar threw himself with energy into the game of politics in the capital. In these early years the future statesman seems to have been a demagogue of the usual type, who sought through the favour of the people a rapid rise to power. He won the ear of the multitude by his fiery harangues, his bribes of money, his gifts of food and public shows. Cæsar's expenditures for such purposes were enormous. Before he was twenty-four, he had spent all his private fortune. Henceforth he was "financed" by the millionaire Crassus, who lent him the money now so necessary for a successful career as a politician. During Pompey's absence in the East, Cæsar rose rapidly through the offices, serving as curule ædile, quæstor, and prætor. A year in Spain as governor enabled him to wring from the provincials enough money to pay his debts. He then returned to Rome in time to join the First Triumvirate.

Rise of Gaius Julius Cæsar.

161. Cæsar and the Conquest of Gaul, 58–50 B.C.

Cæsar was ambitious. He aimed to secure an eminent position in the Roman state. The careers of Sulla and Pompey taught him that the road to power lay through a military command which would furnish an army devoted to his personal fortunes. In 58 B.C., at the close of his consulship,

Cæsar governor of Gaul, 58 B.C.

Cæsar obtained the proconsulship of Rome's two Gallic provinces and Illyricum. The next eight years were devoted to his remarkable campaigns against the barbarian peoples of western Europe.

Before the days of Cæsar, Rome had already subjugated a part of the territory inhabited by Gallic tribes.[1] Little by little, she had gained from them the valley of the Po and had converted this region into Cisalpine Gaul. Subsequently, that part of Transalpine Gaul between the Alps and the Pyrenees had been formed into the province of Narbonensis.[2] Beyond this district, as far northward as the Rhine, were many tribes of still unconquered Gauls. Contact with the Romans was bringing to them the rudiments of civilization. But the Germanic peoples who dwelt across the Rhine were fierce barbarians whose inroads now, as in the days of Marius, threatened the Roman state.

The situation in Gaul.

GAUL IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR

The story of his career in Gaul has been related by Cæsar himself in the famous *Commentaries*. This book describes a series of military successes which have given the author a place among the world's generals. Cæsar overran Transalpine Gaul, twice bridged the Rhine and invaded Germany, made two expeditions to Britain, and brought within

Cæsar's campaigns, 58-50 B.C.

[1] See pages 364, 378. [2] Commonly known as *The Province* (modern, *Provence*).

the Roman dominions all the territory bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean.

In the year 52 B.C., when Cæsar might have believed his work in Gaul was done, he had to confront the most perilous situation in his entire career. The Gauls, under their youthful leader Vercingetorix, made one final effort to drive back the invaders. After severe fighting, the Gallic troops were shut up in Alesia and starved into submission. Their brave general offered himself as a sacrifice for them. Cæsar spared their lives but carried Vercingetorix off to Rome. The conqueror kept him in a dungeon for six long years, then paraded him through the Roman streets in triumph, and finally had him strangled. But Vercingetorix is still remembered—he is the first national hero of France.[1]

Revolt of the Gauls, 52 B.C.

Cæsar's conquests in Gaul are more than a chapter in the history of the art of war. They belong to the history of civilization. After the victory at Alesia, the frontier of prehistoric Europe retreated rapidly to the north. The map of the ancient civilized world widened from the Mediterranean basin to the shores of the Atlantic. Into the conquered lands came the Latin language, the Roman law, the customs and institutions of Rome. Gaul speedily became one of the most flourishing parts of the Roman world. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero, "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but now they are no longer needed."

Romanization of Gaul.

162. Civil War between Pompey and Cæsar

During Cæsar's long absence in Gaul, the powerful though unofficial alliance, called the First Triumvirate, was suddenly

[1] In 1865 a colossal bronze statue of Vercingetorix was set up on the hill overlooking the little French town of Alise-Sainte-Reine, the site of ancient Alesia. Excavations made in the neighbourhood have revealed remains of the Roman fortifications, together with a great number of weapons and coins, the latter all bearing dates previous to 52 B.C. The workmen have also uncovered several deep trenches which were dug nearly two thousand years ago by Cæsar's legionaries.

ended by the death of one of its members. It had been a part of their bargain in dividing the Roman world that Crassus should have the government of Syria. But this unlucky general, while aspiring to rival Cæsar's exploits by new conquests beyond the Euphrates, lost his army and his life in battle with the Parthians. Besides checking the extension of the Roman arms in the remote East, the disaster at Carrhæ had its effect on Roman politics. It dissolved the triumvirate, and prepared the way for that rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey which formed the next step in the downward course of the republic.

Defeat of Crassus at Carrhæ, 53 B.C.

With Crassus dead and Cæsar far away in Gaul, Pompey was again the foremost man at Rome. Though at this time proconsul of Spain, he still remained in the neighbourhood of the capital, where he could keep a watchful eye on the actions of his brilliant colleague. The two men were now rapidly drawing apart. The death of Pompey's wife, who was Cæsar's daughter, had severed the only personal bond which united them. Pompey grew more and more jealous of Cæsar and more and more fearful that the latter was aiming at despotic power. He himself had no desire to be king or dictator. He was equally determined that Cæsar should not gain such a position. In this attitude he had the full support of Cato and Cicero, and of the other members of the Senate. They now realized that the real danger to the state was Cæsar, not Pompey.

Growing opposition between Pompey and Cæsar.

Under these circumstances an open rupture could not be long delayed. Cæsar's command in Gaul was to expire in 49 B.C. The senatorial party desired that he should return to Rome without an army. His opponents made no secret of their intention to prosecute him when he became a private citizen. Cæsar had no inclination to trust himself to their tender mercies, and refused to disband his legions unless his rival did the same. Finally the Senate, conscious of Pompey's support, ordered him to lay down his arms

Cæsar declares war on the republic, 49 B.C.

on pain of outlawry. Cæsar replied to this challenge of the Senate by leading his troops across the Rubicon, the little stream that separated Cisalpine Gaul from Italy. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast."[1] He had now declared war against the republic.

Cæsar's bold movement caught the senatorial party unawares. Pompey could not gather his legions before his audacious foe reached Rome. Finding it impossible to make a stand in Italy, Pompey, with the consuls and many senators, withdrew to Greece. Cæsar did not follow him at once. He hurried to Spain, and after a brilliant campaign only six weeks in length, broke down the republican resistance in that peninsula. To the soldiers whom he captured he gave the choice of serving under him or departing in freedom. Such clemency surprised the world almost as much as his generalship. Having now secured Italy and Spain, Cæsar was free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East.

Cæsar master of the West.

The final battle took place on the plain of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's troops, though nearly twice as numerous as Caesar's, were defeated after a severe struggle. Their great leader then fled to Egypt, only to be foully murdered by those who feared a dead Pompey less than a living Cæsar. Pompey's head was sent to Cæsar, but he turned from it with horror. Such was the end of an honest man and an able general, one who should have lived two hundred years earlier, when the ancient Roman virtues still met their reward.

Battle of Pharsalus, 48 B.C.

After Pharsalus, there still remained several years of fighting before Cæsar's victory was complete. Egypt and Asia Minor each required a campaign. In Egypt, the reigning king had deposed his wife Cleopatra. By restoring her to the throne, Cæsar brought Egypt into dependence on Rome. In the course of this contest, Cæsar fired the Egyptian fleet. The flames also consumed a

Cæsar in Egypt and Asia Minor, 48–47 B.C.

[1] Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 32.

large part of the Alexandrian Library[1] — a loss to the world which can never be repaired. On his way back to Italy, Cæsar passed through Asia Minor and crushed Pharnaces, an ambitious son of Mithradates, who had been stirring up revolt. The conqueror sent tidings of his victory in a laconic dispatch, "I came, I saw, I conquered."[2]

GAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR
British Museum

Resistance to Cæsar was not yet over. The friends of the old order made their last stand in Africa. They were crushed in a great battle at Thapsus. Cato the Younger, Cæsar's most bitter foe, was then in command at Utica. Learning that all was lost, Cato determined not to survive the Roman Republic. He read twice through Plato's celebrated dialogue, the *Phædo*, on the immortality of the soul, and then, Stoic that he was, calmly stabbed himself. His death may be said to mark the end of the liberties of Rome. Cæsar now returned home to crown his exploits by a series of splendid triumphs, and to enjoy less than two years of untrammelled power.

Cæsar in Africa, 46 B.C.

163. The Rule of Cæsar, 46–44 B.C.

The task which Cæsar faced was no easy one. It had come upon him suddenly. He had not planned to wreck the republic. He had entered on the Civil War with reluctance, as the only alternative to political ruin. Its conclusion found him sole master of the Roman state. He was no Sulla, voluntarily to relinquish the power gained after such a struggle. Nor, like Sulla, did he intend merely to patch up once more the worn-out republican constitution. Cæsar saw clearly that the time was ripe for wholesale changes in the Roman state. Hitherto we have met in Cæsar a successful politician and an

Cæsar as a statesman.

[1] See page 290.

[2] *Veni, vidi, vici* (Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 37).

unrivalled soldier. Now we shall find in him a broad-minded statesman whose mission it was to lay the enduring foundations of imperial rule.

Powers and position of Cæsar.

The new government which Cæsar brought into being was a monarchy in all but name. He became dictator for life, and held other republican offices, such as the consulship and censorship. He refused the title of king, but accepted as a civil magistrate the name of *imperator*, with which the soldiers had been wont to salute a victorious general. Though he abolished none of the old republican forms, the Senate became simply his advisory council, the assemblies his submissive agents, the consuls, prætors, and tribunes his pliant tools. The laurel wreath, the triumphal dress, the conqueror's sceptre—all proclaimed the autocrat.

Character of Cæsar's rule.

Cæsar used his power wisely and well. No proscriptions or confiscations sullied his victory. He treated his former foes with clemency and even with kindness. He preferred to rule over a contented and happy people. No sooner was domestic tranquillity assured than, with restless energy, he entered on a series of far-reaching reforms.

Reforms at Rome and in Italy.

Cæsar's measures sought to remove the economic evils which a century of discord had made so manifest. By restricting the monthly distribution of grain to those actually in need, he tried to discourage the public charity which was making the capital city a paradise for the idle and the shiftless. By planning great colonies beyond the sea, notably at Corinth and Carthage, he sought to provide farms for the landless citizens of Italy. Other measures aimed, with less success, at the revival of Italian agriculture. His active mind even found time for such matters as the codification of Roman law, the construction of great public works, and the improvement of the coinage and the calendar.[1]

[1] Before Cæsar's reform (46 B.C.) the Roman year of 12 months consisted of 355 days. As this lunar year, like that of the Greeks, was shorter than the solar

Cæsar's reforms in the provinces had an epoch-making character. That device for legalized robbery, known as the provincial system, was overhauled. Cæsar reduced taxes, lessened the burden of their collection, and took into his own hands the appointment of provincial magistrates. Henceforth oppressive governors and swindling publicans had to expect swift, stern punishment from one whose interests included the welfare of both citizens and subjects. By granting Roman citizenship to communities in Gaul and Sicily, he indicated his purpose, as rapidly as possible, to convert the provincials into Romans. It was Cæsar's aim to break down the barriers between Rome and her provinces, to wipe out the distinction between the conquerors and the conquered.

Policy toward the provinces.

Cæsar did not live to complete his task. Like that other colossal figure, Alexander the Great, he perished when his work as a statesman was hardly more than begun. On the Ides of March, 44 B.C., he was struck down in the Senate-house by the daggers of a group of envious and irreconcilable nobles, headed by Brutus and Cassius. He fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, pierced with no less than twenty-three wounds. His body was burnt on a pyre in the Forum,[1] and his friend, Antony, pronounced the funeral eulogy. On the night before the assassination, Cæsar had been dining with friends. The guests began to talk of death, and the question being asked, "What kind of death is the best?" Cæsar answered, "That which is least expected."[2]

Assassination of Cæsar, 44 B.C.

year, it had been necessary to intercalate an additional month, of varying length, in every alternate year. Cæsar adopted the more accurate Egyptian calendar of 365 days, and instituted the system of leap years. His rearrangement made the year 11 minutes, 14 seconds too long. By 1582 this difference had amounted to nearly 10 days. Pope Gregory XIII modified the "Julian Calendar" by calling Oct. 5, 1582, Oct. 15, and continuing the count 10 days in advance. This Gregorian calendar was adopted by Great Britain in 1752, and subsequently by other Protestant countries. It has not won acceptance in Russia and Greece. The difference between the two systems — the Old Style and the New Style — is now about 13 days.

[1] The altar which marked the site of the funeral pyre has recently been discovered.

[2] Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 87.

Consequences of Cæsar's death.

In the light of all the possibilities of beneficent government which Cæsar was revealing, his cowardly murder becomes one of the most stupendous follies recorded in history. Cæsar's death could not restore the republic. It served only to prolong disorder and strife within the Roman state. As Cicero himself said, hearing the news, "The tyrant is dead; the tyranny still lives."

164. Antony and Octavian, 44–31 B.C.

Antony becomes Cæsar's successor.

The murderers of Cæsar called themselves the "liberators" of the republic. They thought all Rome would applaud their deed, but the contrary was true. The senatorial order remained lukewarm. The people, instead of flocking to their support, mourned the loss of a friend and benefactor. Soon the conspirators found themselves in great peril. Cæsar's friend and lieutenant, Marcus Antonius (Antony), who became sole consul after Cæsar's death, quickly made himself master of the situation. Brutus and Cassius were forced to withdraw to the provinces which had been previously assigned to them by Cæsar, leaving Antony to rule Rome as his successor.

A rival in the young Octavian.

Antony's hope of reigning supreme before long was disturbed by the appearance of a new rival. Cæsar, in his will, had made his grandnephew, Octavian,[1] his heir. The latter now came to Rome to claim the inheritance. In that sickly, studious youth people did not at first recognize the masterful personality he was soon to exhibit. They rather re-echoed Cicero's sentiment that "the young man was to be praised, complimented, and got rid of."[2] But Octavian easily made himself a power, winning the populace by paying Cæsar's legacies to them, and conciliating the senatorial party by siding with it against Antony. Men now began to talk of Octavian as the destined restorer of the republic.

[1] His name was Octavius, but after his adoption by Cæsar he called himself Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus.

[2] Cicero, *Letters*, xi, 20.

Octavian, however, entertained other designs. He had never been sincere in his support of the Senate, and the distrustful policy of that body soon converted him into an active foe. From fighting Antony, Octavian turned to alliance with him. The two antagonists made up their differences, and with Lepidus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, as a third ally, marched on Rome at the head of their legions. The city fell again under military rule. The three men then united in the Second Triumvirate with full authority to govern and reorganize the state.

The Second Triumvirate, 43 B.C.

The advent of this new tyranny was signalized by a proscription almost as bloody as Sulla's. Cicero, who had won the hatred of Antony by his fiery speeches against him, was the most illustrious victim. The old statesman made only a feeble effort to escape, and when the assassins came, met his end with fine courage. Over two thousand persons, mainly men of high rank, were slain. The triumvirs by this massacre firmly established their rule at Rome and in the West.

A proscription.

In the East, where Brutus and Cassius had gathered a formidable force, the triumvirs were not to win without a struggle. It took place on the great plain of Philippi in Macedonia. The double battle fought there was the most considerable in Roman history up to this time. It ended in the suicide of the republican leaders and the dispersal of their troops. This was the last attempt to restore the republic by force of arms.

Battles of Philippi, 42 B.C.

165. Civil War between Antony and Octavian

Though the republic had been overthrown, it remained to be seen who would be master of the new empire, Antony or Octavian. The triumvirate lasted for more than ten years, but during this period the incompetent Lepidus was set aside by his stronger colleagues. The two remaining members then divided between them the Roman world. Octavian took Italy and the West; Antony took the East, with Alexandria as his capital.

Division of the Roman world.

In the western half of the empire Octavian ruled quietly and with success. Men were already congratulating themselves on the return of peace under a second Cæsar. In a few years Octavian, from an obscure boy of eighteen, had grown to be one of the most powerful personalities of his age.

Octavian in the West.

In the eastern half of the empire things did not go so well. Antony was clever, but fond of luxury and vice. He had married a sister of Octavian, but he soon grew tired of her and put her away for the fascinating Cleopatra.[1] The Roman world was startled by tidings that she had been proclaimed "queen of kings," and that to her and her sons had been given the richest provinces in the East. It was even rumoured that Cleopatra, having enslaved Antony with her charms, planned to be enthroned as queen at Rome.

Antony in the East.

Antony's disgraceful conduct aroused the Roman people. They willingly followed Octavian to a war against one who seemed a national enemy. A naval battle in the Bay of Actium, on the coast of Epirus, decided the issue.[2] The fight had scarcely begun when Cleopatra and Antony sailed away, leaving their fleet to take care of itself. Octavian pursued the infatuated pair into Egypt. Antony committed suicide, and Cleopatra, rather than be led a captive in a Roman triumph, followed his example. With the death of Cleopatra the famous dynasty of the Ptolemies[3] came to an end. Egypt henceforth formed a province of the Roman Empire.

Battle of Actium, 31 B.C.

Octavian, on his return to Rome, enjoyed the honours of a three days' triumph. As the grand pageant moved along the Sacred Way through the Forum, and thence to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, men noted that the magistrates, instead of heading the procession as was the custom, followed in

The triumph of Octavian.

[1] See page 424.

[2] Actium was the only important sea fight since the First Punic War, as well as the last of much consequence until well on in the Middle Ages.

[3] See page 279.

the conqueror's train. It was a significant change. Octavian, not the magistrates of Rome, now ruled the Roman world.

166. The End of an Epoch

The battle of Actium and the accession of Octavian to supreme power brought the most famous period in Roman history to a close. During this time of storm and stress, Rome produced some of her ablest generals, some of her wisest statesmen. The two Gracchi, Marius, Sulla, Cicero, Cato, Pompey, and Julius Cæsar are numbered with the foremost men of antiquity. During this time, also, the foreign and the domestic affairs of Rome presented alike an absorbing interest. Externally, it was a question whether the great dominion built up about the Mediterranean should survive intact or be parcelled out, in the West among the barbarians, in the East among Oriental monarchs. From that fate the arms of Marius and Cæsar, Sulla and Pompey wrought deliverance. Internally, it was a question whether republican institutions should endure, or be merged into the broader, stabler fabric of imperial rule. The one-man power, established by Julius Cæsar and afterwards confirmed and strengthened by Octavian, furnished the answer to this second question.

Character of the period, 133–31 B.C.

The republic, indeed, was doomed. A hundred years of dissension and civil warfare proclaimed clearly enough the failure of the old order. Rome was a city-state suddenly called to the responsibilities of universal rule. Both the machinery of her government and the morals of her people were inadequate for so huge a task. The gradual revolution which changed this Roman city-state into imperial Rome, judged by its results, is perhaps the most momentous movement in the annals of mankind. Let us summarize its course.

Doom of the republic.

At the opening of this period we found Roman society corrupted and enfeebled as the result of foreign conquests. We learned how supreme power more and more tended to settle in the hands of a narrow oligarchy — the senatorial nobility. Its dishonesty

and weakness soon led to efforts at reform. The attempts of the Gracchi to overthrow the Senate's position and restore popular sovereignty ended in disaster. Then, in quick succession, arose a series of military leaders who aimed to secure by the sword what could no longer be obtained through constitutional and legal means. Marius, a great general, but no politician, could only break down and destroy. Sulla, a sincere but narrow-minded statesman, could do no more than prop up the already tottering structure of senatorial rule. Pompey soon undid that work and left the constitution to become again the sport of rival soldiers. Cæsar, triumphing over Pompey, gained a position of unchallenged supremacy. Temporarily interrupted by Cæsar's sudden death, imperial power was permanently restored in the person of Octavian. Thus one century sufficed to destroy the republic.

Summary of the revolutionary movement.

But the Romans were not yet an old and worn-out people. On the ruins of the old republican order it was still possible to build up a new imperial system in which good government, peace, and prosperity should prevail for more than two hundred years. During this period, as we shall soon learn, Rome accomplished her real, her enduring work, for civilization.

The future.

167. Latin Literature under the Later Republic

The stirring times of the last century of the republic are remarkable for the rapid development of Latin literature. Its beginnings go back to the middle of the third century B.C., when some knowledge of the Greek language became increasingly common at Rome. The earlier writers did little original work, and usually were content to translate and adapt the productions of Greek authors for Roman audiences.

Rise of Latin literature.

The first Latin author whose works have reached us in something like their original form and extent is the playwright Plautus. His comedies were derived entirely from Greek sources. He

found his model, however, not in the political comedy as represented by Aristophanes,[1] but in the even more popular Greek plays which were composed in the fourth century by the successors of that famous dramatist. This later Greek comedy has almost entirely perished, but from its survivals in the works of Plautus we can see that it resembled our own comic drama in dealing with social life and popular manners. The picture, we may hope, was overdrawn, for Plautus' plays are full of most unpleasing characters — braggart and cowardly soldiers, extravagant wives, and lying, thievish children. Plautus is not a really great author, but his productions are lively and interesting.

Comedies of Plautus, 254–184 B.C.

A poet of finer talent than Plautus was his successor, Terence. He, too, writes as an Athenian, describing Greek scenes in the Latin language, but his work is characterized by a grace of style and delicacy of treatment quite foreign to the earlier playwright. With Terence, Roman comedy as a form of literature concludes its brief course.

Comedies of Terence, 185–159 B.C.

The Romans, during this period, were gradually discovering the capabilities of their language for prose composition. The republican institutions of Rome, like those of Athens, were highly favourable to the art of public speaking. It was the development of oratory which did most to mould the Latin language into fitness for the varied forms of prose. One of the first works of Latin prose is a treatise on agriculture written by the orator and statesman, Cato the Censor. Cato died in the middle of the second century B.C. After him nearly seventy-five years elapsed before Latin prose was matured and perfected by the genius of Cicero.

Prose composition.

Cicero holds an unique place among Roman authors. Writers before him have only an historical interest. He is the first Roman author whose works make a real claim as literature, and as literature of a very high quality. He was not, indeed, an original thinker. But Cicero created a style for Latin

Cicero, 106–43 B.C.

[1] See page 250.

prose composition which has been admired and imitated by men of letters, even to our own day. Latin, in his hands, became a magnificent instrument for the expression of human thought.

Cicero's qualities as an author are perhaps best shown in his *Orations*, which are still studied as models of literary excellence.

Cicero's works.

Very different in style, but none the less inimitable in character, are the numerous *Epistles* which he wrote to friends and correspondents in all parts of the Roman world. Besides their historical interest, Cicero's letters are models of what good letters ought to be — the expression of the writer's real thoughts and feelings in simple, unstilted phrase. Cicero also composed a number of *Dialogues*, chiefly on philosophical themes. Most of them are popularizations of Greek writings. If not very profound, they are delightfully written, and long served as textbooks in the schools. Some of them, such as the two beautiful essays on *Friendship* and *Old Age*, will never lose their charm. So it happens that Cicero, besides being one of the first statesmen of his time, is easily the leading literary figure during the republican period.

Another great statesman — Julius Cæsar — won success in literature. As an orator he was admitted by his contemporaries to stand second only to Cicero. None of his speeches have survived — to the great loss of history and literature. We have, however, his invaluable *Commentaries* on the Gallic and Civil wars. These works, though brief and in most parts rather dull, are highly praised for their simple, concise style, and their mastery of the art of rapid narration.

Histories by Cæsar, 102–44 B.C.

A younger contemporary of Cæsar, the historian Sallust, was the author of two short works on the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War*, which are notable for their careful workmanship and excellent style. Sallust was the first Roman writer who broke with the custom of writing history after the fashion of chronicles. Like Thucydides, he endeavoured not only to describe, but also to explain events.

The historian Sallust, 86–35 B.C.

During the last century of the republic, true Latin poetry comes into existence with Lucretius and Catullus. Both were greatly influenced by Greek models, but both had originality and power of utterance which give them real eminence. Lucretius attempted to expound in verse the Greek philosophy of Epicureanism. His great poem, *On the Nature of Things*, is a work of mingled science and speculation. It deals with the creation of the world, the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization, and the nature and fate of the human soul. In spite of the difficulty of writing scientific poetry, Lucretius succeeded in composing a narrative often lighted up with flashes of wonderful imaginative power.

Poetry by Lucretius, 99–55 B.C.

Catullus, a somewhat younger contemporary of Lucretius, died at too early an age to reveal fully his genius. Imitating Sappho and other Greek lyrical poets, Catullus expressed in verse his varying moods and passions. He was the first to show how the Latin language, naturally stiff and reserved, could be shaped into songs distinguished for melody, tenderness, and grace.

The poet Catullus, 87–54 B.C.

The following specimen from his writings is characteristic of the poet's delicate feeling and charm :

On the Death of Lesbia's Sparrow

Loves and Graces mourn with me—
Mourn, fair youths, where'er ye be !
Dead my Lesbia's sparrow is—
Than her very eyes more dear ;
For he made her dainty cheer,
Knew her well, as any maid
Knows her mother ; never strayed
From her bosom, but would go
Hopping round her, to and fro ;
And to her, and her alone,
Chirrupt with such pretty tone.
Now he treads that gloomy track
Whence none ever may come back.

Out upon you, and your power,
Which all fairest things devour,
Orcus' gloomy shades, that e'er
Ye took my bird that was so fair!
Ah, the pity of it! Thou,
Poor bird, thy doing 'tis, that now
My loved one's eyes are swollen and red
With weeping for her darling dead.

Translated by SIR THEODORE MARTIN

CHAPTER XIII

THE EARLY EMPIRE, 31 B.C.–180 A.D.

168. Augustus

"When," says Tacitus,[1] "after the destruction of Brutus and Cassius, there was no longer any army of the Commonwealth, when Pompeius was crushed in Sicily, and when, with Lepidus pushed aside and Antonius slain, even the Julian faction had only Cæsar left to lead it, then, dropping the title of triumvir, and giving out that he was a consul, and was satisfied with a tribune's authority for the protection of the people, Augustus won over the soldiers with gifts, the populace with cheap corn, and all men with the sweets of repose, and so grew greater by degrees, while he concentrated in himself the functions of the Senate, the magistrates, and the laws. He was wholly unopposed, for the boldest spirits had fallen in battle, or in the proscription, while the remaining nobles, the readier they were to be slaves, were raised the higher by wealth and promotion, so that, aggrandized by revolution, they preferred the safety of the present to the dangerous past."

The battle of Actium had made Octavian master of the Roman world. He ruled it for nearly half a century. Few persons have set their stamp more indelibly on the pages of history than Octavian, whom we may now call by his more familiar name *Augustus* ("Majestic").[2] It was a title once

The new ruler.

[1] *Annals*, Bk. I, ch. iii.

[2] The name survives in that of one of our months. To flatter the emperor, *mensis Sextilis*, the sixth month of the old Roman year, was changed to *mensis Augustus*. Similarly, our July is the Roman *mensis Julius*, named in honour of Julius Cæsar.

reserved to the gods, but henceforth borne by all Roman emperors as their chief mark of distinction. Augustus was no military genius to dazzle the world with his achievements. He was the cool and passionless statesman who took advantage of a memorable opportunity to remake the Roman state, and who succeeded in the attempt. Absolute power, which destroys weaker men, with Augustus brought out the nobler elements of character. From the successful leader of a party he became the wise and impartial ruler of an empire.

Personality of Augustus.

A biography of Augustus by the Greek Plutarch has been lost, but we still possess an interesting character sketch from the pen of Suetonius, a Roman writer of the second century A.D. The emperor had a handsome presence, says Suetonius, and kept his good looks throughout life. Strong features, piercing eyes, and a compact, well-knit figure indicated a man of firmness and self-restraint. His tastes, both in eating and drinking, were of the simplest. "No Jew ever keeps his Sabbath fast," Augustus once wrote to his stepson, Tiberius, "as strictly as I have done to-day."[1] His mansion on the Palatine Hill was less magnificent than that of many a Roman millionaire. He showed, we are told, a particular aversion to splendid palaces, and razed to the ground a luxurious villa which had been built by his daughter Julia. He dressed simply, and in accordance with ancient custom wore nothing that had not been woven by members of his own family. He refused to be called "Lord" (*Dominus*), and would not allow his favourite grandchildren to address him by that title, even in jest. He kept his house open to all, and gave audience to even the humblest citizen. To a supplicant who with trembling hands presented a petition, he wittily remarked, "You act as if you were offering a piece of money to an elephant."[2] Augustus, in short, avoided the trappings of royalty, and throughout his reign played the part of a typical Roman noble. No man ever seemed less an emperor.

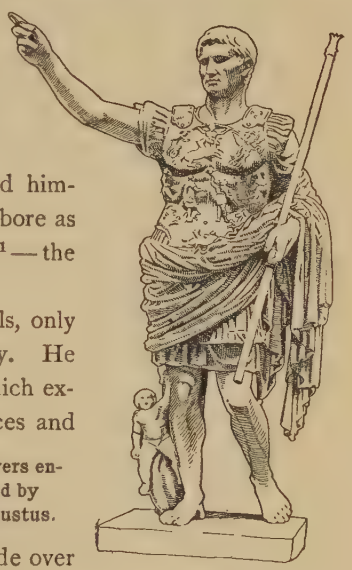
[1] Suetonius, *Cæsar Augustus*, 76.

[2] Suetonius, *Cæsar Augustus*, 53.

169. The Rule of Augustus

Yet in reality Augustus possessed an almost unlimited power. His position was that of a king, as supreme as Julius Cæsar had ever been. Better, however, than Julius Cæsar, Augustus realized that an undisguised autocracy would only outrage public opinion and invite fresh plots and rebellions. Augustus intended to be the real master, but he would also be careful to conceal his authority under republican forms. The emperor was neither king, dictator, nor triumvir. He called himself a republican magistrate, and bore as his proudest title that of *Princeps*[1] — the "First Citizen" of the state.

The new government.



AUGUSTUS
Vatican Museum, Rome

Augustus gave up the externals, only to keep the essentials, of royalty. He held the proconsular authority, which extended over the frontier provinces and their legions. He held the tribunician authority, which made his person sacred. As perpetual tribune, he could preside over the popular assemblies, manage the Senate and change its membership at pleasure, and veto the acts of almost any magistrate. In the provinces and at home in the capital city, the emperor was supreme.

Powers enjoyed by Augustus.

On the whole, this compromise system worked well. It met the needs of the age and gave Augustus a peaceful throne. After forty-five years of rule, his position was more firmly established than at the outset of his reign.

A successful compromise.

The emperors who came after Augustus were not so successful in

[1] Hence our word "prince."

preserving the old republican forms. Before long those venerable bodies, the centuriate and tribal assemblies,[1] lost the right of electing magistrates. Their legislative powers also became a solemn farce, since no measures were submitted to them which had not been carefully drafted beforehand by the higher authorities. Though the two assemblies survived, they lacked any real power. This was not a loss to the world. Rome was no longer a small city-state to be ruled by mass meetings in the Forum. A gathering made up of the rabble of Rome, ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder, was scarcely a body fitted to represent the Roman Empire.

Decadence of the assemblies.

The Senate likewise decayed. Augustus left it with considerable authority, but more and more it became simply an advisory council, which the emperors consulted or not, as they chose. Its great name remained, however, and even in the fourth century of our era it was an honour to be a senator of Rome.

The position of the Senate.

The old magistracies of the republic lost most of their importance under the new government. Tribunes of the people were still chosen, but their occupation was gone when the emperor held the tribunician power himself. It flattered the pride of an ancient Roman to be chosen to the position, yet the dignity was "the shadow of a shade." There were still prætors, quæstors, and ædiles, but some of their principal duties were taken away from them by the new public officials whom Augustus created. The consulship continued to be a position of supreme honour which even Augustus was willing to enjoy. The consuls, nevertheless, were the servants of the emperor, dependent on him for election, and unable to take any important step without his approval. Thus the names and forms of republicanism prevailed — and little more. As a Roman writer remarked, the emperor had "clothed himself with the republic."

Decline of the republican offices.

Augustus ruled a vast realm. In it all the dreams of world

[1] See pages 332-333.

Longitude from Greenwich
North Sea
Baltic Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
English Channel
BRITAIN
GERMANY
SARMATIA
Vandals
Suevi
Huns
Alans
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Volga R.
Don R.
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
Danube R.
Rhine R.
GAUL
SPAIN
ITALY
Rome
Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
DACIA
ILLYRIA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
GREECE
ASIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
EMPIRE OF THE PARTHIANS
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
PALESTINE
EGYPT
ARABIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
CYRENAICA
Nile R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
THE EXPANSION OF
ROMAN DOMINIONS
31 B. C.-- 180 A. D.
Roman Possessions in 31 B. C.
Additional Possessions at the Death of Augustus, 14 A. D.
Additional Possessions at the Death of Trajan, 117 A. D.
Chief Lines of Road in the Empire
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

dominion which Alexander had cherished were more than realized. At the accession of Augustus, the empire included nearly the entire circle of the Mediterranean lands. On the west and south, it found natural barriers in the Atlantic Ocean and the African desert. On the east, the Euphrates River had formed, since the defeat of Crassus,[1] the dividing line between Rome and Parthia. Only the northern boundary, beyond which lay the Germanic barbarians, remained unsettled. Now that Augustus, by virtue of the proconsular power, was sole master of the provincial armies, he could round off the Roman possessions by additional conquests, and protect them by adequate frontiers.

Boundaries of the empire.

In the wide, impetuous Danube, Augustus found an admirable boundary for much of the Roman territory between the Black Sea and the Rhine. At the very beginning of his reign, he annexed the district south of the lower course of the Danube, and formed it into the province of Mœsia (modern Servia and Bulgaria). The line of the upper Danube was later secured by the creation of three new provinces on the northern slopes of the Alps.[2] Henceforth the Balkan peninsula, and Italy on the northeast, where the Alpine passes are low and comparatively easy, were shielded from attack. The work of conquering and organizing the four Danubian provinces fell chiefly to the emperor's stepson, Tiberius.

The Danube boundary.

But the northern boundary was not yet completely determined. Since the conquests of Julius Cæsar, the division between Gaul and Germany had been fixed at the Rhine. Augustus wanted to extend it to the Elbe, and so provide a boundary at once shorter and easier to defend. The Roman advance in this region was rapid. Five years of fighting brought control of the wide area between the Rhine and the Elbe.

Conquest of Germany.

Augustus and his ministers no doubt believed that another important province had been added to the empire. They were

[1] See page 423. [2] The provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, and Rætia.

soon undeceived. In the year 9 A.D., the Germans suddenly revolted under a native chieftain named Arminius. Three Roman

legions with their general Varus were caught unawares in the gloomy depths of the Teutoberg Forest. Scarcely a man escaped. The soldiers who surrendered were crucified, or buried alive, or offered as a sacrifice on the altars of the heathen gods. A Roman army had seldom met so terrible a defeat.

Battle of the Teutoberg Forest, 9 A.D.

Augustus had not the heart to renew the conflict. The old emperor, long accustomed to tidings of victory, could only murmur

sadly, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!"[1] He abandoned all hope of conquest in Germany, and advised his successors to content themselves with the boundary of the Rhine. Henceforth that river became the barrier between Roman civilization and Germanic barbarism. The free peoples of Germany who might, save for this event, have been Romanized as were their neighbours, the Celts of Gaul, kept their vigour and their independence. Had Rome conquered them, the Germanic invasions, which four centuries later broke up the empire, might never have taken place. For these reasons the battle in the Teutoberg Forest is rightly regarded as one of the world's decisive conflicts.[2]

Significance of the failure in Germany.

170. The Augustan Age, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.

The clash of arms on the distant frontiers scarcely disturbed the serenity of the Roman world. Within the boundaries of the empire, the Augustan Age was an age of peace. As the poet Horace wrote, "Now faith and peace, and good repute, modesty of the olden time and manly worth, so long forgotten, dare to return, and plenty appears to view, rich with her o'erflowing horn."[3] The closing of the Temple of Janus[4] fittingly announced the dawn of a new and happier era.

Peace.

It was an age of prosperity. Augustus, with unwearied devotion, turned to the task of ruling wisely and well his gigantic realm. He followed the example of Julius Cæsar in his insistence on just government of the provincials. Trade was fostered by the building of well-paved roads and by the suppression of piracy on the seas. Distant regions of the empire were brought into closer relations with Rome by a state postal service such as had existed in the Persian Empire.[5] A

Prosperity.

[1] Suetonius, *Cæsar Augustus*, 23.

[2] Arminius (or Hermann) has become the national hero of Germany. In 1875 a colossal statue of him was set up in the Teutoberg Forest, not far from the reputed site of the battle.

[3] Horace, *Carmen Sæculare*, 57–60.

[4] See page 321.

[5] See page 68.

census was taken of the wealth and population of the provinces, in order that taxes might be justly assessed. These reforms were probably suggested to Augustus by personal observation, for he is said to have visited nearly every quarter of the Roman world. The activities of the emperor thus furnished a model for the shrewd and businesslike management of the provinces — a model followed by many of his successors.

It was an age of loyalty. Augustus realized that a lasting empire must rest, not on force, but on the fidelity of its people. He sought, therefore, not only to conciliate the provincials, but also to make the Italians and Romans comfortable and contented. In Italy, he put down brigandage, repaired the public highways, and planted many colonies in unsettled districts. In Rome, he established a regular police service, organized the supply of grain and water, and continued, on a larger scale than ever, the public games. He thus took care that no one should starve, or become so miserable as to murmur or rebel.

Loyalty.

The unceasing energy of Augustus displayed itself in many other directions. Rome under the empire became the most magnificent city in the ancient world.[1] So many were the public works of Augustus that he could boast he had "found Rome of brick and left it of marble."[2] He was also a generous patron of letters. Some of the most famous Latin authors add lustre to his reign.

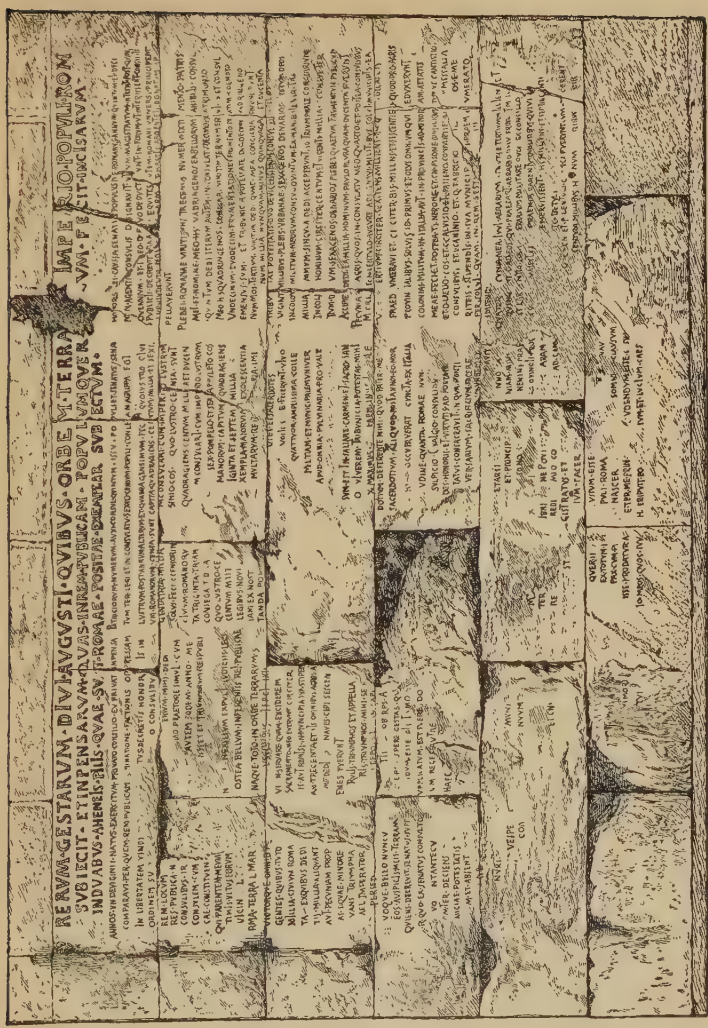
Augustus as a builder and literary patron.

Augustus was very successful in his efforts to bring back the old Roman religion to a place of honour and importance. He restored numerous temples that had fallen into decay, and erected new shrines in every part of the empire. He revived ancient sacrifices, and celebrated with pomp and majesty festivals that had been neglected. The

Augustus as a reformer of religion.

[1] For a description of ancient Rome, see pages 631–637.

[2] Suetonius, *Cæsar Augustus*, 29.



Monumentum Ancyranum

An inscription on the walls of a temple at Ancyra (modern Angora) in Asia Minor.

long-vacant priesthoods were filled with new officers. Augustus himself became Pontifex Maximus,[1] the highest religious

[1] See page 326, note 1.

dignitary of Rome. Every emperor after him bore the title of supreme pontiff. These reforms gave fresh life to the state religion for almost four hundred years.

Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.

Augustus enjoyed nearly half a century of power. Shortly before his death he composed a brief statement of all his acts from his nineteenth year — "The Deeds of the Divine Augustus." The emperor in his will ordered that the record should be inscribed on bronze tablets and placed before his mausoleum at Rome. A copy of this memorial is still on the walls of a ruined temple in Asia Minor. As the aged ruler lay dying, his self-control did not desert him, and his last words, if truly reported, breathe the spirit of his life: "What think you of the comedy, my friends? Have I fairly played my part in it? If so, greet my exit with applause."[1]

Deification of Augustus.

Even during the lifetime of Augustus, worship had been offered to him by the provincials. After his death, the Senate gave him divine honours and enrolled his name among the gods. Temples rose in every province to the deified Augustus, and altars smoked with sacrifices to him. Later emperors, well pleased to see a halo of awe and sanctity gather round them, demanded adoration as "Lord and God" even before their careers on earth had closed.

Explanation of emperor worship.

Emperor worship, though so strange to us, was not unnatural in the first century A.D. Eastern peoples had long been accustomed to revere their kings. The Greeks in their hero worship raised to divinity after death those who had founded cities or had done deeds of splendid service to mankind. Then, too, the universal custom of ancestor worship, together with the reverence for the household *genius*,[2] prepared the Roman mind to adore the memory of the emperor, the father of the state.

Emperor worship spread rapidly over the ancient world, and

[1] Suetonius, *Cæsar Augustus*, 99.

[2] See page 320.

helped to unite all classes in allegiance to the new government. It provided a universal religion for a universal empire. Yet just at the time when this new cult was taking root, and in the midst of the happy reign of Augustus, there was born in Bethlehem of Judea, the Christ whose religion was to overcome the worship of the emperors, and with it all other faiths of pagan antiquity.[1]

Importance of emperor worship.

171. The Julian and Claudian Cæsars, 14–68 A.D.

For more than half a century following the death of Augustus his place was filled by four emperors who, either by descent or adoption, claimed kinship with himself and the mighty Julius. They are known as the Julian and Claudian Cæsars.[2] Though none of these princes had the commanding genius of Augustus, two of them were excellent rulers who ably maintained the standards set by that great emperor. Two others, however, were vicious tyrants, the recital of whose follies and crimes occupies much space in the works of ancient historians. Fortunately, their doings and misdoings exerted little influence outside the circle of the imperial court and the capital city. Rome itself might be disturbed by conspiracy and bloodshed, but Italy and the provinces kept their prosperity. It has been well said that during this period the empire was better than the emperors.

The four Julian Cæsars.

Of the four successors of Augustus, the first, and by far the ablest, was his stepson, Tiberius. His merits as a soldier and administrator were well known to Augustus, who, even during his own lifetime, granted Tiberius a share in the government. Despite this careful preparation, the conscientious, painstaking emperor could not gain the secure position enjoyed by Augustus. Tiberius seems to have been a stern, proud man, with a disposition

Tiberius, 14–37 A.D.

[1] Jesus was born probably in 4 B.C., the last year of the reign of Herod, whom the triumvirs, Antony and Octavian, had placed on the throne of Judea, 37 B.C.

[2] The Roman emperor was generally called "Cæsar" by the provincials. See, for example, *Matthew*, xxii, 17-21, or *Acts*, xxv, 10–12. This title survives in the German *Kaiser* and the Russian *Tsar*, or *Czar*.

somewhat moody and suspicious. The city rabble disliked him, because he cut down the state gifts of grain and failed to amuse them with gladiatorial shows. To keep the capital in order, Tiberius brought into Rome a body of picked troops, called the prætorians. They served as the emperor's household guard, but ere long we shall find them making and unmaking emperors at will. Tiberius was even more unpopular with the nobles, who wished for the restoration of the republic and of their own power. He did not try to win them by gentle means, and they in turn repaid him with plots against his life. To the members of this class, Tiberius appeared the worst of tyrants. The emperor finally abandoned Rome in disgust, and passed the last years of his life on the lovely island of Capri.[1] In spite of his faults, Tiberius was a capable, vigorous ruler. "Let my subjects hate me," he said, "provided they approve my actions."[2]

TIBERIUS

Tiberius was followed by his grandnephew, who is best known by the nickname of Caligula (Little Boot). This youth had a diseased mind, and his sudden elevation to the throne turned him into a madman. After spending all the savings of Tiberius in extravagance and dissipation, Caligula began to raise money by condemning rich men to death and seizing their property. "Would that the Roman people had but one neck,"[3] he exclaimed, wishing that he might behead them all with a single stroke. After four years of riotous rule, Caligula was murdered by his guard.

Caligula, 37–41 A.D.

The Senate, which had had enough of emperors, hoped now to restore the republic. But the prætorians, while plundering Caligula's palace, discovered his uncle Claudius, who had hidden behind a curtain. He was dragged forth, not to be slain, but to

[1] See page 130. [2] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 59. [3] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 30.

be saluted as *imperator*. Claudius was the first prince to be made by the army — a bad example often followed afterwards. The new emperor, though a weak, timid man, did not lack common sense and ability to rule. His lasting monument is the Claudian Aqueduct, an immense work bringing water to Rome from a distance of about forty-five miles. The remains of its lofty arches form the most conspicuous landmark of the Campagna.[1]

Claudius, 41–54 A.D.

The reign of Claudius was marked by the beginning of the extension of the empire over Britain. For nearly a hundred years after Cæsar's expeditions, no further attempt had been made to annex that island. But its nearness to Gaul, already thoroughly Romanized, brought the country within the sphere of Roman influence. Claudius sent the legions across the Channel in 43 A.D., and himself hurried over to receive their congratulations for a victory which his lieutenant had won.

Conquest of Britain begun, 43 A.D.

The thorough conquest of Britain proved to be no easy task. Its hardy Celtic tribes took no more kindly than the Germans to the rule of foreign masters. A few years later, during the reign of the emperor Nero, the work of subjugation came near being undone by a widespread revolt. It was headed by Boadicea, queen of a powerful British tribe. The Roman governor, it is said, treated her with the deepest indignity, and in punishment for a petty offence, had her publicly flogged. Boadicea, a woman of spirit and determination, called on her people to rise against the foreign tyrants. They answered her call with enthusiasm, slaughtered a Roman legion and sacked London, even then a flourishing town. But in spite of their numbers and their ardour, the Britons could not drive the Romans from the island. The revolt was finally crushed. Boadicea, its gallant leader, committed suicide by poison.

Revolt of Boadicea, 61 A.D.

The Romans, up to this time, had won only the southern part

[1] See the illustration, page 348.

of Britain. By the close of the first century, they had conquered the country afterwards known as Wales, and had pushed up to the north as far as the Scottish Highlands. All the island to this boundary formed the province of Britannia.[1] It remained a part of the empire for more than three hundred years. Under Rome, what had been a barbarous region entered within the circle of civilized lands.

The new province of Britain.

The reign of Claudius presents a refreshing contrast to that of his stepson Nero. The latter was a boy of only seventeen, when his mother presented him to the prætorians as the future emperor. At first Nero ruled well, for he had wise ministers. After he broke away from their control, the youthful emperor began a career almost as wild as Caligula's. Nero cared little for affairs of state, but amused himself by appearing on the stage as an actor and singer, even as a charioteer in the circus. This imperial artist was an expert in the shedding of blood; his mother, his wife, Seneca his tutor, and the son of Claudius, were all numbered among his victims. At last the legions in several of the provinces revolted, and the Senate, taking courage, proclaimed Nero a public enemy. To avoid capture the tyrant stabbed himself, exclaiming, "What an artist dies with me!"[2]

Nero, 54–68 A.D.

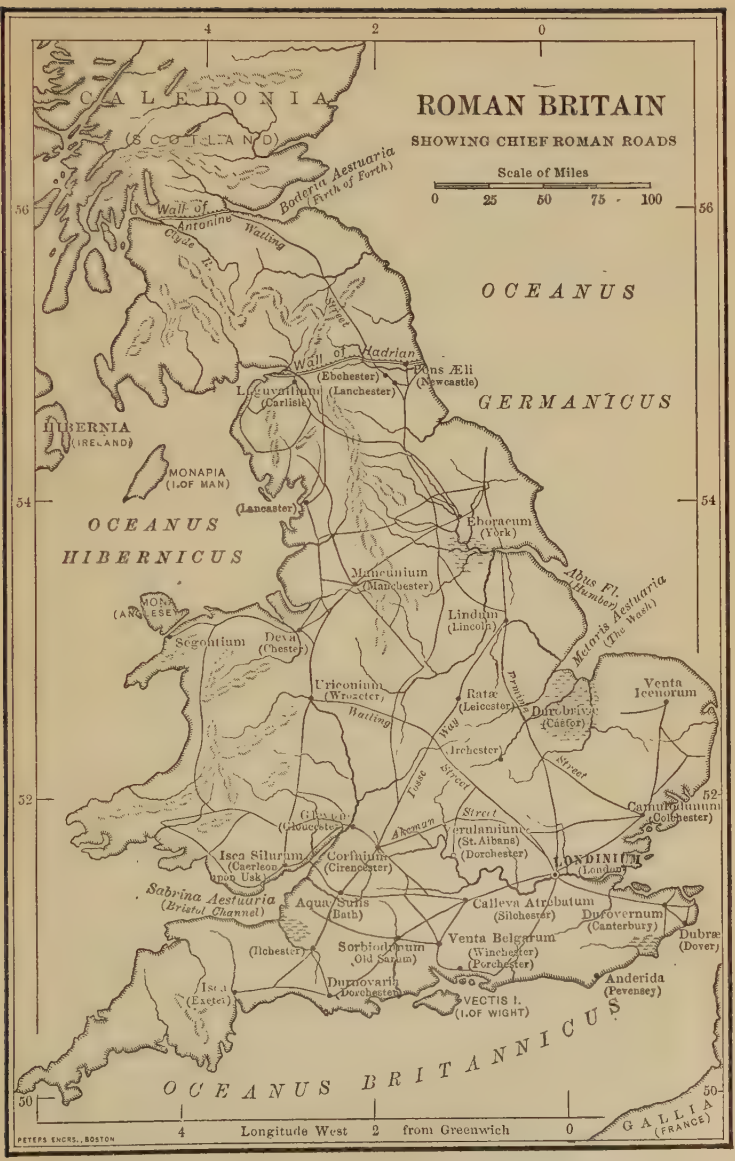
During Nero's reign half of Rome was laid in ashes by a great fire which raged for a week. The new Rome which speedily arose was a much finer city than the old, with wide, straight streets instead of narrow alleys, and houses of good stone in place of wooden hovels. Except for the loss of the temples and public buildings, the fire was a blessing in disguise.[3]

Burning of Rome, 64 A.D.

[1] Ireland (*Hibernia*) and Scotland (*Caledonia*), north of the Firth of Forth, were never included within the Roman Empire.

[2] Suetonius, *Nero*, 49.

[3] Nero took advantage of this disaster to appropriate the district between the Palatine and Esquiline hills as a site for an immense palace, called the Golden House, from the amount of gold ornament used in its decoration. This imperial residence became the wonder of the restored Rome. It was much more than a dwelling, for the grounds extended over a mile in length and contained ponds, parks, and forests. To adorn it treasures of art were brought from Greece and


ROMAN BRITAIN
SHOWING CHIEF ROMAN ROADS
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100
CALEDONIA
(SCOTLAND)
Bodotria Aestuaria (Firth of Forth)
Wall of Antonine
Watling
Clyde R.
Tweed R.
OCEANUS
GERMANICUS
Wall of Hadrian
Pons Ælii (Newcastle)
(Ebchester)
Luguvallium (Carlisle)
(Lanchester)
HIBERNIA (IRELAND)
MONAPIA (I. OF MAN)
(Lancaster)
OCEANUS HIBERNICUS
Eboracum (York)
Abus Fl. (Humber)
Metaris Aestuaria (The Wash)
Mancunium (Manchester)
MONA (ANGLESEY)
Lindum (Lincoln)
Deva (Chester)
Segontium
Ratæ (Leicester)
Venta Icenorum
Uriconium (Wroxeter)
Watling Way
Ermine Street
Durobrivæ (Castor)
Irchester
Fosse Street
Camulodunum (Colchester)
Glevum (Gloucester)
Akeman Street
Verulamium (St. Albans)
(Dorchester)
Isca Silurum (Caerleon upon Usk)
Corinium (Cirencester)
LONDINIUM (London)
Sabrina Aestuaria (Bristol Channel)
Aquæ Sulis (Bath)
Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester)
Durovernum (Canterbury)
Dubræ (Dover)
(Ilchester)
Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum)
Venta Belgarum (Winchester)
(Porchester)
Isca (Exeter)
Durnovaria (Dorchester)
Anderida (Pevensey)
VECTIS I. (I. OF WIGHT)
OCEANUS BRITANNICUS
GALLIA (FRANCE)
56
54
52
50
4 2 0
Longitude West from Greenwich
PETERS ENGRS., BOSTON

172. The Flavian Cæsars, 69–96 A.D.

With the fall of Nero the dynasty that traced its descent from Julius and Augustus became extinct. There was no one who could legally claim the vacant throne. The Senate, which in theory had the appointment of a successor, proved too weak to exercise its power. The prætorian guard and the legions on the frontiers, profiting by the disorder, placed their own candidates in the field. The Roman world fell into anarchy, and Italy became once more the seat of civil war. Three emperors in rapid succession were raised to the purple. Out of the turmoil and disorder arose at length the strong figure of Flavius Vespasianus. Supported by the armies of the East, he battled his way to the throne.

A year of military revolution, 68–69 A.D.

Vespasian and his two sons who followed him are called the Flavian Cæsars. Their rule marked a happier period in Roman history. Vespasian was a simple, sturdy soldier, experienced in public affairs, and just the kind of man to restore good order at home and abroad.

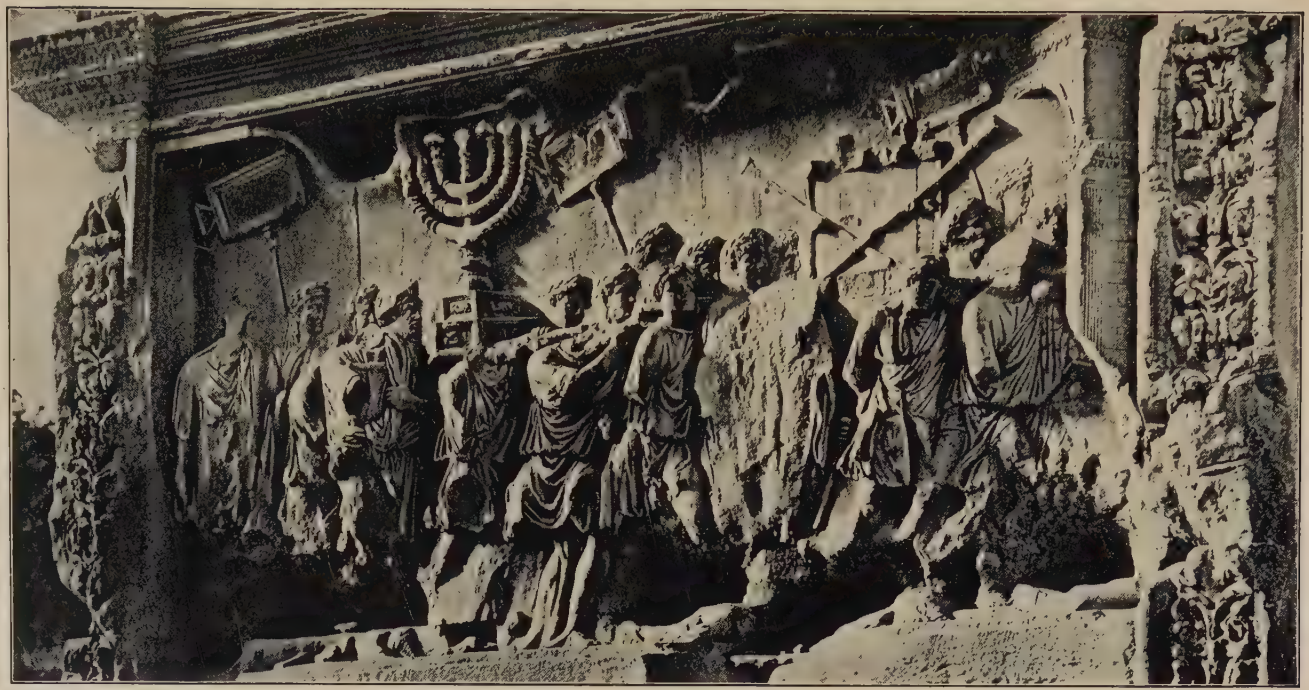
Vespasian, 69–79 A.D.

During the reign of Vespasian a revolt of the Jews was crushed, and Jerusalem was captured by Titus, Vespasian's son. It is said, doubtless with exaggeration, that one million Jews perished in the siege, the most awful that history records. The Holy City, together with the Temple, was destroyed, and a Roman camp was pitched upon the spot. We may still see in Rome the splendid arch that commemorates this tragic event.[1]

Capture of Jerusalem, 70 A.D.

Asia, and to provide salt-water and fresh-water baths sea water was pumped from the Mediterranean and sulphur springs carried from Tibur. Excavations during the year 1912 in the ruins of the Golden House have opened up several rooms with beautiful wall paintings in an excellent state of preservation.

[1] In 131 A.D., during the reign of the emperor Hadrian, the Jews once more broke out in revolt. Jerusalem, which had risen from its ruins, was again destroyed by the Romans, and the plough passed over the foundations of the Temple. A new city, called Ælia Capitolina, in honour of the emperor, was built on the site. Jews were forbidden, on pain of death, to enter it. From Roman times to the present they have been a people without a country.

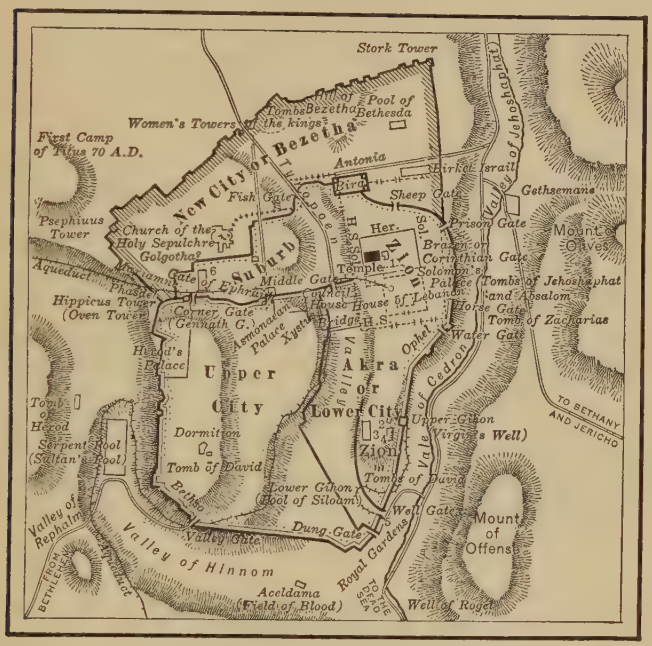


A RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF TITUS

The relief shows Roman soldiers bearing the spoils of the Temple at Jerusalem. Among these are two trumpets, the table of the shewbread, and the seven-branched golden candlestick.

Titus, whose health was already broken when he mounted the throne, ruled only two years. His kindly nature and lavish gifts for public amusements made him widely popular — "the darling and delight of mankind," [1] says his biographer.

Titus, 79–81 A.D.



PLAN OF JERUSALEM AND ITS ENVIRONS

The reign of Titus is chiefly memorable for the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum, two cities on the Bay of Naples. After an inactivity centuries long, the volcano of Vesuvius suddenly belched forth torrents of liquid lava and mud, followed by a rain of ashes. Pompeii was covered to a depth of about fifteen feet by the falling cinders. Herculaneum was overwhelmed in a sea of sulphurous mud and

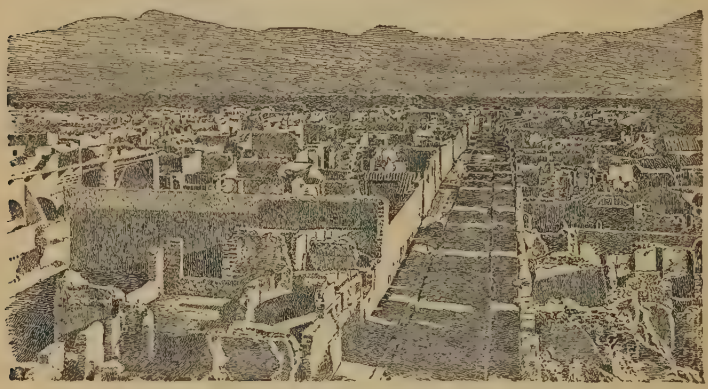
Eruption of Vesuvius, 79 A.D.

[1] Suetonius, *Titus*, 1.

lava to a depth of eighty feet in many places. The unfortunate cities were completely entombed, and in time their very situation was forgotten.[1]

Excavations at Pompeii.

The site of Pompeii was accidentally discovered in 1748, and since then excavations have laid bare a large part of the ancient city. Before our wondering eyes Pompeii reappears much as it was eighteen centuries ago, with its streets, shops, baths, temples, and theatres. So perfect has been the



POMPEII

preservation of this once-buried city that the visitor there gains a vivid impression of Roman life under the empire. One still sees the ruts of chariot wheels in the flat paving stones of the narrow streets, the public fountains at the crossings, the inscriptions and drawings — some of them rudely scratched with charcoal — which cover the walls, and in the houses a great variety of pictures, utensils, and furniture to show us how the ancient Romans lived. Little

[1] Since 79 A.D., there have been many eruptions of Vesuvius. In 1631 an eruption, which sent ashes as far away as Constantinople, is said to have destroyed 18,000 people. The latest serious upheaval (1906) broke off the top of the volcanic cone and destroyed a thriving town. But the Italian peasants, unterrified by such disasters, still continue to cultivate their gardens and vineyards on the slopes of the smoking mountain.

excavation has yet been done at Herculaneum. There all that is most interesting still lies underground.[1]

Titus was succeeded by his younger brother, Domitian. This emperor, in character, was a second Tiberius, hated as a cruel tyrant by the Roman nobles, but regarded by the provincials as a just and merciful protector. He fell at length a victim to a conspiracy in his own household. The death of Domitian ended the Flavian dynasty.

Domitian, 81–96 A.D.

CAST OF A BODY FOUND AT POMPEII

Museum of Pompeii

The bodies of those who perished were buried under layers of fine pumice stones and ashes. When plaster of Paris was poured into the cavity left by a decaying body, the result was a complete cast of a victim of the eruption.

173. The "Good Emperors," 96–180 A.D.

The five rulers whose reigns cover the greater part of the second century are often called the "Good Emperors."[2] The title well describes them. Nerva, the first of the series, was the candidate of the Senate. Having been a senator himself, he was careful to keep on good terms with that body during his reign. He also began the practice of adopting an heir, so that no disputes for the crown might arise after his death. In both of these policies Nerva's example was imitated by his successors. The emperors, in consequence, were undisturbed by plots, and the empire itself enjoyed a long period of prosperity.

Nerva, 96–98 A.D.

[1] The volcanic deposits which covered Herculaneum to a great depth have hardened into rock, and, in consequence, excavations on the site are far more troublesome and costly than at Pompeii. Herculaneum, however, has yielded some beautiful bronze statues, now in the Naples Museum, and an entire library of papyrus rolls, nearly all dealing with the Greek philosophy of Epicureanism.

[2] Also styled, loosely, the Antonine Cæsars, because two of them bore the name Antoninus.

NERVA

Vatican Museum, Rome

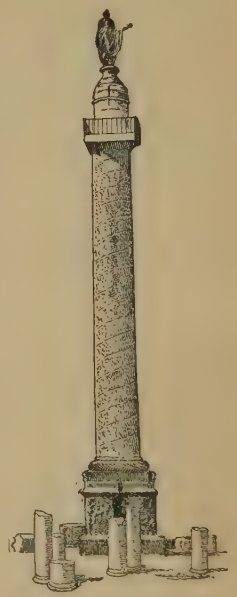
A remarkably fine example of Roman portrait statuary.

Trajan, whom Nerva adopted as his son, was accepted by the Senate as the man best fitted to become emperor. By birth he was a Spaniard — the first provincial to reach the throne. Already the distinction between Rome and her provinces had begun to pass away. Trajan rivalled Julius Cæsar in warlike ability, and enlarged the Roman world to the widest limits it was ever to attain.

Trajan, 98–117 A.D.

Trajan's first conquests took place in Europe. North of the Danube lay the kingdom of the barbarous Dacians, whom Trajan rightly regarded as a menace to the empire. They were thoroughly subdued after a hard struggle, and their country was formed into a province, a thousand miles in circuit. The work of Romanization followed rapidly upon that of conquest. Thousands of colonists settled in Dacia and spread everywhere the language and arts of Rome. Its modern name (Rumania) bears witness to Rome's abiding influence there. The Column of Trajan, which still stands in Rome, is a memorial of these Dacian wars.

Annexation of Dacia.



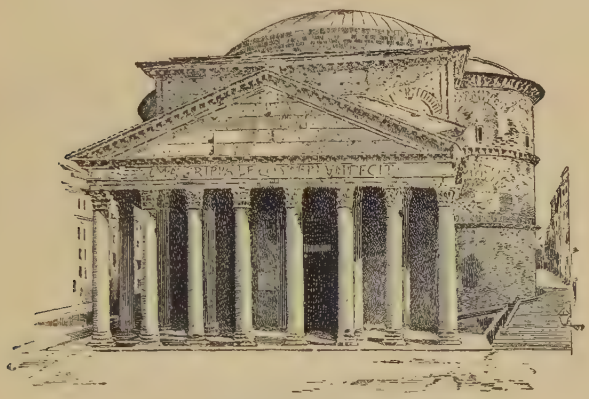
COLUMN OF TRAJAN

Trajan's campaigns in Asia had less importance, though in appearance they were more splendid. He drove the Parthians from Armenia and conquered the Tigris-Euphrates valley. To hold in subjection

such distant regions only increased the difficulty of guarding the frontiers. Trajan's successor, Hadrian, at once abandoned them. That wise and prudent emperor realized that the time had come when Rome's best efforts were required, not for the extension, but for the preservation of her empire.

Trajan's eastern conquests.

Hadrian distinguished himself as an administrator. He may



THE PANTHEON

The rotunda and dome were built by Hadrian.

be compared with Augustus in his love of peace and in his care for the interests of the provincials. Hadrian made two long journeys throughout the Roman world. On the frontiers he built fortresses and walls; in the provinces he raised baths, aqueducts, theatres, and temples. Scarcely a city throughout the empire lacked some monument to his generosity. At his death Hadrian left behind him the memory of a prince whose life was devoted to the public welfare — the first servant of the state.

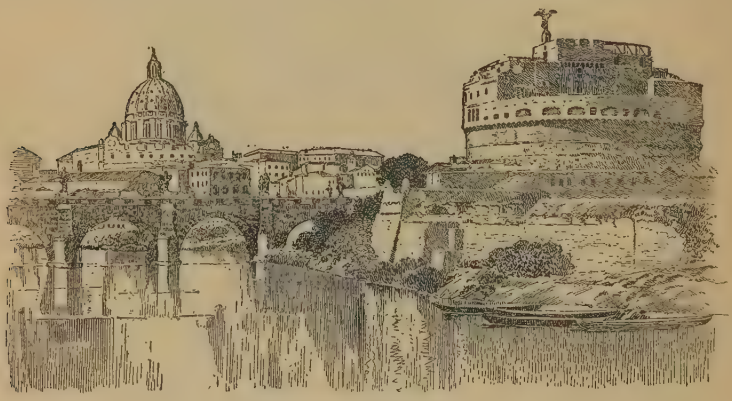
Hadrian, 117–138 A.D.

Hadrian was followed by Antoninus, a native of southern Gaul.[1] His surname of Pius expresses the pure and gentle nature of the man.

[1] The city of Nîmes (ancient Nemausus) in southern France still honours the emperor's memory with a "Place Antonin," in which his statue stands.

The description of him by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, shows the Roman character at its best. "In my father I saw mildness of manners, firmness of resolution, contempt of vain-glory. He knew when to rest as well as when to labour. He taught me to forbear from improper indulgences, to conduct myself as an equal among equals, to lay on my friends no burden of servility. From him I learned to be resigned to

Antoninus Pius, 138–161 A.D.



The Tomb of Hadrian

every fortune and to bear myself calmly and serenely; to rise superior to vulgar applause, and to despise vulgar criticism; to worship the gods without superstition and to serve mankind without ambition. He was ever prudent and moderate; he looked to his duty only, and not to the opinions that might be formed of him. Such was the character of his life and manners — nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing rude, nothing which showed roughness and violence."[1] During the quiet, uneventful reign of this noble emperor the Roman world reached its greatest prosperity.

The successor of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, though not the greatest of the "Good Emperors" as a ruler, was one of the most saintly men that ever occupied a throne. When still a youth,

[1] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, i, 16.

he had adopted the philosophy of the Stoics,[1] and with it their ascetic way of life. His mother, we are told, was scarcely able to persuade him to cease sleeping on the bare ground and to use a bed upon which were stretched sheepskins. Stoicism, in this century, had become a bracing moral creed which exercised great fascination on serious-minded Romans. Marcus Aurelius himself wrote a little book of Stoic precepts — the so-called *Meditations* — which is one of the finest productions of pagan thought.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161–180 A.D.

MARCUS AURELIUS IN HIS TRIUMPHAL CAR
Palace of the Conservatori, Rome
A panel from an arch erected by the emperor.

The philosophic emperor enjoyed little opportunity for a calm life of meditation. His reign was filled with an almost uninterrupted series of campaigns against the Parthians on the Euphrates and the German tribes on the Danube and the Rhine. These wars revealed the weakness of the frontiers and the rapidly growing strength of the barbarians outside the empire. They were still going on, when Marcus died of fever in his camp at Vienna.[2] He must have felt, as he closed his eyes for ever, that the age of peace and prosperity was drawing to a close, and that evil days were now in store for Rome.

Wars of Marcus Aurelius.

[1] See page 299.

[2] The Roman Vindobona.

The "Five Good Emperors" end with Marcus Aurelius. His son and successor, the unworthy Commodus, repeated all the wickedness of Caligula and Nero. The reign of Commodus marks the beginning of a long and troubled period during which the empire entered on its downward course. But the story of the decline of Rome belongs to another chapter, and requires other treatment.

The decline after 180 A.D.

174. Latin Literature under the Early Empire

The half century included within the Augustan Age marks a real epoch in the history of Latin literature. The most famous Roman author of this period was the poet Vergil. As an artist, Vergil's highest achievement was the adaptation of Greek hexameter verse [1] to the service of Latin poetry. Lucretius [2] had already used the hexameter as the medium of his poem; Vergil moulded it into a magnificent measure, the very perfection of which made any further development impossible. As an artist, Vergil had supreme excellence. For the form and motive of his three great poems, he was content to rely on Greek models. His earliest verses, the *Bucolics* (also called *Eclogues*), are close imitations of the *Idylls* of Theocritus.[3] Their publication at once brought Vergil into the Augustan court, where he won the warm favour of Mæcenas, a generous patron of literature.

Vergil, 70–19 B.C.; the Eclogues.

The suggestion of Mæcenas led the youthful poet to undertake his next great work—the *Georgics*. This is a long poem dealing with agricultural life in Italy. Hesiod's *Works and Days* supplied the model, but the Roman writer's work rises infinitely above his Greek original. Vergil was able to throw over prosaic details, such as the planting of corn, the care of trees and vines, the breeding of horses and cattle, the keeping of bees, a poetic glamour which still survives. This poem was written so carefully that the author is said to have averaged but one line a day during its composition.

The Georgics.

[1] See page 151 and note 1. [2] See page 435. [3] See page 289.

Under the inspiration of Augustus Vergil undertook his last and most famous work, a long epic in the Homeric manner. The *Æneid*, in form, is a narrative of the adventures of the Trojan hero, Æneas,[1] but its true theme is the growth of Rome under the fostering care of the gods. In this majestic poem the genius of Vergil expanded with his subject. The *Æneid*, though unfinished at the author's death, became at once what it has always remained, the only ancient epic worthy of comparison with the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

The Æneid.

Another member of the Augustan circle was Vergil's friend and fellow-worker, Horace. An imitative poet, Horace reproduced in Latin verse the forms, and sometimes even the substance, of his Greek models. But like Vergil, what Horace borrowed he made his own by the added beauty which he gave to it. The first work of Horace was a book of *Satires*, a series of witty poems exhibiting his gifts of humour, good-fellowship, and good sense. Shortly after their publication, Mæcenas presented Horace with his much-loved villa among the Sabine hills, not far from Rome. From this delightful retreat proceeded the works which have linked the name of Horace with that of Vergil as the most popular of Roman poets. These poems included a second book of *Satires*; a collection of *Epistles* written in verse; and above all the *Odes*, perhaps the most admirable examples of literary art to be found in any language.

Horace, 65–8 B.C.; subjects of his poems.

Horace is the poet of the golden mean: accept in contentment the gifts the gods provide; do not strive for an impossible happiness; a cosy home, good cheer, and kind friends will enable you to pass an untroubled existence. Thus the poetry of Horace presents in winning guise the commonplace philosophy of the ordinary man. And surely this philosophy has never had a more attractive setting.

Characteristics of Horace as a poet.

Ovid, the third of the great Augustan poets, is chiefly remembered

[1] See page 312.

for his *Metamorphoses*. This lengthy collection of stories deals with persons who are transformed from their human shapes into trees, stones, and animals. Ovid's materials were borrowed from Greek literature, but the Roman poet used them so skilfully that his work became a standard repository of the classic myths.

Ovid, 43 B.C.–17 A.D.

The greatest prose writer of this period and the most eloquent of all Roman historians was Livy. His *History of Rome*, beginning with Romulus and extending to Augustus, is an epic of Roman greatness. It did in prose what Vergil's *Æneid* did in verse. Although much of this work has perished, enough has survived to establish its place in the first rank of Latin literary productions. In Livy's picturesque pages we cannot be sure of always finding a trustworthy account of actual events; but we can never fail to find a brilliant, graphic portrayal of the past.

The historian Livy, 59 B.C.–17 A.D.

The period of the "Good Emperors" saw the rise of several authors, of whom one, the historian Tacitus, was a man of commanding genius. In his earliest work, a *Dialogue on Orators*, he discussed the reasons for the decline of oratory since Cicero's day. This was followed by a charming life of his father-in-law, Agricola, a Roman general who distinguished himself in Britain. About the same time Tacitus published a brief treatise on Germany and its peoples. The book is of especial interest as one of the earliest accounts of the barbarians who were destined to overthrow the empire. But the crowning labour of his life was a history of Rome from Tiberius to Domitian. Of this work, issued under the two titles of *Histories* and *Annals*, only about one half is extant. The loss of so much of the narrative is one of the great calamities of literature.

The historian Tacitus, 55–118 A.D.

Tacitus stands to his predecessor, Livy, in much the same relation in which Thucydides stands to Herodotus.[1] Livy's splendid theme was the rise and growth of the Roman state during eight

[1] See pages 251–252.

centuries of triumphal progress. Tacitus related the history of a period when the vices and crimes of the imperial court had become a stench in the nostrils of honest men. It was thus a gloomy narrative which Tacitus had to tell. His manner in telling it is that of the preacher and moralist who cannot paint his pictures in colours too glaring, if men will only learn a lesson from the presentation. Tacitus, indeed, was a satirist disguised as a historian. His spirit of bitter hostility to the imperial government often marred his judgment and prevented him from making his work a truthful record of historic fact. But no ancient writer possessed a more brilliant style. The following passage, in which he eulogizes the character of his father-in-law, is a good example of his dignified and eloquent prose:

Characteristics of Tacitus.

"If there is any dwelling-place for the spirits of the just; if, as the wise believe, noble souls do not perish with the body, rest thou in peace; and call us, thy family, from weak regrets and womanish laments to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which we must not weep nor beat the breast. Let us honour thee not so much with transitory praises as with our reverence, and, if our powers permit us, with our emulation. That will be true respect, that the true affection of thy nearest kin. This, too, is what I would enjoin on daughter and wife, to honour the memory of that father, that husband, by pondering in their hearts all his words and acts, by cherishing the features and lineaments of his character rather than those of his person. It is not that I would forbid the likenesses which are wrought in marble or bronze; but as the faces of men, so all similitudes of the face are weak and perishable things, while the fashion of the soul is everlasting, such as may be expressed not in some foreign substance, or by the help of art, but in our own lives. Whatever we loved, whatever we admired in Agricola, survives, and will survive in the hearts of men, in the succession of the ages, in the fame that waits on noble deeds. Over many, indeed, of those who have gone before,

the waves of oblivion will roll; Agricola, made known to posterity by history and tradition, will live for ever."[1]

Less than two hundred years separate Cicero and Tacitus. In this brief period Latin authors, writing under the influence of old Greece, accomplished much good and valuable work. Some of this work, in its chosen field, is scarcely inferior to the Greek masterpieces themselves. During the Middle Ages, when Greek literature was either neglected or forgotten in the West, the literature of Rome was still read and enjoyed. Throughout this period, and until two centuries ago, Latin was the ordinary language of science, philosophy, law, and theology—indeed, of all learned writing whatsoever. And in its liturgy of praise and prayer the Roman Catholic Church still preserves the speech of ancient Rome.

Survival of Latin literature.

[1] *Agricola*, ch. xlvi (Church and Brodribb's translation; by permission of Messrs Macmillan and Co., Ltd.).

CHAPTER XIV

THE WORLD UNDER ROMAN RULE TO 180 A.D.

175. The Defence of the Empire

THE two centuries between Augustus and Marcus Aurelius made up the great age of Roman imperialism. In this epoch our interests centre less in the deeds of powerful personalities than in the onward progress of great civilizing movements; less in the politics of the capital city than in the course of events throughout the Mediterranean world. Roman history merged, henceforth, into the general history of classical antiquity.

Character of the new epoch.

The Roman Empire was a civilized state girt about by barbarian foes. Beyond the Rhine and Danube were the Germans; beyond the oases of Africa and Arabia, the nomads of the desert; beyond the Euphrates, the scarcely more civilized Parthian tribes. Where natural barriers of river, sea, or desert did not suffice, the empire found a sure defence in the magnificent standing army. Twenty-five legions, numbering, with the auxiliary forces, some three hundred thousand men, policed the provinces and garrisoned every point of danger on the long frontier.

Rome and the barbarians.

The standing army was the creation of Augustus, who formed the legionaries into a permanent body for imperial defence. They were attached to the emperor by the strongest ties. To him, as commander-in-chief, each recruit took a solemn oath of allegiance. To him each veteran looked, when his term of service was over, for an honourable discharge, a pension in money, often, also, a grant of land. During the

The legionaries.

first two centuries of the empire the legions commonly remained loyal, and buttressed with their swords the imperial power.

The standing army of the empire was one of Rome's mighty agencies for the spread of her civilization over barbarian lands. **Membership of the army.** Its membership was drawn largely from the border provinces, often from the very countries where the soldiers' camps were fixed. Though the army became less and less Roman in blood, it always kept in character and spirit the best traditions of Rome. The steady discipline of the legions furnished a training school where Spaniard, Gaul, and Briton learned to be honest, obedient, and faithful. When their military duties were over, they were well fitted to profit by the full Roman franchise granted to them. Rome had no better citizens than her old soldiers. How powerful, at the same time, was the military attachment while it lasted is shown by an incident related of Cæsar, who is said to have put down a mutiny among his men, on the eve of his African campaign against the Pompeians, by addressing the soldiers by what seemed to them the opprobrious name of "Citizens."

A Roman Legionary

From a monument of the imperial age. The soldier wears a metal helmet, a leather doublet with shoulder-pieces, a metal-plated belt, and a sword hanging from a strap thrown over the left shoulder. His left hand holds a large shield, his right a heavy javelin.

Use of the army in time of peace. The long intervals of peace were not passed by the soldiers in idleness. Roman armies built the great highways that penetrated every region of the empire, spanned the streams with bridges, raised dikes and aqueducts, and taught the border races the arts of civilization. It was due, finally, to the labours of the legionaries, that the most

exposed parts of the frontiers were provided with an extensive system of walls and ramparts.

176. Roman Frontier Walls and Roads

The policy of at once marking and protecting the frontier by fortifications dated from the reign of Augustus. Domitian began, and Hadrian completed, a gigantic scheme of defence for the exposed region between the Danube and the Rhine. A stone and earth wall, a wooden palisade formed of stakes planted in a ditch, and a chain of forts

Fortifications in Germany.

WALL OF HADRIAN IN BRITAIN

were constructed for three hundred and thirty-six miles between the upper waters of the two rivers. The ruins of this rampart exist to-day.

The remains of Roman fortifications in north Britain are still more impressive. Between the Tyne and the Solway, a distance of seventy miles, Hadrian built a wall of stone, from six to eight feet thick and nearly twenty feet in height. It had numerous towers and gates placed at irregular intervals. A little to the south stretched an earthen rampart protected by a deep ditch. A broad road, lined with seventeen military camps, ran between the two walls for the entire distance.[1]

The defences of Britain.

[1] See the map, page 451. A well-preserved section of Hadrian's Wall can be reached by the traveller on the railway between Newcastle-on-Tyne and Carlisle.

Under Antoninus Pius, yet another wall was constructed from the Forth to the Clyde. It marked the farthest advance of Roman dominion in Britain.

The Roman roads.

The Roman system of roads received its greatest extension during the imperial age. The principal trunk lines began at the gates of Rome and radiated thence to every quarter of the empire.[1] Along these highways sped the couriers of the Cæsars, carrying dispatches, and travelling, by means of relays of horses, as much as a hundred and fifty miles a day. They resounded to the tramp of the legionaries hastening to quell a revolt in some far-off province, or passing to their stations on the distant frontier. Travellers on foot, horseback, or litter journeyed along them from land to land, employing the maps which described routes and distances.[2] Traders used them for the transport of merchandise, and so they became important arteries of commerce. In short, the Roman roads were the railways of antiquity.

Roman roads in Britain.

The system of Roman roads in the provinces is well illustrated by those of Britain, where some may be traced at the present time.[3] A great highway connected Dover and other Kentish ports with Londinium (London) on the Thames. This place became a centre of trade and the starting point of fresh roads. One of these, now called "Watling Street," traversed the central part of Britain, and reached Uriconium (Wroxeter), the station of the Fourteenth legion. This road was afterwards prolonged to Deva (Chester), also a fortress of the legions, and a stately city adorned with baths and temples. "Ermine Street" ran north to Eboracum (York), crossed Hadrian's Wall, and at length reached the east end of the Wall of Antoninus Pius. The "Fosse Way," another important road, followed a

[1] Augustus set up in the Forum a "Golden Milestone," on which were inscribed the names of the roads, together with a list of the chief towns reached by them, and their distances from Rome.

[2] An example of one of these road maps is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It is a copy made in the thirteenth century from an ancient map of the Roman Empire. It shows the chief roads and important towns in the various provinces.

[3] See the map, page 451.

direction from southwest to northeast, and connected what are now the cities of Exeter and Lincoln. As the map indicates, many branch lines extended from these main roads to other parts of the island under Roman rule. At almost every step of the traveller's course along these highways there are traces of the Roman occupation of Britain: the coins of a treasure-chest, images of pagan gods, inscriptions on tombs and altars, sometimes the walls of a soldiers' camp, now marked by grassy mounds.

In her roads and fortifications, in the living rampart of her legions, Rome long found security. Except for the districts conquered by Trajan but abandoned by Hadrian,[1] the empire during this period did not lose a province. For two hundred years, throughout an area nearly as large as modern Europe, the civilized world rested under what an ancient writer calls "the immense majesty of the Roman peace."[2]

The Pax Romana.

177. The Provinces

The Roman Empire, at its widest extent in the second century, included forty-three provinces. The new imperial system conferred on them great and lasting benefits. They were shielded from barbarian invasion; they were brought into close contact through the opportunities for travel and trade; they were given good government.

Condition of the provinces.

The improvements in the provincial system made by Augustus marked out the lines which later rulers followed. The provinces were divided into two groups, those administered by the Senate and those which the emperor took under his direct control. The latter included the newer territories which had been recently conquered and the great frontier districts in contact with the barbarians. These imperial possessions became so numerous that finally three fourths of the empire, including the most populous and wealthy regions, were entirely removed from the Senate's sphere of influence.

Imperial and senatorial provinces.

[1] See page 457.

[2] Pliny, *Natural History*, xxvii, 1.

The emperor managed his provinces through deputies appointed by himself. The new officers were the emperor's personal servants, responsible to him alone and holding office at his pleasure. During their term, which faithful service might lengthen into many years, the governors administered local concerns, commanded the armies, and acted as judges in important cases. But they did not exercise the absolute authority of the republican proprætors and proconsuls. They had a master in the emperor at Rome who watched their conduct and issued orders for their guidance.

The new governors.

Another wise measure was the creation of a civil service system. A governor who succeeded in one position received promotion to a higher post. For this reason men of ability and ambition were glad to enter the employment of the emperor. Government by trained experts took the place of misgovernment by the untrained novices of republican days. This reformed provincial system, begun in the emperor's own provinces, was afterwards extended over the entire area of the empire. None better was ever devised in ancient times.

The civil service.

A further very important reform which the provincials owed to Augustus concerned taxation. They still had various dues to pay, including the land tax, or tribute, which was the most profitable source of Roman revenue. This tax, however, was no longer farmed out to greedy publicans. The governors, likewise, lost their old privilege of extorting vast sums of money from the provincials under the name of requisitions. There was now a regular system of taxation, the amount of which was fixed by a census of the inhabitants and property in the empire.[1] Rome, at length, was learning how to rule.

Taxation.

In provincial government, as in many other matters, the wise policy of Augustus was adopted by his successors. Tiberius,

[1] The student will recall a reference in the New Testament to this census: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed" (*Luke*, ii, 1).

when urged to increase the tribute paid by the provinces, replied, "A good shepherd shears his sheep, but does not flay them,"[1] a maxim which sums up the character of the new system. Some of the emperors worst hated in Rome itself — Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian — were worshipped abroad for the blessings of their rule. Whether good or bad monarchs sat on the throne of the Cæsars, the improvement in the condition of the provinces continued unchecked.

Success of the provincial system.

178. Extension of Roman Citizenship

The grant of Roman citizenship to all Italians after the Social War only increased for a time the contrast between Italy and the provinces. But even before the fall of the republic Cæsar's legislation had begun the work of uniting the Roman and the provincial.[2] More and more the emperors followed in his footsteps.

Assimilation of Roman and provincial.

The extension of Roman citizenship was a gradual process covering two centuries. Although Augustus followed a cautious policy, yet the number of Roman citizens during his reign reached nearly five millions. Claudius gave the franchise to a large part of Gaul, and thereby increased the citizen body to about seven millions. "I am not unmindful of the fact," said the emperor, in a sensible speech, "that the Roman city in times past was extended to the Alps, so that not single individuals but entire provinces and tribes were given the Roman name. . . . The descendants of these immigrants remain among us, nor do they yield to us in their devotion to the fatherland. What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this — that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?"[3] Imitating the policy of Claudius, Vespasian freely admitted provincials to the Senate. Hadrian, himself a provincial from Gaul, completely enfranchised his native country.

Widening of the franchise.

[1] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 32. [2] See page 427. [3] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi, 24.

It was left for the emperor Caracalla, early in the third century, to take the final step. In 212 A.D. he issued a famous edict which bestowed Roman citizenship on all freeborn inhabitants of the provinces. The emperor's enemies declared that he did this, not as a measure of justice, but only to fill his treasury. On the death of Roman citizens an inheritance tax of five per cent had to be paid to the government out of their estates. Now, by a stroke of the pen, this tax could be levied throughout the empire. Whatever were Caracalla's motives, his edict finished the work, begun so many centuries before, of making Roman all the ancient world.

Edict of Caracalla, 212 A.D.

The gift of complete citizenship, though it increased the burden of taxation, brought no slight advantage to those who possessed it. A Roman citizen could not be maltreated, or punished without a legal trial before Roman courts. If accused in a capital case, he could always protect himself against an unjust decision by an "appeal to Cæsar"; that is, to the emperor at Rome. St. Paul did this on one occasion when on trial for his life.[1] Wherever he lived, a Roman citizen enjoyed, both for his person and his property, the protection of Roman law.

Privileges of Roman citizens.

179. Development of Roman Law

The Romans were the most legal-minded people of antiquity. It was their mission to give laws to the world. The code of the Twelve Tables,[2] which they framed almost at the outset of the republic, bears the marks of a half-barbarous age. It was very harsh. Fathers were given absolute control over the persons and property of their children. Creditors were allowed to throw their insolvent debtors into prison or to sell them as slaves. It was very technical. An advocate who made a single error in reciting a legal formula lost his case. It was illiberal, since foreigners and slaves had no rights in Roman courts.

The Twelve Tables.

[1] See *Acts*, xxv, 9–12. Compare also *Acts*, xxii, 25–29. [2] See page 331.

Finally, the code was so brief and incomplete that many questions were left unsettled. The Twelve Tables, clearly enough, could not meet the needs of a progressive state like Rome.

The improvement of Roman law was a gradual process covering several centuries. It began with the legislation of the prætors.[1] A prætor, who served as a judge, had to interpret the Twelve Tables and apply them to controversies between Roman citizens. He soon found it necessary to provide new legal remedies for cases not covered by the ancient code. In this way he became himself a source of law, just as are American judges at the present time. The edicts which he issued during his term of office, if wise and judicious, were adopted by his successors. Thus the Roman, or civil, law was slowly fitted to satisfy the needs of an advancing society.

Improvement of the civil law.

Great progress took place in another direction. As foreigners settled in Rome, and as that city extended her rule over Italy, disputes constantly arose between Roman citizens and Roman subjects. It was necessary to appoint another officer, called the prætor for foreigners, to judge in such cases. Similarly, when Rome sent a governor into one of the provinces, it became his duty to settle questions between Roman citizens and provincials, or between provincials of different cities. Neither the prætor for foreigners nor the governor could follow the civil law, since that applied to Romans alone. Yet justice had to be done. Gradually these officers formed a new set of rules, which came to be known as the "law of nations."

The "law of nations."

This "law of nations" was much superior to the old civil law. The prætor or governor, in framing it, was guided by his sense of justice and right, and by his knowledge of the customs which were common to the subject peoples. Roman magistrates, after a time, began to adopt some of its principles into their own civil law. They would apply to citizens the same rules that the prætor for foreigners followed in his

Its influence over the civil law.

[1] See page 333.

court. For instance, the excellent law of commerce framed by Rhodian merchants[1] found a place in Roman jurisprudence. More and more the old Roman law tended to take over and absorb all that was best in the legal customs of antiquity.

Thus as the extension of the citizenship carried the principles and practice of Roman law to every quarter of the empire, the spirit of that law underwent an entire change. It became exact, impartial, liberal, humane. It limited the use of torture to force confession from persons accused of crime. It protected the child against a father's tyranny. It provided that a master who killed a slave should be punished as a murderer, and even taught that all men are originally free by the law of nature, and therefore that slavery itself is contrary to natural right. Justice it defined as "the steady and abiding purpose to give every man that which is his own."[2] Roman law, which began as the rude code of a primitive people, ended as the most refined and admirable system of jurisprudence ever framed by man.

Character of later Roman law.

These great changes commenced in republican times, but they received their final form during the imperial epoch. Law had now become a profession; there were two law schools in Rome under Augustus, and afterwards many in the provinces. A class of learned lawyers arose who helped the emperors in making decisions and judgments. The jurists collected the written sources of the law, especially the prætors' edicts, explained them, and purged them of errors. In Hadrian's reign, and by the direction of that emperor, all these edicts were formed into one body of law called the Perpetual Edict. This work was to be binding in every Roman court.

Work of the jurists; the Perpetual Edict.

Four centuries after Hadrian, during the reign of the emperor Justinian (527–565 A.D.), the immense body of Roman law was collected, analyzed, and put into scientific form. Under the name of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* it passed from ancient Rome to modern

[1] See page 288.

[2] *Institutes*, bk. i, tit. i.

Europe. The existing law of such countries as France and Germany, Italy and Spain, is based on the Roman system. Even the Common Law of England, which has been adopted by the United States, owes some of its principles to the Roman code.[1] The law of Rome, because of this widespread influence, is rightly reckoned one of her greatest gifts to civilization.

Corpus Juris Civilis.

180. Spread of the Latin Language

The conquest by Latin of the languages of the world is almost as interesting and important a story as the conquest by Rome of the nations. At the outset of Roman history Latin was the common speech of the people of Latium only. Even in this small territory each of the important towns, such as Rome, Tusculum, Præneste, and Tibur, had its own variety or dialect of Latin. After Rome became supreme in Latium, the Latin peoples who visited the metropolis to vote, to hear political speeches in the law courts and assemblies, and to listen to plays in the theatre felt ashamed of their local ways of speech and gradually gave them up. Roman Latin became the language of all Latium. This marks the first stage in the conquest of the world by the Latin of Rome.

Roman Latin in Latium.

Beyond the limits of Latium, Latin came into contact with the speech of many different peoples. At least nine distinct languages were found in early Italy. Some of these, such as Greek and Etruscan, soon disappeared after the Roman conquest of the peninsula, but the languages spoken by native Italian peoples showed more power of resistance. It was not until the last century B.C. that Latin was thoroughly established in central and southern Italy. After the Social War the Italian peoples became citizens of Rome, and with Roman citizenship went the use of the Latin tongue. This marks the second stage in the conquest of the world by the Latin of Rome.

Latin in Italy.

[1] The code of Louisiana, a state once a French possession, is still largely derived from Roman law,

The Romans carried their language to the barbarian peoples of the West, as they had carried it to Latium and to Italy. Their missionaries were the colonists, merchants, soldiers, and public officials who settled in the western provinces. The Latin spoken by them was eagerly taken up by the rude, unlettered natives, who tried to make themselves as Roman as possible in dress, customs, and speech. This provincial Latin was not simply the language of the upper classes, like the English of our day in India;[1] the common people themselves used it freely, as we know from thousands of inscriptions found all over western and central Europe. In the countries which now make up Spain, France, Switzerland, southern Austria, England, and north Africa, the old national tongues were abandoned for the Latin of Rome.

Latin in the western provinces.

The decline of the Roman Empire did not bring about the downfall of the Latin language in the West. It became the basis of the so-called Romance languages — French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese — which developed in the Middle Ages out of the spoken Latin of the common people. Thus this wonderful Latin tongue has continued to hold to the present day a very large part of the territory which it gained nearly two thousand years ago. Even our English language, which comes to us from the speech of the German invaders of Britain, contains so many words of Latin origin that we can scarcely utter a sentence without using some of them. The rule of Rome has passed away; the language of Rome still remains to enrich the intellectual life of mankind.

Romance languages.

181. The Municipalities

The world under Roman rule was a world of cities. Some had earlier been native settlements, such as Julius Cæsar found in Gaul. Others were the splendid Hellenistic foundations in the

[1] England has ruled over India for one hundred and fifty years, yet not more than ten natives in a thousand can read and write the language of their conquerors.

East. Many more were of Roman origin, arising from the colonies and fortified camps in which citizens and soldiers had settled.[1] Where Rome did not find cities, she created them. **Prevalence of city life.**

The number of such cities is surprisingly great. They lined the banks of the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Danube. Over a hundred were organized in Dacia. The province of Asia had half a thousand, which more than equalled those of ancient Ionia. Egypt reckoned forty of importance, besides many lesser towns. In north Africa the "Roman peace" worked miracles, and crowded its now sandy wastes with a multitude of populous communities. **Number of cities.**

Not only were the cities numerous, but many of them, even when judged by modern standards, reached great size. Rome was the largest, her population being estimated at from one to two millions. Alexandria came next with more than half a million people.[2] Syracuse was the third metropolis of the empire. Italy contained such important towns as Verona, Milan, and Ravenna. In Gaul were Marseilles, Nîmes, Bordeaux, Lyons — all cities with a continuous existence to the present day. In Britain York and London were seats of commerce, Chester and Lincoln[3] were military colonies, and Bath was celebrated then, as now, for its medicinal waters. Carthage and Corinth had risen in new splendour from their ashes. Athens was still the home of Greek art and Greek culture. Asia included such ancient and important centres as Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Rhodes, and Antioch. The student who reads in his New Testament the *Acts of the Apostles* will get a vivid impression of these and other great capitals of antiquity. **Some important centres.**

Every municipality was a Rome in miniature. It had its forum

[1] Several English cities, such as Lancaster, Leicester, Manchester, and Chester, betray in their names their origin in the Roman *castra*, or camp.

[2] It was not until the eighteenth century that London and Paris included half a million inhabitants, and not until the nineteenth century that they reached the million mark.

[3] The Roman Lindum Colonia.

and senate-house, its temples, theatres, and baths, its circus for racing, and its amphitheatre[1] for gladiatorial combats. Most of the municipalities enjoyed an abundant supply of water, and some had good sewer systems. The larger towns had well-paved, though narrow, streets. Pompeii, a small place of scarcely thirty thousand inhabitants, still exists to give us some idea of the appearance of one of these ancient cities. And what we find at Pompeii was repeated on a more splendid scale in hundreds of places from the Danube to the Nile, from Britain to Arabia.

Appearance of the cities.

The municipalities of Roman origin copied the government of Rome itself. Each had a council, or *curia*, modelled on the Senate. The members (*curiales*) were mostly ex-magistrates. A popular assembly chose quæstors, ædiles, and two chief magistrates, called *duumviri*, corresponding to the consuls. These officials were generally rich men; they received no salary, and in fact had to pay a large sum on entering office. The municipalities not of Roman origin possessed at first a greater variety of governments. More and more, however, they tended to conform to the Roman pattern. In this imitation of the imperial city we have an example of the magical power which Rome exerted over her most distant subjects.

City government.

The life which people led in such municipalities resembled that at Rome. Local politics excited the keenest interest. Many of the inscriptions found on the walls of Pompeii are election placards recommending particular candidates for office. Some statements are very much to the point, as, "Vote for Gaius Julius Polybius, he provides fine bread," or "Vote for Bruttius Balbus, he will manage the city treasury well."

City life.

[1] A large amphitheatre, capable of holding about 20,000 people, has been excavated at Pompeii. The structure at Nîmes in southern France is the finest still standing outside Italy. The English town of Dorchester possesses a complete little amphitheatre, grass-grown, but still preserving the outlines of the original building. It has been used by the novelist, Thomas Hardy, for a scene in his book, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

To ridicule a candidate some one wrote, "All the sleepy men nominate Vatia as ædile." Even women took part in political contests. Distributions of grain, oil, and money were made to needy citizens in imitation of the bad Roman practice. There were public banquets, imposing festivals, wild-beast hunts, and bloody contests of gladiators, like those at Rome.

The municipalities were not supported by the imperial revenues, or, as in our own age, out of direct taxes levied on the citizens. Much income came from mines, quarries, and other public property. Private individuals, however, bore a large share of the expenditures for pavements, buildings, education, feasts, and games. Heavy contributions for such purposes were expected from all who held the honour of a magistracy. A law was even passed forbidding a candidate to promise great benefactions to the voters, unless, after election, he carried them out.

Support of the cities.

At the same time there was much unselfish giving. Wealthy men were glad to win the applause of their fellows by splendid donations. Pliny the Younger, a Roman governor under Trajan, was not a very rich man in those days of colossal fortunes, yet his presents to his boyhood home — modern Como in northern Italy — included a library, a temple, and endowments for teaching and charity. The prince of public benefactors was Herodes Atticus, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. He gave an aqueduct to Olympia, a race course to Delphi, a roofed theatre to Corinth, and to Athens a marble stadium large enough to hold all the citizens,[1] besides a concert hall called the Odeum. Many of the emperors made similar gifts for public purposes. There probably never has been a period in the world's history, unless it is our own, when wealth was more generally regarded as a sacred trust for the benefit of society at large.

Philanthropy.

[1] This stadium was destroyed in the course of ages, the marble being burned for lime. In 1896 a wealthy Greek reconstructed the building in beautiful Pentelic marble, and here the first celebration of the new Olympian games was held.

The busy, throbbing life in these countless centres of the Roman world has long since been stilled. The cities themselves, in many instances, have utterly disappeared. Yet something has survived the wreck of time. The forms of municipal government, together with the Roman idea of a free, self-governing city, never died out in Europe. For this reason the municipal system of Rome, on which our own is so largely modelled, may be considered one of her most precious legacies to modern times.

Significance of the Roman municipal system.

182. Commerce and Industry

The first two centuries of our era formed the golden age of Roman commerce. The emperors fostered it in many ways. Augustus and his successors kept the seas free from pirates, built lighthouses and improved harbours, policed the high-roads, and made travel by land both speedy and safe. An imperial currency[1] replaced the various national coinages with their limited circulation. The vexatious import and export duties, levied by different countries and cities on foreign produce, were swept away. Unhampered by such restrictions, a system of free trade flourished between the cities and provinces of the Roman world.

Promotion of commerce.

Roman commerce followed, in general, the routes which Phœnicians had discovered centuries before.[2] After the annexation of Gaul the rivers of that country became channels of trade between western Europe and Italy. The conquest of the districts

[1] Roman money at first consisted solely of the copper *as*. In the third century B.C. two silver coins, the *denarius* and the *sestertius*, were introduced. According to the usual reckoning, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *asses* = 1 *sestertius* (about $2\frac{1}{8}$ pence); 4 *sestertii* = 1 *denarius*; 1000 *sestertii* = 1 *sestertium* (nearly £9). The *sestertium*, like the Greek talent, was not a coin, but only an expression used in reckoning. During the last century of the republic gold coins came into common use. It is worthy of note that the English signs for pounds, shillings, and pence, £, *s.*, *d.*, are abbreviations of the Latin words *libræ*, *solidi*, *denarii*. The name of the Latin *solidus*, a gold coin, survives in the French *sou* and Italian *soldo*. (For illustrations of Roman coins see page 82.)

[2] See the map, page 87.

north and south of the Danube opened up an important route between central Europe and the Mediterranean. Imports from the far eastern countries came by caravan through Asia to ports on the Black Sea. The water routes led by way of the Persian Gulf to the great Syrian cities of Antioch and Palmyra, and by way of the Red Sea to Alexandria on the Nile. From these thriving commercial centres, products were shipped to every region of the empire.

Principal trade routes.

Rome formed the great world market to which all lines of transport by sea and land converged. The Mediterranean was covered with ships, making, with a fair wind, ten miles an hour, and large enough, at least in one instance, to carry an Egyptian obelisk. The chief port of entry for foreign goods was Puteoli, an old Greek colony on the Bay of Naples. Sheltered, easy of access, and situated near the Appian Way, Puteoli became the Liverpool of Italy.[1] Passengers, letters, and valuable cargoes were landed there rather than at Ostia, a dangerous harbour, owing to the choking up of the channels with sand. Though vessels were made strong and sound,

Transportation.

A Roman Freight Ship

The ship lies beside the wharf at Ostia. In the afterpart of the vessel is a cabin with two windows. Notice the figure of Victory on the top of the single mast and the decoration of the mainsail with the wolf and twins. The ship is steered by a pair of huge paddles.

[1] See the map, page 339. St. Paul, on his journey to Rome, disembarked at Puteoli, and followed the Appian Way to the capital. See *Acts*, xxviii, 13–14.

shipwrecks were frequent, as they have always been in sailing days. Moreover, navigation by sea was practically abandoned during the winter months, when ships lay snug in harbour. Traffic by land, on the splendid Roman roads, probably much exceeded in amount and value the commerce by sea.

Imports to Rome.

The imperial capital received the productions of both civilized and barbarian countries. From the West came the lumber of Gaul; the grain of Sicily; the wool of Spain; the tin and leather of Britain; the amber, furs, and slaves of Germany. From the East the Ægean islands contributed their marbles and their wines; Asia Minor, its luxurious fabrics and precious works of art; Syria, dyes, cedar wood, and glass; Egypt, grain and costly manufactures; Africa, ivory and ostrich feathers; Arabia, incense, perfumes, and precious stones. Even distant India and China sent fine cotton stuffs, delicate silks, and odorous spices. "Now Rome is golden," sang one of her poets, "since she possesses the mighty treasure of the conquered world."[1]

Little export trade of Rome.

Roman commerce, though extensive, was yet very one-sided. The provinces poured in their productions; they took back very few Roman goods. The imperial city never became a really great manufacturing centre. Her workmen made many articles of luxury, such as fine furniture, lace, glass, pottery, and paper, but these were chiefly for home use. Only small quantities were sent abroad. Though her exports were so few, Rome was able to pay for her imports in ready money; that is, from the tribute or taxes levied on the provincials. Such an unusual state of things could not exist except in an empire built up by conquest.

The importation and disposal of foreign goods at Rome furnished employment for many thousands of traders. There were great wholesale merchants whose warehouses stored grain and all

[1] Ovid, *Halieutica*, 7–8. A New Testament writer declared that everything could be bought and sold at Rome, even the "souls of men" (*Revelation*, xviii, 13).

kinds of merchandise. There were small shopkeepers engaged in retailing — sometimes the slaves or freedmen of a wealthy noble who preferred to keep in the background, sometimes men of free birth. The feeling that petty trade was unworthy of a free citizen, though strong in republican days, tended to disappear under the empire.

Local trading at Rome.

The slaves at Rome, like those at Athens,[1] carried on many industrial tasks. We must not imagine, however, that all the manual labour of the city was performed by bondmen. The number of slaves even tended to decline, when there were no more border wars to yield captives for the slave markets. The growing custom of emancipation worked in the same direction. We find in this period a large body of free labourers, not only in the capital city, but in all parts of the empire.

Free labourers at Rome.

The workmen engaged in a particular calling frequently formed clubs, or guilds.[2] There were guilds of weavers, shoemakers, jewellers, painters, musicians, even of gladiators. The Roman emperors looked with suspicion on these associations as possible centres of conspiracy or disorder, and required them to be licensed.[3] The guilds were not organized, as are our trade unions, to secure higher wages and shorter hours by strikes or threat of strikes. They seem to have existed chiefly for social and religious purposes. Each guild had its club-house for official meetings and banquets. Each guild had its special deity, such as Vesta, the fire goddess, for bakers, and Bacchus, the wine god, for innkeepers. Every year the guildsmen held a festival in honour of their patron, and marched through the streets with banners and the emblems of their trade. Nearly all the guilds had as one main object the provision of a proper funeral and tomb for deceased members. The humble labourer found some consolation in the thought that he belonged to a club of friends

The guilds.

[1] See page 232.

[2] Latin *collegia*, whence our "college."

[3] The New Testament contains an instructive instance of a riot begun by the silversmiths' guild of Ephesus against St. Paul and his companions. See *Acts*, xix, 24–41.

and fellow workers who after death would give him decent burial and keep his memory green.

Free working men throughout the Roman world appear to have lived reasonably happy lives. They were not driven or enslaved by their employers, or forced to labour for long hours in grimy, unwholesome factories. Slums existed, but no sweating dens. If wages were low, so also was the cost of living. Wine, oil, and wheat flour were cheap. The mild climate made heavy clothing unnecessary and permitted an outdoor life. The public baths — great clubhouses — stood open to every one who could pay a trifling fee. Numerous holidays, celebrated with games and shows, brightened existence. On the whole, we may conclude that working people at Rome and in the provinces enjoyed greater comfort during the Early Empire than had ever been their lot in previous ages.

Life of the working classes.

183. Social Conditions in the First and Second Centuries

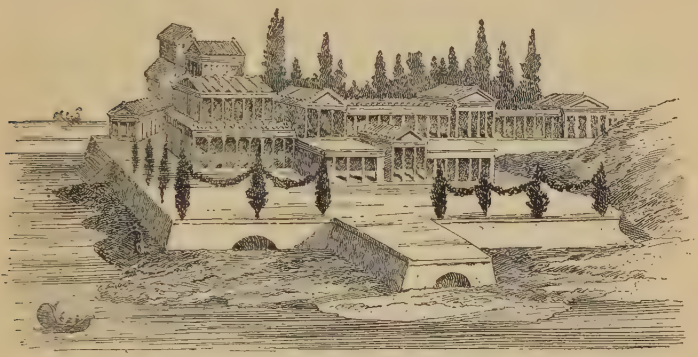
We have already noticed some of the striking changes in Roman society following the era of foreign conquest. We saw how the citizens of the republic had come to be divided into three great classes, or orders: nobles, knights, and commons.[1] Under the Early Empire the old nobility steadily died out, but its place was taken by the new nobles whom Augustus and his successors freely created. A nobleman had the privilege of wearing the toga with a broad purple stripe; he sat in the best place at the public games; he enjoyed the title of *Clarissimus*, "Right Honourable." For admittance to either the senatorial or the equestrian order a person was required to possess property reaching a certain amount, about eight thousand pounds for a senator, about four thousand for a knight. A poor man would have to be fortunate indeed to accumulate enough money for entrance within this aristocracy of wealth.

An aristocracy of wealth.

[1] See pages 392-394.

It was an age of millionaires. There had been rich men such as Crassus[1] during the last century of the republic; their numbers increased and their fortunes rose during the first century of the empire. The philosopher Seneca, a tutor of Nero, is said to have made nearly two and a half millions within four years by the emperor's favour. Narcissus, the secretary of Claudius, amassed a fortune of nearly three and a quarter

Great fortunes.



A Roman Villa

Wall-painting, Pompeii

millions—the largest Roman fortune on record. This sum must be multiplied four or five times to find its modern equivalent, since in antiquity interest rates were higher and the purchasing power of money was greater than to-day. Such huge private fortunes are surpassed only by those of the present age.

The heaping-up of riches in the hands of a few brought its natural consequence in luxury and extravagance. "Since Roman poverty departed," declared a pagan moralist, "every lust is in our midst."[2] The palaces of the wealthy, with their gardens, baths, picture galleries, and other features, were costly to build and costly to keep up. The money not lavished by a noble on his town house could be easily sunk on his

Luxury and extravagance.

[1] See pages 412–413.

[2] Juvenal, vi, 294–295.

villas in the country. All Italy, from the Bay of Naples to the foot of the Alps, was dotted with elegant residences, having flower gardens, game preserves, fishponds, and artificial lakes.[1] Much senseless waste occurred at banquets and entertainments. The fare of the rich was as sumptuous as the food of the poor was mean. We are told of one notorious epicure who, after spending several millions on the pleasures of the table, committed suicide when he found that he had only half a million left. Vast sums were spent on vessels of gold and silver, jewellery, clothing, and house furnishings. Even funerals and tombs required heavy outlays. A magnate and capitalist of imperial Rome could get rid of a fortune in selfish indulgence almost as readily as any modern millionaire not blessed with a refined taste or with public spirit.

Some of the customs of the time appear especially shocking. The brutal gladiatorial games [2] were a passion with every one, from the emperor to his lowest subject. Infanticide was a general practice. Marriage grew to be a mere civil contract, easily made and easily broken. There were Roman women, it was said, who counted their years by the number of their husbands. Common as divorce had become, the married state was regarded as undesirable. Augustus, in vain, made laws to encourage matrimony and discourage celibacy. Suicide, especially among the upper classes, was astonishingly frequent. No one questioned another's right to leave this life at pleasure. The decline of the earlier paganism left many men without a deep religious faith to combat the growing doubt and worldliness of the age.

Some social evils.

Yet this dark picture needs correction at many points. It may be questioned whether the vice, luxury, and wickedness of ancient

[1] Hadrian's villa at Tibur (Tivoli), near Rome, was celebrated for its magnificence. It contained imitations of the places which had most excited the emperor's interest during his travels throughout the provinces. Among these were the Lyceum and the Academy of Athens, the Vale of Tempè, and Canopus, a pleasure resort in Lower Egypt. The villa was full of works of art, some of which have been recovered by modern excavations.

[2] See page 590.

Rome, Antioch, or Alexandria much surpassed what our great modern capitals can show. It should be remembered, also, that these and other cities did not make up the entire empire. Outside the brutalized court circle, surrounding a Caligula or a Nero, were many Roman nobles who in their country villas led clean and sober lives. Beyond the city mob Italy and the provinces still contained thousands of industrious workmen and peasants who laboured in their shops or on their little farms. Moreover, the worst phases of Roman society displayed themselves under the early emperors. Under the Flavian and Antonine Cæsars there was more than a century of nobler living.

Mitigating considerations.

During this period many remarkable improvements took place in social life and manners. There was an increasing kindliness and charity. The weak and the infirm were better treated. Trajan lent municipalities large sums of money to be used for the maintenance of poor children. Antoninus Pius set aside an endowment for the care of orphan girls. The education of the poor was encouraged by the free schools which Vespasian and some of his successors founded. Wealthy citizens of the various towns lavished their fortunes on such public works as baths, aqueducts, and temples, for the benefit of all classes.[1] Even the slaves profited by the increasing humanity of the times. Imperial laws aimed to check the abuses of cruelty, overwork, and neglect. Philosophers recommended to masters the exercise of gentleness and mercy toward slaves. Seneca and other Stoics argued that slaves "are also men, and friends, and our fellow servants."[2] If mankind has taken many a forward step since those ancient days, it is well to recognize that even then the pagan world was not hopelessly corrupt ; that it still contained elements of progress to lead it forward to better things.

Brighter aspects of Roman society.

[1] See page 479.

[2] Seneca, *Epistolæ*, 47. Elsewhere this same philosopher declares, "We are the members of a great body; Nature has made us akin to one another" (*Epistolæ*, 95).

184. The Græco-Roman World

Just as the conquests of Alexander, by uniting the Orient to Greece, produced a Græco-Oriental civilization, so now the expansion of Rome over the Mediterranean formed another world-wide culture, in which both Greek and Roman elements met and mingled. A new sense of cosmopolitanism arose in place of the old feeling of civic or national patriotism. "We have not," says the Roman philosopher Seneca, "shut ourselves up in the walls of a city; we have opened an intercourse with all mankind; we have declared ourselves citizens of the world." The Greek Plutarch uses almost identical language, "I am a citizen, not of Athens or of Greece, but of the world." [1]

The new cosmopolitanism.

This cosmopolitan feeling was something quite unknown before. It followed naturally as the outcome of those unifying and civilizing forces which the imperial system set at work. The extension of Roman citizenship broke down the old distinction between the citizens and the subjects of Rome. The development of Roman law carried its principles of justice and equity to the remotest regions. The spread of the Latin language provided the western half of the empire with a speech as universal there as Greek was in the East. Trade and travel united the provinces with one another and with Rome. The worship of the Cæsars dimmed the lustre of all local worships, and kept constantly before men's minds the idea of Rome and of her mighty emperors. Last, but not least important, was the fusion of alien peoples through intermarriage with Roman soldiers and colonists. "How many settlements," exclaims Seneca, "have been planted in every province! Wherever the Roman conquers, there he dwells." [2]

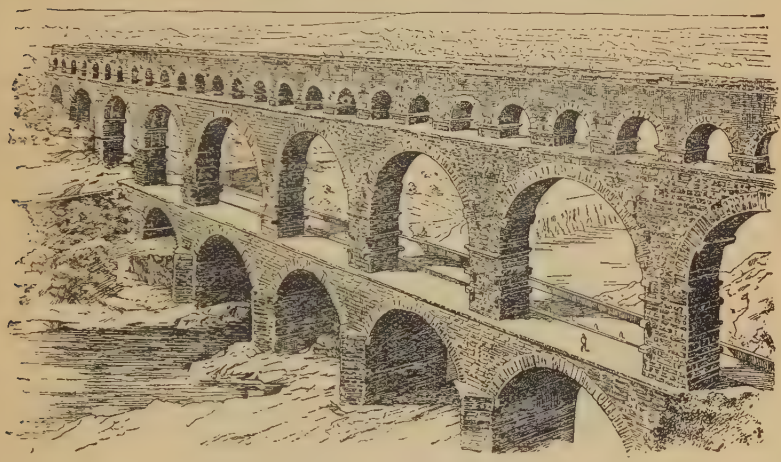
Unifying and civilizing forces.

The best evidence of Rome's imperial rule is found in the monuments she raised in every quarter of the ancient world. Some of the grandest ruins of antiquity are not in the capital

[1] Plutarch, *De exilio*, 5. [2] Seneca, *Minor Dialogues*, xi, 7.

city itself, or even in Italy, but in Spain, France, England, Greece, Switzerland, Asia Minor, Syria, north Africa. Among these are such structures as Hadrian's Wall in Britain, the splendid aqueduct known as the Pont du Gard near Nîmes in southern France, the beautiful temple called La Maison Carrée in the same city, the Olympieum at Athens,

Monuments of Roman rule.



A Roman Aqueduct

The Pont du Gard near Nîmes (ancient Nemausus) in southern France. Built by the emperor Antoninus Pius. The bridge spans two hilltops nearly a thousand feet apart. It carries an aqueduct with three tiers of massive stone arches at a height of 160 feet above the stream. This is the finest and best preserved aqueduct in existence.

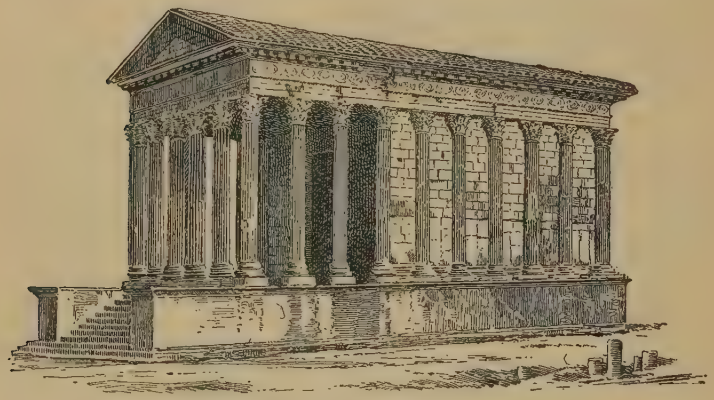
and the wonderful Temple of the Sun at Baalbec in Syria. Thus the lonely hilltops, the desolate desert sands, the mountain fastnesses of three continents bear witness even now to the widespread sway of Rome.

The civilized world took on the stamp and impress of Rome. The East, indeed, remained Greek in language[1] and feeling, but

[1] The Romans recognized the supremacy of Greek in the East and called it the *altera lingua*, the "other language." Every well-educated Roman, as a rule, spoke Greek. Latin, however, was always the official language of the empire, used in the courts and in public documents, laws, and proclamations.

even there Roman law and government prevailed, Roman roads traced their unerring course, and Roman architects erected majestic monuments. The West became completely Roman. North Africa, Spain, Gaul, distant Dacia, and Britain were the seats of populous cities, where the Latin language was spoken and Roman customs were followed. From them came the emperors. They furnished some of the most

Romanization of East and West.



A Roman Temple

The best preserved of Roman temples. Situated at Nîmes in southern France, where it is known as La Maison Carrée ("the square house"). The structure is now used as a museum of antiquities.

eminent men of letters. Their schools of grammar and rhetoric attracted students from Rome itself. Thus unconsciously, but none the less surely, local habits and manners, national religions and tongues, provincial institutions and ways of thinking disappeared from the ancient world.

It is to a provincial poet that we must turn for perhaps the best description of this wonderful process of assimilation: "Rome, Rome alone, has taken the conquered to her bosom, and has made men to be of one household with one name, herself their mother, not their empress, and has called her vassals citizens, and has linked far places in a

A contemporary description.

bond of love. Hers is that large loyalty to which we owe it that the stranger walks in a strange land as if it were his own; that men can change their homes; that it is a pastime to visit Thule and to expose mysteries at which we once shuddered; that we drink at will the waters of the Rhone and the Orontes; that the whole earth is one people."[1]

TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT BAALBEC

The ruins at Baalbec in Syria lie amidst desolate mountains, forty miles from the sea. They consist of a group of shattered temples crowning the ancient acropolis. Six massive columns nearly one hundred feet high, supporting a marble frieze, are all that remain of the majestic Temple of the Sun.

A Golden Age.

Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, thus refers to the general felicity that attended the growth and establishment of Roman influence:

"If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the

[1] Claudian, *De consulatu Stilichonis*, 150-159.

world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. . . . The labours of these monarchs were overpaid by the immense reward that inseparably waited on their success; by the honest pride of virtue, and by the exquisite delight of beholding the general happiness of which they were the authors."[1]

[1] Vol. i, ch. iii.

CHAPTER XV

THE LATER EMPIRE, 180–395 A.D.

185. The "Soldier Emperors," 180–284 A.D.

THE long era of two hundred and seven years between the accession of Augustus and the death of Marcus Aurelius is commonly known as the Early Empire. As we have seen, this was a time of settled government and of internal tranquillity. Save for a brief period of anarchy at the close of Nero's reign, it was also a time of regular succession to the imperial throne. The emperors, with few exceptions, were vigorous and capable rulers. The peace and prosperity that they gave to the Roman world during these two centuries amply justify—if justification be needed—the change from republic to empire.

The Early Empire, 27 B.C.–180 A.D.

The period called the Later Empire covers the two hundred and fifteen years from the accession of Commodus to the death of Theodosius. It is, in general, a period of decline. It falls naturally into two divisions: a century of military despotism, lasting until the reforms of Diocletian (284 A.D.); and a century of reorganized and better government, ending with the final division of the empire (395 A.D.).

The Later Empire, 180–395 A.D.

The storms which descended upon the Roman world during the trying times of the third century were partly due to the growing independence of the army. During the short reign of Commodus (180–192 A.D.), the unworthy son of Marcus Aurelius, the prætorian guard[1] became the real master of Rome. After the assassination of Commodus the soldiers set up a new emperor, murdered him

The army makes and unmakes emperors.

[1] See page 448.

before he had ruled three months, and then sold the throne by auction to the highest bidder. A wealthy senator gained the prize by promising to pay every prætorian a sum equal to about £200. The three great armies on the frontiers refused to sanction this disgraceful proceeding, and each proclaimed its favourite general, emperor. The throne was won by Septimius Severus, commander on the Danube. His reign (193–211 A.D.) once more established a stable government. Seeing the danger to himself in the growing power of the prætorian guard, Severus determined to destroy its influence. Hitherto the guard had been recruited exclusively in Italy and a few favoured provinces. Severus extended the distinction to the legions in general and quadrupled the number of the body. The introduction of these new elements into its ranks was successful in breaking the power of the guard, and its prestige was never regained. It was finally dispersed among the regular army by Constantine the Great.

"Imperial phantoms."

The peace and order of Severus' reign did not last long. The next seventy-five years form a dreary epoch. Emperor after emperor followed in quick succession, to reign for a brief period and then to perish at the hands of a mutinous soldiery or of a successful contestant for the throne. Within a single year (237–238 A.D.) six rulers were elected, worshipped, and then murdered by their troops. "You little know," said one of these imperial phantoms, "what a poor thing it is to be an emperor."[1]

German inroads on the western frontiers.

While rival generals were fighting for the purple, the very existence of the government was threatened by the Germans. Among these were the Goths, who crossed the Danube and carried fire and sword into Mœsia, Thrace, and Macedonia. They defeated and killed the emperor Decius (249–251 A.D.). This was the first time a Cæsar had fallen in battle with the barbarians. A few years later the province of Dacia, which Trajan had won, was abandoned

[1] Vopiscus, *Saturninus*, 10.

to the Goths. The Danube became once more the dividing line between Roman civilization and Germanic barbarism.

A serious danger also appeared in the distant East. Here the Parthian Empire had gone down before the revolt of the subject people of Persia. The new dynasty in race and religion was Persian. It claimed descent from Cyrus and Darius, and sought to recover from Roman hands the Asiatic provinces which had once formed a part of the old

The New Persian Empire.

TRIUMPH OF THE PERSIAN KING OVER VALERIAN

A relief near the Persian town of Shiraz. According to one legend, Sapor, the king of Persia, used the captive Valerian as a footstool in mounting his horse.

Persian realm. Persian armies crossed the Euphrates, overran Mesopotamia and Syria, and captured the emperor Valerian (253–260 A.D.). Though the Persians failed to make any permanent conquests of Roman territory, their constant attacks weakened the empire at the very time when the northern barbarians had again become a menace.

Another danger which appeared during these troubled years was the revolt of provincial rulers. Under a weak or unpopular emperor it became an easy thing for an ambitious governor to ignore the authority of Rome and to set up an independent state.

Rise of independent rulers.

The best known of such usurpers was Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, the "City of Palms." It lay in an oasis of the Syrian desert at the junction of two important caravan routes, one from Phœnicia, the other from Arabia. The place was celebrated for its wealth and splendid architecture. Zenobia aimed at making it the equal of Rome. This masterful woman is one of the heroines of history. She boasted of descent

Zenobia, queen of Palmyra.

RUINS OF PALMYRA

from Cleopatra, and it is certain that in her dark beauty, her accomplishments, and her commanding manners Zenobia rivalled the Egyptian princess. Zenobia extended her sway over Syria, Egypt, and half of Asia Minor, ruling in defiance of Rome as "Queen of the East." But her power was brief. The emperor Aurelian (270–275 A.D.) invaded Syria with a large army, captured Palmyra, and brought Zenobia to Rome. After walking in Aurelian's triumphal procession, laden with golden chains, she retired to a villa at Tibur, to end her days in honourable repose. Palmyra itself, in punishment for a second revolt, was given to the flames. Now the site is marked only by majestic ruins, rising like spectres from the desert sands.

The close of the third century thus found the empire engaged in a struggle for existence. No part of the Roman world had escaped the ravages of war. The fortification of the capital city by a wall which still exists was itself a testimony to the altered condition of affairs. The situation was desperate, yet not hopeless. Under an able ruler like Aurelian, Rome proved to be still strong enough to repel her foes. It was

Situation in 284 A.D.

THE WALL OF ROME

Contructed by Aurelian and rebuilt by Honorius. The material is concrete faced with brick; thickness, 13 feet; greatest height, 58 feet. This is still the wall of the modern city, although at present no effort is made to keep it in repair.

the work of the even more capable Diocletian to establish the empire on so solid a foundation that it endured with almost undiminished strength for another hundred years.

186. Diocletian, 284–305 A.D.

Diocletian, whose reign is one of the most illustrious in Roman history, was a native of Salona in Dalmatia, and the son of a slave mother. He entered the army as a common soldier, rose to high command, and fought his way to the throne. A strong, ambitious man, Diocletian resolutely set himself to the task of remaking the Roman

Diocletian becomes emperor, 284 A.D.

government. His success in this great work entitles him to rank, as a statesman and administrator, with Cæsar Augustus.

The reforms of Diocletian were meant to remedy those evils in the imperial system disclosed by the disasters of the preceding century. In the first place, experience showed that the empire was unwieldy. There were the distant frontiers on the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates to be guarded; there were all the provinces to be governed. A single ruler, however able and energetic, had more than he could do.

Unwieldiness of the empire.

In the second place, the succession to the imperial throne was uncertain. Now an emperor named his successor, now the Senate elected him, now the swords of prætorians or legionaries raised him to the purple. Such an unsettled state of affairs constantly invited those struggles between rival pretenders which had so nearly brought the empire to destruction.

Uncertainty as to the succession.

Diocletian began his reforms by adopting a scheme for "partnership emperors." He shared the Roman world with a trusted lieutenant named Maximian. Each was to be an *Augustus*, with all the honours of an emperor. Diocletian, who took the majestic name of Jovius, ruled in the East; Maximian, under the title of Herculius, ruled the West. Still further partnership soon seemed advisable, and so each *Augustus* chose a younger associate, or *Cæsar*, to aid him in the government, and at his death or abdication to become his heir. Under this new system the burdens of the government would be borne by four men, and the empire, it was hoped, would never be left without legal heirs to the throne.

Diocletian's division of administration.

Diocletian also remodelled the provincial system. The entire empire, including Italy, was divided into more than one hundred provinces. They were grouped into thirteen dioceses, and these, in turn, into four prefectures.[1] This reform much lessened the

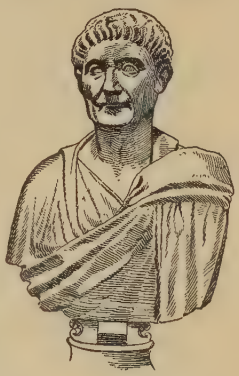
[1] The number and arrangement of these divisions varied somewhat during the fourth century. See the map between pages 506–507, for the system as it existed about 395 A.D.

authority of the provincial governor, who now ruled over a small district, and furthermore had to obey the vicar of his diocese. Henceforth there was a regular series of officials reaching up from the lowest public servants to the emperors themselves.

Remodelling of the provincial system.

These improvements in the machinery of administration were accompanied by striking changes in the form of government. Diocletian and his successors frankly abandoned the theory that the Senate at Rome ruled jointly with the emperor. Since the days of Augustus, the Senate had been steadily becoming less and less important.[1] After Diocletian gave up the practice of consulting it on public matters, that ancient body became nothing more than the municipal council of Rome. Long before this period the two consuls had declined into mere public officials of the Roman city. The last lingering traces of republican institutions thus disappeared.

Disappearance of republican institutions.



DIOCLETIAN
Capitoline Museum, Rome

Rome ceased to be, even in name, the capital. Diocletian and his associates took up their stations at points where their presence was most needed to ward off Persian and German attacks on the frontiers. Rome became only one among the many provincial cities of the empire. A Roman now was no longer the citizen of a commonwealth, but the subject of an emperor.

Rome no longer the capital.

The emperors, from Diocletian onward, were thorough autocrats. They bore the title of *Dominus* ("Lord"). They were treated as gods. Everything that touched their persons was sacred, and so men spoke of the "sacred" palace, even of the "sacred" bedchamber. They wore a diadem of pearls and

The new absolutism.

[1] See page 440.

gorgeous robes of silk and gold like those of Asiatic monarchs.[1] They filled their palaces with a crowd of fawning, flattering nobles, and busied themselves with an endless round of stately and impressive ceremonials. Hitherto a Roman emperor had been an *imperator*,[2] the head of an army. Now he became a king, to be greeted, not with the old military salute, but with the bent knee and the prostrate form of adoration. Such pomps and vanities, which former Romans would have thought degrading, helped to inspire reverence among the servile subjects of a later age. If it was the aim of Augustus to disguise, it was the aim of Diocletian to display, the unbounded power of a Roman emperor.

Diocletian took twenty years to effect his reforms in the machinery of government. Then, in the presence of the army that had raised him to the throne, the aged ruler gave up his office and persuaded Maximian to do the same. Some years afterwards, when the latter urged him to regain his power, Diocletian wrote from his country retreat at Salona, "Could you come here and see the vegetables that I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."[3] Unlike Augustus, Diocletian was willing to lay down the sceptre when at the height of his glory.

Abdication of Diocletian, 305 A.D.

187. Constantine the Great, 306–337 A.D.

There can be little doubt that Diocletian's reforms helped to prolong the existence of the empire. In one respect, however, they must be pronounced a failure. They did not end the disputes about the succession. Only two years after the abdication of Diocletian there were six rival pretenders for the title of *Augustus*. Their dreary struggles continued, until at length two emperors were left — Constantine in the West, Licinius in the East. After a few years of joint rule another civil war made Constantine supreme. The Roman world again had a single master.

Accession of Constantine (sole emperor, 324–337 A.D.).

[1] See page 78. [2] See pages 353, 426. [3] Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 39.

Constantine, in character, was a second Diocletian, an able general and a wise statesman. Two events of lasting importance have made his reign memorable. It was Constantine who recognized Christianity as one of the religions of the empire, and thus paved the way for the triumph of that faith over the ancient paganism. His work in this connection will be reviewed in the following chapter. It was Constantine who established a new capital for the Roman world at Byzantium[1] on the Bosporus. He christened it "New Rome," but it soon took the emperor's name as Constantinople, the "City of Constantine."

Reign of Constantine.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
Lateran Museum, Rome

Several good reasons could be urged for the removal of the world's metropolis from the Tiber to the Bosporus. The Roman Empire was ceasing to be one empire. Constantine wanted a centre for the eastern half to balance Rome in the western half. Byzantium had always been a commercial metropolis, for it stands in Europe, looks on Asia, and commands the entrance to the Mediterranean and the Euxine. The new capital, therefore, could enjoy every comfort, every luxury, of both East and West. Constantinople, far more than Rome, was the military centre of the empire, and so the proper dwelling-place for rulers who had to face Germans on the lower Danube and Persians on the Euphrates. The city was no less favourably situated for defence. It could be approached by land on one side only, and here two huge ramparts, remains of which are still visible, gave ample protection.

Reasons for the founding of Constantinople.

[1] See pages 159, 178.

Constantinople, in fact, was impregnable. It resisted every barbarian attack, and for eleven centuries continued to be the capital of what was left of the Roman Empire.

Constantinople lies on a jutting peninsula between the Sea of Marmora[1] and the famous harbour now called the Golden Horn.

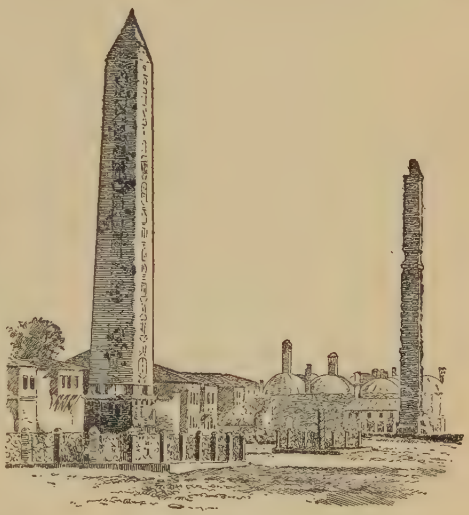
Constantinople described.

Washed on three sides by the water, from which it rises in swelling hills, the site is justly celebrated as one of the noblest in the world.[2] Constantine laid out his new capital on a scale of great magnificence and adorned it with the choicest treasures of art from Greece and Italy. One of the chief features of the city was the world-renowned Church of St. Sophia, now a Mohammedan mosque. The existing struc-

[1] The ancient Propontis.

[2] Equalled in natural beauty, perhaps, by San Francisco.

ture was raised in the sixth century by the emperor Justinian to replace Constantine's church. Another famous building was the Hippodrome for chariot races and gladiatorial shows. Before long Constantinople became a worthy rival of Rome and a splendid monument to its royal founder.[1]



THE THREE EXISTING MONUMENTS OF THE HIPPODROME, CONSTANTINOPLE

These three monuments preserve for us the exact line of the old *spina* round which the charioteers drove their furious steeds. The obelisk was transported by Constantine from Egypt. Between it and the crumbling tower beyond is the famous trophy of twisted serpents set up at Delphi by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa.

188. From Constantine to Theodosius, 337–395 A.D.

After the death of Constantine, the Roman world again entered on a period of disorder. The emperor's three sons quarrelled over their inheritance; civil wars broke out; and at last only one son, Constantius, remained to rule an undivided empire. During this time the inroads of the Germans across the Rhine showed what grave dangers threatened the provinces in Europe.

The sons of Constantine, 337–361 A.D.

The outlook in the Asiatic provinces was no less gloomy. The

[1] In the Middle Ages Constantinople was the most important city in Europe, with a thousand inhabitants for every hundred that could be found in the largest towns of Italy, Germany, or Gaul. Since its capture by the Turks in 1453, Constantinople, now known as Stamboul, has become the capital of the Turkish Empire. The crescent and the star, those familiar symbols on Turkish flags, once ornamented the coins of Byzantium.

young emperor Julian, a cousin of Constantius, reigned but two years when he fell in battle with the Persians. This was a sore loss, for the vigorous and capable Julian might have arrested, at least temporarily, the decline which had now set in throughout the Roman world.

Julian, 361–363 A.D.

The death of Julian led to another division of the empire. The ruler in the East was the incompetent Valens. His reign is memorable chiefly for the settlement within Roman territory of a great host of Goths from beyond the Danube. The emperor himself perished in a bloody struggle with the invaders.

Valens, 364–378 A.D.

These were dark days for Rome. Theodosius, the successor of Valens in the East, was able to make terms with the Goths, who had marched to the very walls of Constantinople. Theodosius also reunited the eastern and western halves of the empire for the final three years of his reign. This was the last real union of the Roman world under one man. In 395 A.D., when Theodosius died, the fortunes of East and West passed into separate hands. The same year saw the renewal of the barbarian invasions which were soon to break up the empire. Such significant events have made this date one of the turning points in history.

Theodosius, 379–395 A.D.

189. The Empire in 395 A.D.

In 395 A.D. more than four hundred years had elapsed since the battle of Actium made Octavian master of the Roman world. If we except the abandonment of Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube and the Euphrates,[1] no part of the huge empire had as yet fallen a prey to its enemies.

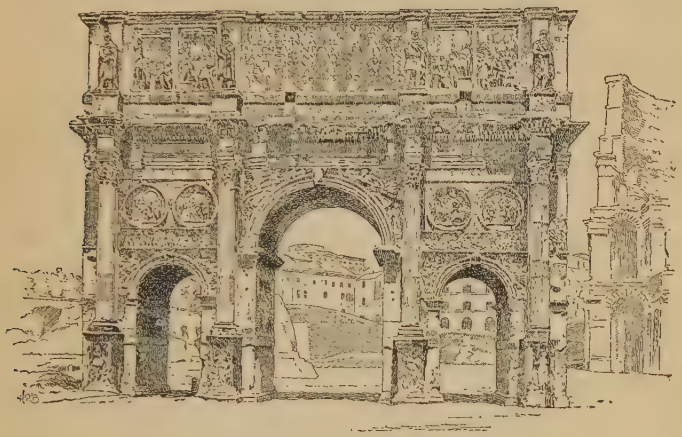
The empire still intact.

The subject peoples, during these four centuries, had not tried to overthrow the empire or to withdraw from its protection. The Roman state, men believed, would endure for ever. As the rule of Rome was universal over the

"Eternal Rome."

[1] See pages 457, 494–495.

civilized world, so must it be eternal. Yet the times were drawing nigh when the old order of things was to be broken up; when barbarian invaders were to seize the fairest provinces as their own; and when new kingdoms, ruled by men of Germanic speech, were to arise in lands that once yielded obedience to the sway of Rome.



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

Erected at Rome in 315 A.D. to commemorate the victory of Constantine over Maxentius.

After 395 A.D. the two divisions of the empire tended more and more to grow apart. Theodosius, indeed, in bequeathing the realm to his two sons, did only what many of his predecessors had done. In theory, the two emperors were still regarded as colleagues, ruling, the one from Constantinople, the other from Rome or Ravenna, a common Roman world. In reality, there was accomplished under the sons of Theodosius a cleavage into independent empires. The profound differences between Orient and Occident, in language, customs, and religion, made it impossible to continue longer a system of unified government. There came to be in fact, if not in name, a Roman Empire in the East and a Roman Empire in the West.

Tendency toward a lasting division of the Roman world.

The fates of these two divisions were widely different. The Eastern Empire, though threatened by enemies from without and weakened by civil conflicts from within, managed to endure for over a thousand years. The Western Empire, after 395 A.D., moved rapidly to its fall. During the century following the death of Theodosius, Germanic peoples founded independent kingdoms in Britain, Gaul, Spain, north Africa, even in Italy itself. The story of these great "wanderings of the nations" will be told in a later chapter.

The two empires.

190. Social Conditions in the Third and Fourth Centuries

Rome, it has been said, was not built in a day; the rule of Rome was not destroyed in a day. When we speak of the "fall" of Rome, we have in mind, not a violent catastrophe which suddenly plunged the civilized world into ruin, but rather the slow and gradual decay of classical society throughout the basin of the Mediterranean. This decay set in long before the Germans and the Persians became a serious danger to the empire. It would have continued, doubtless, had there been no Germans and Persians to break through the frontiers and destroy. The truth seems to be that during the third and fourth centuries of our era, ancient civilization, like an overtrained athlete, had grown "stale."

The "fall" of Rome.

It is not possible to set forth all the forces which century after century had been sapping the strength of the state. The most obvious element of weakness was the want of men to fill the armies and to cultivate the fields. The slave system seems to have been partly responsible for this depopulation. The peasant on his little homestead could not compete with the wealthy noble whose vast estates were worked by gangs of slaves. The artisan could not support himself and his family on the pittance that kept his slave competitor alive. Peasants and artisans gradually drifted into the cities, where the public distributions of grain, wine, and oil

Depopulation due to the slave system.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
about 395 A. D.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
ATLANTIC OCEAN
WEST ROMAN EMPIRE
PREFECTURE OF GAUL
PREFECTURE OF SPAIN
PREFECTURE OF ITALY
MEDITERRANEAN
North Sea
Saxons
Franks
Burgundians
Alamanni
GERMANY
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Loire R.
English Channel
WALL OF HADRIAN
Scot
York
London
Chalons
Lyons
Vienne
Mediolanum (Milan)
Verona
Aquileia
Pollentia
Ravenna
Florence
Rome
Ostia
Arles
Narbo
Massilia
Tarragona
Astorga
Corduba
Gades
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Cagliari
BALEARIC IS.
THE CITY OF ROME
Carthage
Cirta
Thapsus
SICILY
Straits of Messina
Longitude East from
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO

PROVINCES
REFECTURE OF GAUL
DIOCESE OF SPAIN
Baetica
Balearic Isles
Carthaginiensis
Galicia
Lusitania
Mauretania Tingitana
Tarraconensis
DIOCESE OF GAUL
Aquitaine I
Aquitaine II
Belgica I
Belgica II
Germania I
Germania II
Lugdunensis
Maritime Alps
Maxima Sequanorum
Narbonnensis I
Narbonnensis II
12 Novempopulana
13 Pennine and Graian Alps
14 Viennensis
DIOCESE OF BRITAIN
1 Britain I
2 Britain II
3 Flavia Caesariensis
4 Maxima Caesariensis
5 Valentia
PREFECTURE OF ITALY
DIOCESE OF AFRICA
1 Byzacium
2 Mauretania Caesariensis
3 Mauretania Sitifensis
4 Numidia
5 Tripolitana
DIOCESE OF THE CITY OF ROME
1 Apulia and Calabria
2 Bruttia and Lucania
3 Campania
4 Corsica
5 Picenum Suburbicarium
6 Samnium
7 Sardinia
8 Sicily
9 Tuscany and Umbria
10 Valeria
DIOCESE OF ITALY
1 Aemilia
2 Cottian Alps
3 Dalmatia
4 Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium
5 Liguria
6 Noricum mediterraneum
7 Noricum ripense
8 Pannonia I
9 Pannonia II
10 Raetia I
11 Raetia II
12 Savia
13 Valeria ripensis
14 Venetia and Istria
PREFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM
DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA
1 Achaia
2 Crete
3 Epirus nova
4 Epirus vetus
5 Macedonia
6 Macedonia Salutaris
7 Thessaly
DIOCESE OF DACIA
1 Dacia mediterranea
2 Dacia ripensis
3 Dardania
4 Moesia I
5 Praevalitana
PREFECTURE OF THE EAST
DIOCESE OF EGYPT
1 Arcadia
2 Augustamnica
3 Egypt
4 Lower Libya
5 Thebais
6 Upper Libya
DIOCESE OF THE EAST
1 Arabia
2 Cilicia I
3 Cilicia II
4 Cyprus
5 Eufratensis
6 Isauria
7 Mesopotamia
8 Osrhoëne
9 Palestine I
10 Palestine II
11 Palestine (Salutaris)
12 Phoenicia
13 Phoenicia Libani
14 Syria I
15 Syria Salutaris
DIOCESE OF PONTUS
1 Armenia I
2 Armenia II
3 Bithynia
4 Cappadocia I
5 Cappadocia II
6 Galatia
7 Galatia Salutaris
8 Helenopontus
9 Honorias
10 Paphlagonia
11 Pontus Polemoniacus
DIOCESE OF ASIA
1 Asia
2 Caria
3 Hellespontus
4 Lycaonia
5 Lycia
6 Lydia
7 Pamphylia
8 Phrygia Pacatiana
9 Phrygia Salutaris
10 Pisidia
DIOCESE OF THRACE
1 Europe
2 Haemimontium
3 Moesia II
4 Rhodope
5 Scythia
6 Thrace
Hunns
Goths
Danube R.
Black Sea
Theodosia
Cherson
Tomi
Adrianople
Heraclea
Constantinople
Bosporus
Nicomedia
Ganara
Amasia
Neocaesarea
Sebaste
Melitene
Caesarea
Thessalonica
Cyzicus
Nicaea
Synnada
Sardis
Laodicia
Iconium
Tyana
Tarsus
Perge
Seleucia
Myra
Rhodes
Ephesus
Aphrodisias
Athens
Corinth
Thebes
Nicopolis
MACEDONIA
Sparta
Cortyna
CRETA
(To D. of Macedonia)
CYPRUS
Constantia
Berytus
Damascus
Tyre
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Bostra
Antioch
Edessa
Nisibis
Palmyra
Euphrates R.
Ptolemais
Cyrene
Darnis
Cabasa
Alexandria
Antinoë
Red Sea
PREFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM
PREFECTURE OF THE EAST
D. OF DACIA
D. OF THRACE
D. OF PONTUS
D. OF ASIA
D. OF THE EAST
D. OF EGYPT
EAST ROMAN EMPIRE
ROMAN SEA
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°

assured them of at least a living with little expense, and almost without exertion. In Italy, and even in some of the provinces, the class of free farmers and free workingmen became all but extinct.

But slavery was not the only cause of depopulation. There was a great deal of what has been called "race suicide" in that old Roman world. Well-to-do people who could easily support large families often refused to be burdened with them, either by the brutal method of exposing infants to die, or by refusing to marry at all. In the time of Augustus, and even earlier, Rome contained so many rich men who had not married that legacy hunters made a regular business of flattering them so as to be remembered in their wills. Childlessness, however, was not confined to the wealthy, since the poorer classes, crowded in the huge lodging houses of the cities, had no true family life. Roman emperors, who saw how difficult it was to get a sufficient number of recruits for the army, and how whole districts were going to waste for lack of people to dwell in them, sought to repopulate the empire by force of law. They imposed penalties for the childlessness and celibacy of the rich, and founded institutions for the rearing of children, that the poor might not fear to raise large families. Such measures were scarcely successful. "Race suicide" continued during pagan times, and even during the Christian age, when men went so far as to avoid marriage for the supposed good of their souls.

"Race suicide."

The decline in population was due to still other causes. A great plague during the reign of Marçus Aurelius swept off vast numbers of the people in Italy and the provinces. The ravages of malaria, a disease very prevalent during these centuries, resulted in a high death-rate, especially among children. The long series of civil wars under the "Soldier Emperors" were terribly destructive of human life. Finally, there were the raids of the barbarians, who seized every chance to cross the frontiers and slay or carry off as captives the peaceful inhabitants of the border provinces.

Other reasons for depopulation.

The next most obvious element of weakness was the shrinkage of the revenues. The empire suffered from want of money as well as from want of men. To meet the heavy cost of the luxurious court, to pay the salaries of the swarms of public officials, to support the idle populace in the great cities required a vast annual income. But just when public expenditures were rising by leaps and bounds, it became harder and harder to raise sufficient revenue. Smaller numbers meant fewer taxpayers. Fewer taxpayers meant a heavier burden on those who survived to pay.

Loss of revenues.

As poverty and depression — "hard times" — settled on the Roman world, the weight of taxation became almost intolerable. The harshest methods were adopted to wring from the wretched subjects every penny that could possibly be paid. The *curiales*[1] in each city were required to collect the taxes, and when a deficit occurred, to make it up from their own property. The people, it is said, came to dread the visits of the taxgatherer even more than the inroads of the Germans.

Burden of taxation.

These two forces — the decline in population and the decline in wealth — worked together to produce economic ruin. It is no wonder, therefore, that in province after province large tracts of land went out of cultivation, that the towns decayed, and that commerce and manufactures suffered an appalling decline. The Roman Empire was starving to death.

Economic ruin.

Doubtless still other forces were at work to weaken the state and make it incapable of further resistance to the barbarians. Among such forces we must reckon Christianity itself. By the close of the fourth century, Christianity had become the religion of the empire. The new faith, as we shall soon see, helped, not to support, but rather to undermine, pagan society.

Influence of Christianity.

[1] See page 478. The *curiales* were not allowed to give up their positions and retire to private life. A law made the office hereditary, and indeed imposed it on all citizens who owned over twenty-five acres of land.

PALESTINE
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30
Roman-Province of Syria
Judea under the Procurator Pontius Pilate
Tetrarchy of Philip
Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas
Modern names thus – Jaffa
Ancient names thus (Joppa)
34°30′
35°
35°30′ Long. East from Greenwich 36°
33° 30′
32° 30′
31° 30′
Sidon
SYRIA
Mt HERMON
Tyre
Caesarea Philippi (Banias)
Dan
TELL ESH SHEIKHA
el Kuneitrah
Waters of Merom 7 ft below Med.
Achzib (es Zib)
Giscala
Safed
Acre (Akka)
Chorazin
Capernaum (Tell Hum)
Bethsaida Julias
Nawa
Sogane
GALILEE
L. of Gennesaret
Jotapata
Magdala
Gergesa
Gamala
Haifa
Tiberias
Sea of Galilee
Aphek
Hippos
Sepphoris
Emmaus
Cana of Galilee
Tarichaea
682 ft bl Med.
Nazareth
Amathus
Gadara
Abila
Semuhieh
Sinnabris
Mt TABOR
Nain
Tanturah
Megiddo
Jezreel (Zerin)
Ford of Abara (Bethabara)
Caesarea (el Kulah)
Beisan
Mt GILBOA
Pella
Jenin
Dothan
SAMARIA
Geba
Ainun
Aenon
Gerasa
Samaria
Mt EBAL
Apollonia
Nablous (Shechem)
Salim
Caphar Saba (Kefr Saba)
Mt GERIZIM
Jacob's Well
Jabbok
Antipatris
Archelais
Mt GILEAD
Jaffa (Joppa)
Coreae
Phasaelis
Lydda
Gophna
Bethel
Ephraim
Philadelphia (Amman)
Jabneel
JUDAEA
Ekron
Emmaus (Amwas)
Ramah
Jericho
Livias
Heshdon
Mt NEBO
Azotus
Jerusalem
Bethphage
Bethany
Bethlehem
Herodium
Ascalon
Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin)
Mareshah
Callirhoe
Adoraim
Hebron
Gaza
Juttah
En Gedi
DEAD SEA
1292 feet below the Med.
IDUMAEA
Masada
Beersheba
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jordan
River
El Ghor
Sharon
Plain of Esdraelon
Mt CARMEL
R. Kishon
R. Yarmuk
Sepheleh
Sepheleh
Jordan
Jabbok
Mt GILEAD
Mt NEBO

CHAPTER XVI

CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN WORLD TO 395 A.D.

191. The Decline of Paganism

SEVERAL centuries before Christianity came into the world, many Greek thinkers began to feel a growing dissatisfaction with the crude faiths that had come down to them from prehistoric times. They found it more and more difficult to believe in the Olympian deities, who were fashioned like themselves and had all the faults of mortal men. An adulterous Zeus, a bloodthirsty Ares, and a scolding Hera, as Homer represents them, were hardly divinities

Growing scepticism of the Greeks.

ARES DESCENDING TO BATTLE

that a cultured Greek could love and worship. Plato declared that the mythological stories told by Homer "are neither reverent to the gods nor profitable to us."[1] Lucian,[2] one of the most

[1] Plato, *Republic*, ii, 380.

[2] See pages 289–290.

important Greek authors of the second century A.D., wrote an amusing work, called the *Dialogues of the Gods*, for the very purpose of laughing down the popular Greek faith. With many men scepticism, and even open mockery, took the place of the simple, childlike belief of earlier ages.

For educated Romans, also, the rites and ceremonies of the ancient religion came gradually to lose their meaning. The worship of the Roman gods had never appealed to the emotions. Now it tended to pass into the mere mechanical repetition of prayers and sacrifices. Augustus could restore the state religion, rebuild the decaying temples, and fill once more the priesthoods — but he could not win men back to a lively faith in the ancient paganism. Even the worship of the Cæsars,[1] which did much to hold the empire together, failed to satisfy the spiritual wants of mankind. It made no appeal to the moral nature; it brought no message, either of fear or hope, about a future world and a life beyond the grave. The ancient oracles of Greek and Roman religion were dumb. Men turned elsewhere for spiritual joy and consolation.

Decline of the Roman state religion.

During these centuries the Greek philosophy of Stoicism[2] won many disciples among the Romans. Its doctrines were preached by the philosopher Seneca, whom a freak of fate made the tutor and prime minister of Nero, and by the Greek freedman Epictetus, who lectured in Rome toward the close of the first century of the empire. Anyone who will read their writings, or those of Marcus Aurelius,[3] will see how nearly Christian was the Stoic faith. It urged men to forgive injuries — to "bear and forbear." It preached the brotherhood of man. It expressed a humble and unfaltering reliance on a divine Providence. To many persons of refinement, Stoicism became a real religion. But since Stoic philosophy could reach and influence only the educated classes, it could not become a religion for all sorts and conditions of men.

Stoicism.

[1] See pages 446–447. [2] See pages 299, 459. [3] See page 459.

192. The Greek Mysteries

Many Greeks found a partial satisfaction for their religious longings in secret rites called mysteries. The Orphic mysteries were so named from a mythical hero, Orpheus of Thrace, the son of Apollo and the muse Calliope. Legend made him the first poet and musician. He played so sweetly on the lyre that not only his fellow mortals, but even the wild beasts stopped to listen to the music. When his wife Eurydice died, he went after her to Hades, and the strains of his music softened the stern gods of the dead. Eurydice was allowed to follow her husband to the upper world. Before they passed the gates of death, Orpheus turned round to look at his wife; this act broke the spell; and she vanished from his sight. The Thracian women, jealous of his unconquerable love for Eurydice, tore him in pieces. But the Muses gave to the fragments of his body reverent burial, and Zeus placed his lyre among the stars.

Legend of Orpheus.

Orpheus, to the ancients, was a religious teacher and the founder of rites which brought salvation to all who knew them. The Orphic mysteries centred in the worship of Dionysus, a god of trees and vines, who symbolized the reproductive powers of nature. Candidates for admission to the mysteries met by night on a lonely mountain peak, and with torches in their hands danced wildly to the sound of flutes and cymbals. Men and women tore and devoured the limbs of animal victims, just as Orpheus had been destroyed. In this state of religious frenzy, they imagined that their souls communed with Dionysus and enjoyed a foretaste of their future life of bliss. The Orphic teachings about the other world as a place of rewards and punishments had much influence on such philosophers as Pythagoras and Plato; centuries later they appear in the poems of the Roman Vergil; and they even affected Christian ideas of the life beyond the grave.[1]

The Orphic mysteries.

[1] The figure of Orpheus charming the beasts with his lyre may be seen in many of the Christian paintings of the Catacombs. The Fathers of the Church were per-

Even more important mysteries grew up at Eleusis, a little Attic town thirteen miles from Athens. They were connected with the worship of Demeter, goddess of vegetation and of the life of nature. A beautiful Greek legend told how Hades, the grim lord of the underworld, carried off her daughter Persephone, while she was playing in a sunny Sicilian vale. Demeter sought her child in every land, and as she searched and grieved, the whole world became barren. No fruit grew upon the trees, no grain came up in the fields, no flowers blossomed in the gardens. Then Zeus, seeing that everything on earth would perish unless the grief of Demeter was soothed, restored Persephone to her mother at Eleusis. For the four winter months of the year, however, she had to live with Hades as his wife and queen.

Legend of Demeter.

The myth of Demeter was one of the many stories by which early peoples have tried to explain the changes of the seasons, and the dying of vegetation in the winter to revive again in the spring. But the Greeks learned to read in this myth a deeper meaning. To them it seemed an allegory of the death and resurrection of all human life.

Meaning of the legend.

The celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries came in September, and lasted nine days. At this time the priests and magistrates, together with the initiates and novices, marched in procession from the Athenian city along the Sacred Way[1] and reached Eleusis at sunset. The novices then fasted, roamed about the shore, and sat down on the rock where Demeter had mourned for her daughter. When they were worked up to a state of religious excitement, they entered a brilliantly lighted hall and witnessed a passion play dealing with the legend of Demeter.[2] The candidates for admission to the

The Eleusinian mysteries.

suaded that Orpheus was a forerunner of Jesus, since he, too, had come to teach mankind and had died a tragic death. A Roman emperor placed a statue of Orpheus in his private chapel beside that of the Christian Messiah.

[1] See the map, page 203.

[2] This great hall was begun by Pericles and enlarged in the Hellenistic Age. The ruins of the structure have been excavated since 1882 by the Greek Archæological Society.

mysteries seem to have had no direct moral instruction. They saw, instead, living pictures and pantomimes which represented the life beyond the grave and held out to them the promise of a blessed lot in another world. As an Athenian orator said, "Those who have shared this initiation possess sweeter hopes about death and about the whole of life."[1]

Influence of the mysteries.

The Eleusinian mysteries, though unknown in the Homeric Age, were already popular before the epoch of the Persian wars. They became a Panhellenic festival open to all Greeks, women as well as men, slaves as well as freemen. Finally, the privilege of membership was extended to the Romans. Cicero, for instance, received initiation. During the first centuries of our era, the influence of the mysteries increased as faith in the Olympian religion declined. They formed one of the last strongholds of paganism, and endured till the triumph of Christianity in the Roman world.

193. Oriental Religions in the Roman Empire

Spread of new religions.

The Asiatic conquests of Alexander, followed in later centuries by the extension of Roman rule over the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, brought the classical peoples into contact with new religions which had arisen in the Orient. Slaves, soldiers, traders, and travellers carried the strange Eastern faiths to the West, where they speedily won many followers. Even before the downfall of the republic, the deities of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Persia had found a home at Rome. Under the empire, multitudes of men and women were attracted to their worship.

Magna Mater.

The first Oriental divinity to enter the Roman world was Magna Mater, the Great Mother. Cybele, as she was also called, came as early as 204 B.C., during the Second Punic War. Hannibal was still in Italy, but the Sibylline Books[2] had declared that a foreign invader would be obliged to leave

[1] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 29.

[2] See page 314.

the peninsula if Cybele came to Rome. Accordingly, the meteoric stone which symbolized the goddess was brought from Phrygia in Asia Minor and set up in a shrine on the Palatine Hill.

Worship of Magna Mater.

The worship of the Great Mother at her spring festival in March became a favourite cult of the Roman populace. They found something novel and fascinating in the processions of her priests clad in Asiatic costumes, who sang and danced to the accompaniment of cymbals, flutes, and tambourines, and worked themselves into a frenzy.[1] Very impressive was the rite of the *taurobolium*, in which the worshipper entered a pit and bathed in the blood of a bull slaughtered on the platform above him. He who received this solemn baptism of blood was believed to be purified from sin; he was, so the inscriptions read, "reborn to eternal life."[2]

Isis.

The worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis first spread from Alexandria throughout the Greek world, before it entered Italy during the second century B.C. Isis, like Cybele, represented the universal Mother Nature. Her worship especially attracted women, who saw in Isis a glorified type of their sex, such as their daughters, under Christianity, were to find in the Virgin Mother. But men, as well as women, crowded the temples of Isis, where every day, at morning and evening, white-robed, tonsured priests recited prayers, burnt sacred incense, and offered the image of the goddess for adoration. Such solemn ceremonies, with their pomp and music, captivated the imagination. Votaries of the "Queen of Peace"[3] were found all over the Roman world.

Mithra.

Perhaps the most remarkable of the Asiatic religions was Mithraism. Mithra first appears as a Persian sun god, the leader of Ahura-Mazda's hosts in the ceaseless struggle against the forces of darkness and evil.[4] As a god of light, Mithra

[1] Such leaping, howling priests were called by the Romans *fanatici* (from *fanum*, a temple). Hence comes our word "fanaticism."

[2] *In æternum renatus.* [3] *Placidæ Reginæ* (according to a Dacian inscription).

[4] See pages 95–96.

was also a god of truth and purity. His worship, spreading over the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, became the noblest of all pagan faiths. Men saw in Mithra a Lord and Giver of Life, who protected the weak and miserable, cleansed the sinner, conquered death, and procured for his faithful followers the crown of immortality.

A Mithraic Monument

A bas-relief discovered in 1838 in a cave near Heidelberg, Germany. The central group represents Mithra slaying the bull. The smaller reliefs show scenes from the life of Mithra, including his birth from the rock and his ascent to Ahura-Mazda.

Worship of Mithra.

The Mithraic worship took the form of a mystery with seven grades, or degrees, through which candidates passed by ordeals of initiation. The rites included a kind of baptism with holy water, a sacrificial meal of bread and wine, and daily litanies to the sun. Mithra was represented as a youthful hero miraculously born from a rock at the dawn of day; for this reason his worship was always conducted underground in natural or artificial caves, or in cellars. At the back of one of these subterranean temples would be often a picture of Mithra

slaying a bull, and an inscription: "To the Unconquerable Sun, to Mithra."[1]

These three Oriental religions, though unlike in many ways, agreed in their appeal to the emotions. They helped to satisfy the spiritual wants of men and women by dwelling on the need of purification from sin, and by holding forth the prospect of a happier life beyond the tomb. It is not strange, therefore, that they penetrated every province of the Roman Empire and flourished as late as the fourth century of our era. Christianity, itself an Oriental faith, had no more dangerous antagonists than the followers of Cybele, Isis, and Mithra.

Significance of the new religions.

194. Rise and Spread of Christianity

Christianity rose among the Jews, for Jesus was a Jew and his disciples were Jews. But it was not to be solely a national faith, confined to a special people and centred in a single shrine. Like Mithraism, like the cults of Isis and Cybele, Christianity exhibited itself as a universal religion. It spread throughout the Roman Empire during the same centuries when its Oriental rivals were winning their greatest successes there.

Christianity as a world-religion.

At the time of the death of Jesus,[2] his immediate followers numbered scarcely a hundred persons. The catastrophe of the crucifixion struck them with sorrow and dismay. When, however, the disciples came to believe in the resurrection of their master, a wonderful impetus was given to the growth of the new religion. They now asserted that

Jesus as the Messiah, or Christ.

[1] *Soli Invicto Mithræ.* An interesting survival of Mithra worship is the date of our festival of Christmas. The 25th of December was the day of the great annual celebration in memory of the Persian deity. In 274 A.D., the emperor Aurelian raised a gorgeous temple to the sun god in the Campus Martius, dedicating it on the 25th of December, "the birthday of the Unconquerable Sun." After the triumph of Christianity, the day was still honoured, but henceforth as the anniversary of the birth of Christ.

[2] The exact date of the crucifixion is unknown. It took place during the reign of Tiberius, when Pontius Pilatus was procurator of Judea.

Jesus was the true Messiah, or Christ,[1] who by rising from the dead had sealed the truth of his teachings.

Christianity among the Jews.

For several years after the crucifixion, the disciples remained at Jerusalem, preaching and making converts with great success. The new doctrines met so much opposition on the part of Jewish leaders in the capital city that the followers of Jesus withdrew to Samaria, Damascus, and Antioch. In all these places there were large Jewish communities, among whom Peter and his fellow apostles laboured zealously.

Missionary labours of Paul.

Up to this time the new faith had been spread only among the Jews. The first Christians did not neglect to keep up all the customs of the Jewish religion. It was even doubted for a while whether any but Jews could properly be allowed within the Christian fold. A new convert, Saul of Tarsus, afterwards the Apostle Paul, did most to admit the Gentiles[2] to the privileges of the new religion. Though born a Jew, Paul had been trained in the schools of Tarsus, a city of Asia Minor which was a great centre of Greek learning. He possessed a knowledge of Greek philosophy, and particularly of Stoicism. This broad education helped to make him an acceptable missionary to Greek-speaking peoples. During more than thirty years of unceasing activity, Paul established churches in Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, and Italy. To many of these churches he wrote the letters, or epistles, which have found a place in the New Testament.[3] So large a part of the doctrines of Christianity has

[1] The word "Christ," the official name of Jesus, is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew "Messiah," the "anointed" (king). The Hebrew monarchs were anointed with holy oil, a custom still retained in modern times, as at the coronation of an English sovereign.

[2] "Men of the nations"; that is, the pagans. See page 180, note 3.

[3] Jesus himself wrote nothing, but not long after the crucifixion the sayings of Jesus, as they were remembered by his disciples, were compiled to furnish a missionary handbook. Out of this grew the four Gospels, ascribed to the apostles, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The *Book of Acts* recounts the history of the early church in Palestine and the missionary journeys of Paul. Then follow the *Epistles*, written by Paul and his associates to the Christians of the first century. At the end of the collection is the *Apocalypse* (*Revelation*), a work addressed to

been derived from Paul's writing that we may well speak of him as the second founder of the Christian faith.

Christianity advanced with marvellous rapidity over the Roman world. At the close of the first century there were Christians everywhere in Asia Minor. By 150 A.D. the empire was studded with churches, a few existing even as far east as Arabia, Persia, and India. A hundred years later, we hear of missionaries along the Rhine, on the Danubian

Christianity among the Gentiles.

MODERN JERUSALEM AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

frontier, and in distant Britain. "We are but of yesterday," says a Christian writer, with pardonable exaggeration, "yet we have filled all your places of resort — cities, islands, fortresses, towns, markets, the camp itself, the tribes, town councils, the palace, the senate, and the forum. We have left to you only the temples of your gods."[1]

Certain fortunate circumstances favoured the success of this gigantic missionary enterprise. Alexander's conquests in the East,

the seven churches of Asia Minor. The entire New Testament was originally composed in Greek — a striking testimony to the wide use of that language in the ancient world.

[1] Tertullian, *Apology*, 37.

and those of Rome in the West, had done much to break down the barriers between nations. The spread of Greek and Latin as the common languages of the Mediterranean region furnished a medium in which Christian speakers and writers could be easily understood. The scattering of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem[1] provided the Christians with an audience in many cities of the empire. The early missionaries, such as Paul himself, were often Roman citizens who enjoyed the protection of the Roman law,[2] and profited by the ease of travel which the imperial rule had made possible. At no other period in ancient history would conditions have been so propitious for the rapid progress of a new religion.

External causes for the rapid spread of Christianity.

CHRIST, THE GOOD SHEPHERD

Imperial Museum, Constantinople

This quaint, rude figure, found in an early Christian tomb in Asia Minor, dates probably from the beginning of the third century. It is the oldest known statue of Christ. He wears the coarse garb of an Oriental peasant; his countenance is gentle and thoughtful; on his broad shoulders rests a lamb.

But, after all, these considerations do not go to the root of the matter. The truth is that men were athirst for a religion which could satisfy the deepest and most spiritual needs of the soul. Christianity told of a loving Father in heaven who opened His kingdom to all alike — the sinner as well as the saint, the poor as well as the rich, the slave as well as the master. To the wretched and the sorrowing, Christianity brought the assurance of another and happier existence beyond the grave. No other ancient religion had ever

Internal causes.

[1] See page 452, note 1.

[2] See page 472.

made such wonderful promises. No other ancient religion had ever given such clear and confident answers to the obstinate questionings of life. So it was that in Christianity men found a spiritual joy and consolation which made them willing captives to the new faith.

195. Growth of the Christian Church

While Christianity was conquering the world, the believers in its doctrines were grouping themselves into communities or churches. Every city had a congregation of Christian worshippers.[1] They met, not in synagogues as did the Jews, but in private houses, where they sang hymns, listened to readings from the Holy Scriptures, and partook of a sacrificial meal in memory of the last supper of Jesus with his disciples. Certain officers, called presbyters[2] or elders, were chosen to conduct the services and instruct the converts. The chief presbyter received the name of "overseer," or bishop.[3] Each church, in addition, had one or more deacons, who visited the sick and relieved the wants of the poor. Thus every Christian community formed a little brotherhood of earnest men and women, united by common beliefs, but wholly independent of similar communities elsewhere. Since the early Christians looked for the speedy coming of Christ, and with it the end of the world, they were quite satisfied with this simple method of church government.

Simple church services and government.

As the number of converts increased and the Christian communities gained in size and strength, some important changes took place. The church came to realize that it was to be a world-wide institution with an unceasing warfare to wage against all the forces of paganism. To do this with success, a more elaborate organization was

Need of a more elaborate government.

[1] The meeting was called *ecclesia* from the Greek word for "popular assembly." Hence comes our word "ecclesiastical."

[2] Whence the word "priest."

[3] The word "bishop" comes from the Greek *episcopos*, and means literally an "overseer."

required. There arose, in time, a system of church government which undoubtedly was modelled on that of the Roman Empire.[1]

The church becomes an episcopal organization.

The history of this developing organization is in great part a history of the episcopal power. The earlier bishops, as we have seen, were only heads of single churches in the several cities. Then, as Christianity spread, branches were thrown out into neighbouring parishes, and over these the bishop of the parent church naturally exercised authority. The bishop of the capital city of a province enjoyed the title of archbishop, or metropolitan. Above him in dignity was the patriarch, who was usually the metropolitan of the chief city in each diocese. There came to be four great patriarchates in the East, at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. In the West there was only one patriarch, the bishop of Rome.[2] The Christian Church, by the third century, had developed into an episcopal body, presided over and governed by bishops.

The church becomes a state within a state.

The church was now something more than a name for all the communities of true believers scattered throughout the world. It appeared, henceforth, as a vast and mighty organization, with fixed laws, with a graded system of officers, and with councils or gatherings at which the clergy of a province discussed the affairs of their particular localities. The Christian Church had become a "catholic," that is, a universal church, a state within a state. It was with this organization, already powerful, that the Roman Empire engaged in the long struggle called the Persecutions.

[1] The correspondence may be indicated as follows: —

The Roman Empire	The Christian Church
City — Municipal officials.	Bishop.
Province — Governor.	Archbishop, or Metropolitan.
Diocese — Vicar.	Patriarch.
Prefecture — Prefect.	(No corresponding division.)

[2] The name "pope" (Latin, *papa*, "father") was at first applied to all bishops and even to priests. Not until the sixth century, or even later, do we find the term restricted to the bishops of Rome.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY
Missionary Journeys of St. Paul:
First Journey
Second Journey
Third Journey
Journey to Rome
Churches established in the first Century
Churches established in the second Century
Churches established in the third and fourth Centuries
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Black Sea
Rome
Ostia
Carthage
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Antioch
Ephesus
Corinth
Athens
Sparta
Syracuse
Messene
Rhegium
Catana
Neapolis
Puteoli
Arpi
Aquileia
Ravenna
Sirmium
Salona
Naisus
Ulpiana
Scupi
Stobi
Philippi
Thessalonica
Beroea
Dium
Larissa
Pella
Amphipolis
Apollonia
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Ancyra
Tarsus
Cyprus
Paphos
Salamis
Rhodes
Crete
Cyrene
Ptolemais
Tauchira
Berenice
Leptis
Oea
Sabrata
Macomades
Girba
Tacape
Capsa
Badiae
Tubunae
Madaurus
Cirta
Sitifis
Utica
Tucca
Caesarea
Tipasa
Hispalis
Baza
Corduba
Emerita
Toledo
Olisipo
Ossonoba
Salacia
Barcelona
Tarragona
Saragossa
Narbo
Massilia
Arles
Nemausus
Forum Julii
Florentia
Lucca
Ariminum
Ancona
Perusia
Firmum
Ostia
Scodra

196. The Persecutions: their Causes

Christianity did not win its way in the world without opposition. Despite the peaceable, harmless lives of its adherents, despite the tidings of good will that they brought to men, the Christians, for nearly three centuries after the death of their founder on the cross, were subjected to some terrible persecutions.

Christianity encounters persecution.

The new religion from the first met with popular disapproval. The early Christians, who tried to keep themselves free from idolatry, were regarded as very unsociable persons. They never appeared at public feasts and entertainments. They would not join in the amusements of the circus or the amphitheatre. They refused to send their children to the schools. The ordinary citizen could not understand such people. It is not surprising, therefore, that they gained the evil name of "haters of mankind."

Hostility toward the Christians.

If the multitude despised the Christians, they sometimes feared them, as well. Strange stories circulated about the secret meetings of the Christians, who at their sacrificial meal were declared to feast on children. The Christians, too, were often looked upon as sorcerers and magicians. All sorts of disasters were believed to be caused by them, just as, a few centuries ago, calamities were attributed to witches. It was not difficult to excite the vicious crowds of the large cities to riots and disorder, in which many followers of the new religion suffered wounds and death. As a Christian writer said, "If the Tiber rises, if the Nile does not rise, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, famine, or pestilence, straightway the cry is, 'The Christians to the lions.'"[1]

Superstitious fear of the Christians.

Such outbursts of mob hatred were only occasional. There would have been no organized, persistent attack, if the imperial

[1] Tertullian, *Apology*, 40.

government had not taken a hand. Rome, which had treated so many other foreign faiths with careless indifference or even with favour, which had tolerated the Jews and granted to them special privileges of worship, made a deliberate effort to crush out Christianity.

Antagonism of the Roman government.

Rome entered on the persecutions because it saw in Christianity that which threatened its own existence. The Christians declined to support the state religion; they even condemned it unsparingly as sinful and idolatrous. This attitude of "atheism" seemed sacrilegious to the Romans, who thought that the safety of society depended on the faithful service of their deities. The Christians, moreover, would not worship the *genius*, or guardian spirit of the emperor, and would not burn incense before his statue, which stood in every town. Such a refusal to take what was really an oath of allegiance was felt to be an act of rebellion and treason. These feelings of hostility to the Christians were strengthened by their unwillingness to serve in the army and to swear by the pagan gods in courts of law. In short, the members of this new sect must have appeared very unruly subjects who, if allowed to become numerous enough, would endanger the entire fabric of the government.

Attitude of the Christians toward paganism.

197. The Persecutions: their History

During the first century there were only two persecutions. Both were confined to Rome. After the great fire[1] Nero is said to have accused the Christians of having attempted to destroy the city. Tacitus, who tells us this, goes on to say, "Christus, from whom the name of Christian had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus. But this most mischievous superstition, though checked for the moment, again broke out, not only in Judea, the first

Persecution under Nero, 64 A.D.

[1] See page 450.

source of the evil, but even in Rome, the meeting-place of all horrible and immoral practices from every quarter of the world."[1] If an intelligent man like Tacitus had such ideas of the Christians, no wonder the Roman rabble hated them and applauded Nero's treatment of them. Many victims were covered with the skins of beasts and torn by dogs, or, smeared with pitch, were burned as torches in the emperor's gardens. In this cruel persecution, tradition declares that the apostles Peter and Paul lost their lives.

The hand of the gloomy Domitian lay heavy on the Christians at Rome. Among those who suffered were the emperor's first cousin and his wife. The one was executed, the other banished to an island. We see from this that the new faith had begun to win converts from the higher ranks of society, and even in the imperial household.

Domitian's persecution, 95 A.D.

At least as early as the beginning of the second century, the Roman government began to persecute the Christians wherever they were found in the empire. We have evidence of this in a most interesting letter written to Trajan by Pliny the Younger,[2] when governor of a province in Asia Minor. "This is the plan," writes Pliny, "which I have adopted in the case of those Christians who have been brought before me. I ask them whether they are Christians; if they say 'Yes,' then I repeat the question a second and a third time, warning them of the death penalty in store for them. If they still persist, I order them to be taken away to prison. For I do not doubt that, whatever may be the character of the crime which they confess, their disobedience and obstinacy ought to be punished. There were others who showed a similar mad folly whom I sent to Rome, since they were Roman citizens."[3] This letter seems to indicate that people were executed, merely because they acknowledged themselves Christians, much as self-confessed murderers would be put to death.

Pliny's letter about the Christians.

The lot of the Christians, if hard, was not intolerable throughout

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 44. [2] See page 479. [3] Pliny, *Letters*, x, 98.

the second and into the third century. Trajan, answering Pliny, told him not to make any effort to search for Christians, but to condemn only those who were openly known as such. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius tried to repress popular outbreaks against them. The gentle emperor, Marcus Aurelius, permitted several persecutions, but these were in scattered cities of the empire. At Smyrna, in Asia Minor, perished the aged Polycarp, head of the church in that city. When, as was the usual custom, he was given a chance to recant by cursing Jesus, he answered, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never did me wrong. How can I now blaspheme my King who has saved me?"[1] At Lyons, in Gaul, when the mob rose against the Christians, one of the sufferers was Blandina, a slave. Urged to deny her faith, she said, "I am a Christian; there is no evil among us."

The Christians under the "Good Emperors."

The Christians joyfully suffered for their religion. They welcomed torture and death. When a persecution raged in the province of Asia, a vast number of people presented themselves before the governor to confess their loyalty to Christ. The governor had some of them executed, and sent away the others. "Poor wretches," he said, "if you must die, cannot you find ropes and precipices for the purpose?"[2] To suffer for Christ meant to gain a heavenly crown. Those who perished were called martyrs, that is, "witnesses." Even now the festal day of a martyr is the day of his death.

The martyrs.

During the evil times of the third century, the Christians had even fiercer trials to meet. Decius, Valerian, and other rulers who sought to restore order made a deliberate attempt to destroy Christianity. They believed it to be one of the forces that was helping to break up the empire. The emperors began to plan and direct widespread persecutions. The entire power of the imperial government was directed against this outlawed faith.

Persecutions in the third century.

[1] *Passio Polycarpi*, 9. [2] Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 5.

The persecution beginning under Diocletian was the last and most severe. With some interruptions, it continued for eight years. Only Gaul and Britain seem to have escaped its ravages. The government began by burning the holy books of the Christians, by destroying their churches, and by taking away their property. Members of the hated faith lost their privileges as full Roman citizens. Then sterner measures followed. The prisons were crowded with Christians. Those who refused to recant and sacrifice to the emperor were thrown to wild animals in the arena, stretched on the rack, or burned over a slow fire. Every refinement of torture was practised. Paganism, fighting for its existence, left no means untried to root out a sect both despised and feared.

Diocletian's persecution, 303–311 A.D.

INTERIOR OF THE CATACOMBS

The illustration represents a *cubiculum*, or small chamber, as most of them look when discovered. The graves have been opened and the bodies taken away.

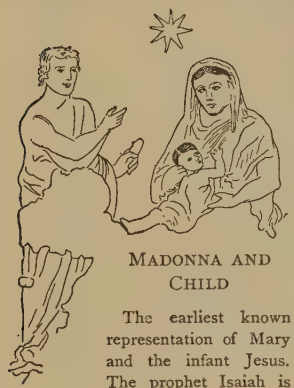
The attempts to destroy began too late. At this time the Christians numbered perhaps a twentieth of the free population of the empire. To kill them all was impossible. Instead of destroying the new religion, the persecutions gave it additional strength. The Christians throughout the world were drawn together into closer unity. They became a compact and powerful element in the Roman state. It was not long before they found recognition.

Results of the persecutions.

During the periods of persecution, the Christians at Rome some-

times took refuge in the catacombs. The excavation of these underground cemeteries began at the end of the first century A.D., but most of them belong to the third and fourth centuries. A visitor to the catacombs finds himself in a maze of narrow passages and chambers hollowed out in the soft, spongy tufa of the Roman Campagna. "Only occasionally," says an early Christian writer, "is light let in to lessen the horror of the gloom, and then not so much through a window as through a hole. You take each step with caution, surrounded as you are by deep night."[1] Several tiers of galleries (in one instance as many as seven) lie one below the other. Their total length has been estimated at no less than six hundred miles.

The catacombs.



MADONNA AND CHILD

The earliest known representation of Mary and the infant Jesus. The prophet Isaiah is shown pointing to the new star. The picture dates from about 200 A.D. and comes from the Catacombs of St. Priscilla.

The catacombs formed the cemeteries of the Christians, who buried their dead as did the Jews and other Syrian peoples. The bodies were laid in recesses in the walls of the galleries or underneath the pavement. The tombstone sometimes bore an epitaph and one or more Christian symbols, such as the dove, an anchor (emblem of hope), an olive branch, or the monogram of Christ. The catacombs also contained halls or burial chapels where were interred the bodies of martyrs and of the faithful who wished to lie near them. The walls of these larger rooms were often covered with paintings of scenes from Old Testament history or from the life of Christ. Thus in following the maze of the catacombs, the student gains a picture of the early history of Christianity.[2]

The catacombs as cemeteries.

[1] St. Jerome, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, xx, 40.

[2] By the end of the fourth century, the catacombs had become objects of religious reverence and were visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Christian world.

198. Triumph of Christianity

Diocletian's persecution, which continued for several years after his abdication, came to an end in 311 A.D. In that year Galerius, the ruler in the East, published an edict which permitted the Christians to rebuild their churches and worship undisturbed. It was left for the emperor Constantine to take the next significant step. In 313 A.D., Constantine and his colleague Licinius issued the Edict of Milan, which proclaimed for the first time in history the noble principle of religious toleration. It gave absolute freedom to every man to choose and practice the religion which he deemed most suited to his needs. This edict placed the Christian faith on an equality with paganism.[1]

Christianity becomes a tolerated religion.

An old legend declares that Constantine's friendly attitude toward Christianity was the consequence of a heavenly vision. On the day before a great battle which he fought with his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge near Rome, he saw a cross of light in the sky, above the sun, and bearing the inscription: *In hoc signo vinces*—"In this sign thou shalt conquer."[2] In the evening of the day, Christ was said to have appeared to him while asleep, showing the same sign and directing him to use it on the military standards.[3]

Constantine's vision of the cross, 312 A.D.

The conversion of Constantine is one of the most important events in ancient history. A Roman emperor, himself a god to the subjects of Rome, became the worshipper of a crucified provincial of his empire. Constantine, in adopting Christianity, was influenced by mixed motives. He appears to have had a genuine interest in the new faith. His mother had been a Christian, and his father,

Importance of Constantine's conversion.

In the ninth century the bodies of the martyrs were removed to the churches for greater safety. Visits to the cemeteries gradually ceased, and during the Middle Ages their very existence was forgotten.

[1] The sixteenth centenary of this "Peace of Constantine" was celebrated in 1913 by the order of the Pope.

[2] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, i, 28.

[3] See the illustration, page 531.

though still a pagan, had refused to persecute the members of that sect. It is more than likely, also, that Constantine saw in the support of the Christians a powerful aid in his efforts to secure the throne.

Constantine favours the Christians.

Whatever his reasons were, the emperor favoured the Christians throughout his reign. He surrounded himself with Christian bishops, freed the clergy from taxation, and spent large sums in the building of churches. One of his laws abolished the use of the cross as an instrument of punishment. Another enactment required that all courts of justice, inhabitants of towns, and workshops were to be at rest on Sunday. This was the first "Sunday law."[1]

Church Council at Nicea, 325 A.D.

Significant of the emperor's attitude toward Christianity was his action in summoning all the bishops in the different provinces to a gathering at Nicea in Asia Minor. Some three hundred bishops, many of them still carrying on their persons the marks of tortures borne for Christ, came to this assembly. It framed the Nicene Creed, which is still the accepted summary of Christian doctrine in the Roman Catholic, the Greek, and most Protestant churches.

"Apostasy" of Julian, 361–363 A.D.

The recognition given to Christianity by Constantine helped immensely to spread the new faith. In its victorious career it met but one more check. The brief reign of Julian was marked by a determined effort to revive the dying paganism. Julian, a nephew of Constantine and himself a Christian in early manhood, restored the ancient sacrifices and priesthoods, rebuilt the temples, and put back the pagan emblems on the standards of the armies. By his own writings, Julian attempted to disprove the Christian belief. His efforts were doomed to failure; they could not give new life to rites and ceremonies from which all meaning had vanished.

[1] It is highly doubtful whether this legislation had any relation to Christianity. More probably, Constantine was only adding the day of the Sun, the worship of which was then firmly established in the empire, to the other holy days (*feriæ*) of the Roman calendar.

After Julian, Christianity came steadily into its own. Theodosius, whose services to the church won him the title of "the Great," made Christianity the state religion. Sacrifices to the pagan gods were forbidden, the temples were closed, and their property was taken away. Those strongholds of the old paganism, the Delphic oracle, the Olympian games, and the Eleusinian mysteries, were abolished. Even the private worship of the household Lares and Penates [1] was prohibited. Though paganism lingered for a century or more in the country districts,[2] it became extinct as a state religion by the end of the fourth century. The Galilean, truly, had conquered.

Christianity becomes the state religion under Theodosius, 379–395 A.D.

THE LABARUM

The *Labarum* consisted of a staff or lance with a purple banner on a crossbar. It bore the two Greek letters XP (CHR) the first being a symbol of the cross, and both making a monogram of the word Christ (Greek, *Christos*).

199. Christian Influence on Society

Throughout its history, Christianity has been not simply a set of beliefs, or a system of church organization, or a beautiful and impressive ritual of worship. Christianity has always been a moral force working for the betterment of mankind. The old classical religions made few moral demands upon their worshippers. The individual who was pious and reverent toward the gods might be a monster of wickedness in his relations with his fellow men. But Christianity, which taught men to love God, taught them also to love their neighbours. The true Christian was a follower of Christ, a disciple of one who went about doing good.

Moral aspects of the Christian faith.

The most important moral effects of Christianity are those which the historian cannot trace in detail. It certainly did much

[1] See page 320.

[2] It should be noted here that the pagans were not the "peasants" (Latin, *pagani*), but the "civilians" as opposed to the "soldiers" (*milites*) of Christ.

to soften and refine manners by the stress it laid upon such "Christian" virtues as humility, tenderness, and gentleness. By dwelling on the sacredness of human life, Christianity did its best to repress the very common practice of suicide, as well as the frightful evil of infanticide. It set its face sternly against the obscenities of the theatre and the cruelties of the gladiatorial shows. In all these respects, there can be little doubt that the new gospel had much to do with the improvement of morality.

Specific moral teachings of Christianity.

Perhaps even more original contributions of Christianity to civilization lay in its social teachings. The belief in the fatherhood of God implied a corresponding belief in the brotherhood of man. This doctrine of the equality of men had found a place in Stoic philosophy,[1] but Christianity translated the precept into practice. In this way it helped to improve the condition of slaves, and, by favouring emancipation, even tended to decrease slavery. Characteristic also of early Christianity was its emphasis on charity and its support of all institutions which aimed at relieving the lot of the poor, the sick, and the downtrodden.

Social teachings.

While the Germans were assailing the empire from without, Christianity, from within, was working to undermine classical society. The Christians set up a divine law, the law of Christ, which was independent of the law of Rome, and even superior to it. When Theodosius, angered at an uprising in a Macedonian city, ordered the inhabitants to be massacred, the bishop of Milan charged him boldly with the crime, and refused to allow a man defiled with so many murders to enter the house of God. Theodosius confessed his sin and for eight months did public penance, standing by the door of the church. Such an episode showed that a new moral force had entered the world. The Christian Church claimed to exert an authority before which even Roman emperors must bow the knee.

Christianity as an undermining influence.

[1] See page 487.

At the close of the fourth century, the German tribes living nearest the frontiers had heard the message of the Gospel and had become converts to the new faith. The very fact that both Romans and barbarians were Christians tended to lessen the terrors of the invasions and to bring about a peaceful fusion of the conquerors and the conquered.

Christianity and the German barbarians.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GERMANIC INVASIONS AND THEIR RESULTS AFTER 395 A.D.

200. The Germans

THE Germans were an Indo-European people, as were their neighbours, the Celts of Gaul and Britain. They had lived for many centuries in the wild lands of central Europe north of the Alps and beyond the Danube and the Rhine.[1] At this period their tribes were to be found almost continuously from the North Sea to the Black Sea.

Home of the Germans.

We have already learned that the home land of the Germans was not a very pleasant place in which to dwell.[2] Dense forests or endless marshes covered the ground. The atmosphere was heavy and humid; in summer clouds and mists brooded over the country, and in winter it was covered with snow and ice. The inhabitants were shut out from the warm and fertile Mediterranean coast by mountain barriers and wide, deep rivers. In such a region everything was opposed to the progress of civilization. Hence the Germans, though a gifted race, had not advanced as rapidly as the Greek and Italian peoples.

Physical features of Germany.

Our earliest notice of the Germans is found in the famous *Commentaries* of Julius Cæsar, who twice invaded their country. According to Cæsar, the people were sun-, moon-, and fire-worshippers, but, unlike their neighbours, the Gauls, they cared little for sacrifice. They were not an agricultural people, living, apparently, chiefly by

The Germans described by the Romans.

[1] See the map, page 442. [2] See pages 117–118.

hunting and predatory expeditions. Cæsar extols their valour and their hospitality.

About a century and a half after Cæsar's time the Roman historian Tacitus[1] wrote a little book, called *Germania*, which gives an account of the Germans as they were before coming under the influence of Rome and Christianity. Tacitus describes them as barbarians with many of the usual marks of barbarism. He speaks of their giant size, their fierce blue eyes, and their blond or ruddy hair. These physical traits made them seem especially terrible to the smaller and darker Romans. He mentions their love of warfare, the fury of their onset in battle, the contempt which they had for wounds and for death itself. When not fighting, they passed much of their time in the chase, and still more time in idleness, giving themselves up to sleep and gluttonous feasts. They were deep drinkers, too, and so passionately fond of gambling that when a man's wealth was gone he would even stake his liberty on a single game. In some of these respects the Germans resembled the Indian tribes of North America. In religion they did not consider it consistent with the grandeur of divinity to confine gods within walls or liken them to the form of human beings. They practised augury and divination.

German morals.

The Germans had certain attractive qualities not always found even among civilized peoples. They were hospitable to the stranger, they respected their sworn word, they loved liberty and hated restraint. Their chiefs, we are told, ruled rather by persuasion than by authority. Above all, the Germans had a pure family life. "Almost alone among barbarians," writes Tacitus,[2] "they are content with one wife. No one in Germany laughs at vice, nor is it the fashion to corrupt and be corrupted. Good habits are here more effectual

[1] See page 462.

[2] It is probable that Tacitus' picture is a little idealized, to heighten the contrast with the deplorable state of social morality at Rome.

than good laws elsewhere."[1] The Germans, then, were strong and brave, hardy, chaste, and free.

Later progress of the Germans.

The Germans, during the three centuries between the time of Tacitus and the beginning of the invasions, took some forward steps in civilization. They were learning to live in towns instead of in rude villages, to read and write, to make better weapons and clothes, to use money, and to enjoy many Roman luxuries, such as wine, spices, and ornaments. They were likewise uniting in great confederations of tribes, ruled by kings who were able to lead them in migrations to other lands.

Reasons for the Germanic migrations.

During this same period, also, the Germans increased rapidly in numbers. The pressure of population made it harder and harder for them to live by hunting and fishing, or by such rude agriculture as their country allowed. So they began moving southward, in order to find new homes among the fertile and well-cultivated territories of the Romans. It was this land-hunger, even more than the love of fighting or the desire for booty and adventure, which thrust the Germans with resistless might upon the Roman frontiers.

201. Rome and the Germans

Growing weakness of Rome.

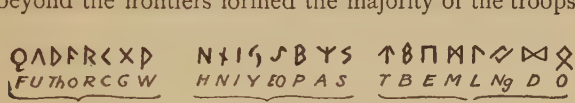
The Germanic inroads were neither sudden, nor unexpected, nor new. Since the days of Marius and of Julius Cæsar, not a century had passed without witnessing some dangerous movement of the northern barbarians. Until the close of the fourth century, Rome had always held their swarming hordes at bay. Nor were the invasions which at length destroyed the empire much more formidable than those which had been repulsed many times before. Rome fell because she could no longer resist with her earlier might. If the barbarians were not growing stronger, the Romans themselves were steadily

[1] *Germania*, 19.

growing weaker. The form of the empire was still the same, but it had lost its vigour and its vitality.[1]

As one method of dealing with the barbarians, the Romans began to enroll them in the legions. The Germans themselves were often eager to be taken into the imperial service. It mattered little to them if they were employed to fight against their own brothers. We meet German legionaries from the earliest days of the empire. They were found in the bodyguard of Augustus. Marcus Aurelius enlisted them for his wars on the Danube. After the time of Constantine, the levies from beyond the frontiers formed the majority of the troops. The

Barbarians in the Roman armies.



RUNIC ALPHABET

soldiers spoke German and fought in the German style. Julian's army was so largely made up of these foreigners that, when they proclaimed him emperor, they raised him on their shields, after the good old fashion of their race. Even the imperial commanders were often Germans or of German descent. Some of them rose to the highest positions in the state.

As another means of strengthening the empire, its rulers allowed many peaceful settlements of the Germans within the boundaries. Augustus began this dangerous practice by transporting thousands of conquered Germans to the Roman side of the Rhine. Later emperors admitted many friendly tribes to fill up the gaps in population and to farm the waste lands. These free-born Germans made restless subjects of the despotic Roman emperors. They would be more likely to welcome than resist their invading kinsmen, when at last the barriers on the Danube and the Rhine should be swept away.

Barbarians as colonists.

Crowds of Germans also entered Roman territory as slaves. Some of them were employed in domestic service. A Roman

[1] See pages 506–508.

writer toward the close of the fourth century remarked that every wealthy household was full of Germans, employed as stewards, butlers, bakers, and personal attendants. By far the greater number, however, worked on farms throughout Italy and the provinces. The barbarians were now ploughing and sowing for Roman masters.

Barbarians as Roman slaves.

It appears, then, that after five centuries of fighting Rome had not rid herself of the Germans. All this time they had been gradually finding their way within her borders as slaves, colonists, or hired soldiers. Now the hour was at hand when they were to come suddenly, in armed multitudes which no man could number, and which even the might of Rome could not withstand.

Eve of the migrations.

202. Breaking of the Danube Barrier

North of the Danube lived, near the close of the fourth century, a German people called Visigoths, or West Goths. Their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths — East Goths — held the land north of the Black Sea between the Danube and the Don.

The Goths.

These two nations had been among the most dangerous enemies of Rome. In the third century they made so many expeditions against the eastern territories of the empire that Aurelian at last surrendered to the Visigoths the great province of Dacia.[1] The barbarians now came in contact with Roman civilization and began to lead more settled lives. Some of them even accepted Christianity from Bishop Ulfilas, who translated the Bible into the Gothic tongue.[2]

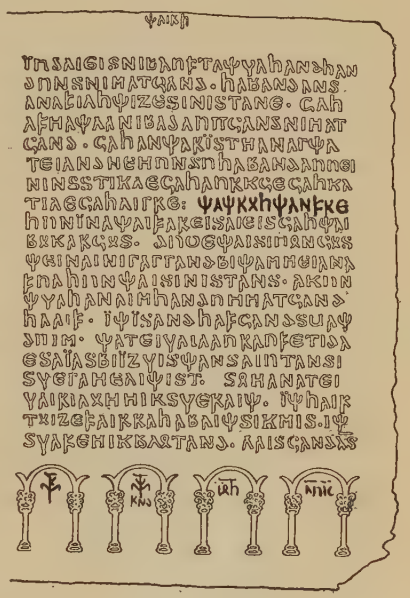
The Goths and Rome.

[1] See pages 494–495.

[2] A manuscript of this translation forms one of the treasures of the library of the University of Upsala, Sweden. It is beautifully written in letters of gold and silver on parchment of a rich purple dye. In making his version, Ulfilas, who was himself a converted Visigoth, generally indicated the Gothic sounds by means of the Greek alphabet. He added, however, a few signs taken from the Runic alphabet, with which the German peoples were familiar. The word "rune" comes from a Gothic word meaning a secret thing, a mystery. To the primitive Germans it seemed a mysterious thing that letters should be used to express thought.

The peaceful fusion of Goth and Roman might have gone on indefinitely but for the sudden appearance in Europe of the Huns. They were a wild, savage people from central Asia. Entering Europe north of the Caspian Sea, the Huns quickly subdued the Ostrogoths and forced them to unite in an attack upon their German kinsmen. Then the entire nation of Visigoths crowded the banks of the Danube and begged the Roman authorities to allow them to cross that river and place its broad waters between them and their terrible foes. Under the shadow of the Roman eagles they hoped to find protection.

The coming of the Huns.



A PAGE OF THE GOTHIC GOSPELS (REDUCED)

In an evil hour for Rome their prayer was granted. Day and night the Visigoths poured across the Danube, some on board ships and rafts, others in canoes made of the hollowed trunks of trees. At length two hundred thousand Gothic warriors, with their wives and children, stood on Roman soil.

The Visigoths cross the Danube, 376 A.D.

The settlement of such a host of barbarians within the frontier of the empire was in itself a dangerous thing. The danger was increased by the ill treatment which the immigrants received. The Roman officials robbed them of their treasures, withheld the promised supplies of food, and even tried to murder their leaders at a banquet.

Battle of Adrianople, 378 A.D.

Finally, the Germans broke out into open revolt. The emperor Valens misjudged their strength, and rashly gave them battle near Adrianople in Thrace. The once invincible legions, parched with thirst and worn out by hard marching, fell an easy prey to their foes. The cavalry fled, the infantry was cut to pieces, and the emperor himself perished. "Except for the battle of Cannæ," wrote a historian of the fourth century, "no more destructive a conflict is recorded in our annals; though, even in the times of their prosperity, the Romans have more than once had to deplore the uncertainty of war."[1]

Results of the battle.

The defeat at Adrianople is considered one of the few really decisive battles in the world's history. It showed the barbarians that they could face the Romans in open fight and beat them. And it broke, once for all, the Danube barrier. Swarms of fighting men, Ostrogoths as well as Visigoths, overran the provinces south of the Danube. The great ruler, Theodosius,[2] saved the empire for a time by granting lands to the Germans, and by enrolling them in the army under the high-sounding title of "allies." Until his death, the Goths remained quiet — but it was only the lull before the storm.

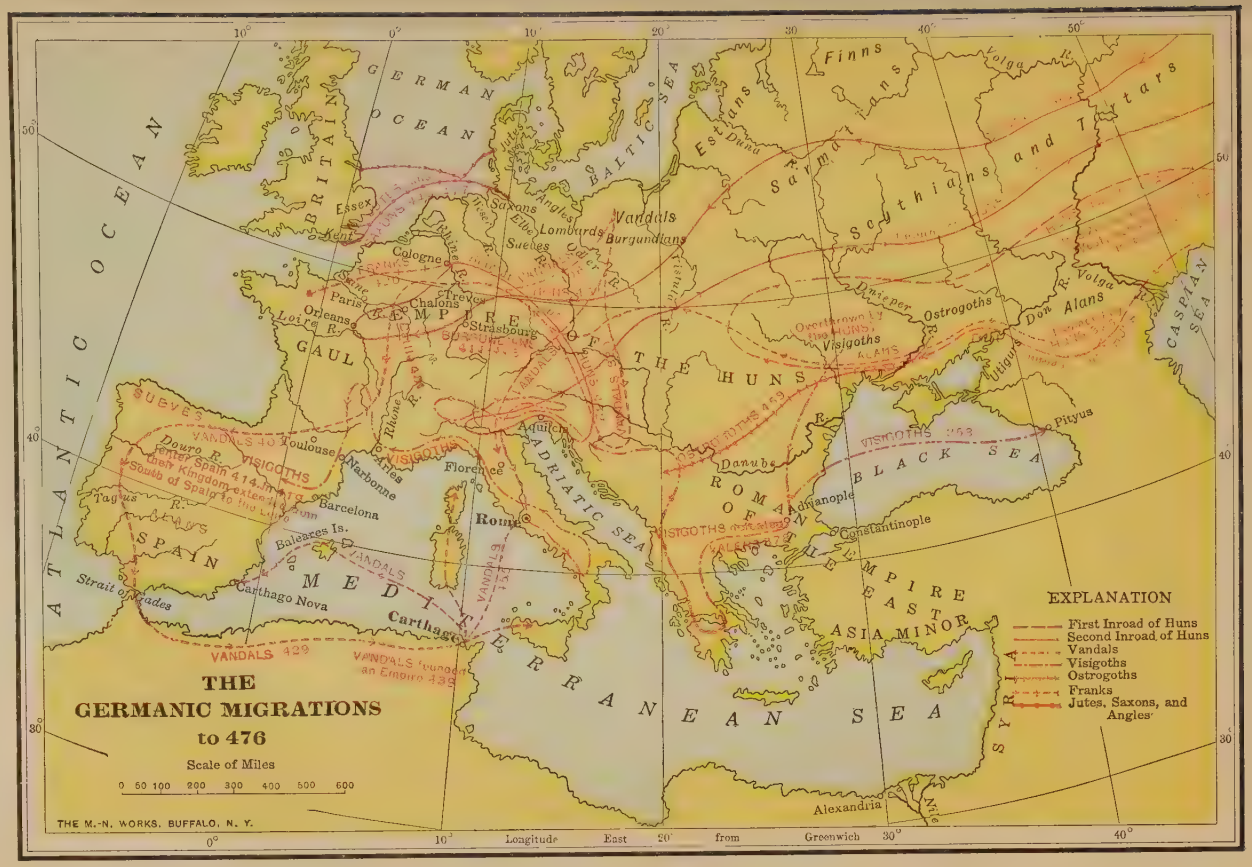
Alaric the Visigoth.

Theodosius, "the friend of the Goths," died in 395 A.D., leaving the defence of the now divided empire to his weakling sons, Arcadius and Honorius. In the very same year the Visigoths raised one of their young nobles, named Alaric, upon a shield, and with joyful shouts acclaimed him as their king. The new leader despised the service of Rome. His people, he thought, should be masters, not servants. Alaric determined to lead them into the very heart of the empire, where they might find fertile lands and settle once for all.

Alaric at first fixed his attention on Constantinople. Realizing how hopeless would be the siege of that great city, he turned toward the west and descended upon Greece. The Germans marched unopposed through Thermopylæ, and devastated central

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi, 13.

[2] See page 504.


THE
GERMANIC MIGRATIONS
to 476
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
EXPLANATION
First Inroad of Huns
Second Inroad of Huns
Vandals
Visigoths
Ostrogoths
Franks
Jutes, Saxons, and Angles
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITAIN
BALTIC SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GAUL
SPAIN
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE HUNS
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
Finns
Estians
Sarmatians
Scythians and Tartars
Alans
Vandals
Burgundians
Lombards
Saxons
Angles
Jutes
Essex
Kent
Cologne
Paris
Chalons
Treves
Orleans
Strasbourg
Loire R.
Rhine R.
Rhone R.
Aries
Toulouse
Narbonne
Barcelona
Florence
Aquileia
Rome
Carthage
Carthago Nova
Baleares Is.
Strait of Gades
Tagus R.
Douro R.
Danube R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga R.
Utigurs
Ostrogoths
Visigoths
Pityus
Adrianople
Constantinople
Alexandria
Nile
SUEVES
VANDALS 40
VISIGOTHS
Lower Spain 414 in 419
Their Kingdom extended from South of Spain to the Loire
VANDALS 429
VANDALS founded an Empire 439
VISIGOTHS 453
VISIGOTHS 469
VISIGOTHS 478
VANDALS 157
Overthrown by the HUNS
ALANS

Greece, as the Persians had done nearly nine centuries before. Athens they spared, and the Gothic leader was entertained as a guest in Athena's own city. Then the barbarians entered the Peloponnesus, but were soon driven out by Stilicho, a German chieftain who had risen to the command of the army of Honorius. The strange spectacle thus presents itself of the empire attacked by one barbarian and defended by another.

Invasion of Greece by Alaric, 395 A.D.

Alaric gave up Greece only to invade Italy. Before long the Goths crossed the Julian Alps and entered the rich but defenceless valley of the Po. To meet the crisis the legions were hastily called in, even from the distant frontiers. Stilicho formed them into a powerful army, beat back the enemy, and captured the Visigothic camp, filled with the spoil of Greek cities. In the eyes of the Romans, this Vandal general seemed a second Marius who had arisen in their hour of peril to save Italy from the Germans.[1] A splendid triumph was celebrated in Stilicho's honour—the last triumph that the city of Rome ever saw.

Alaric in Italy.

Alaric and his Goths had been repulsed; they had not been destroyed. Beyond the Alps they were regaining their shattered strength and biding their time. Their opportunity came soon enough, when Honorius caused Stilicho to be put to death on a charge of plotting to seize the throne. The accusation may have been true, but in killing Stilicho the emperor had cut off his right hand. Now that Stilicho was out of the way, Alaric no longer feared to descend again on Italy. The Goths swept rapidly southward past Ravenna, where the wretched Honorius had shut himself up in terror, and made straight for Rome. In 410 A.D., just eight hundred years after the sack of the city by the Gauls, Rome found the Germans within her gates.

The Visigoths before Rome.

The city, for three days and nights, was given up to pillage. Alaric, who was a Christian, ordered his followers to respect the

[1] See page 404.

churches and their property, and to refrain from bloodshed. What the Germans wanted was movable plunder. This they found in costly furniture, vessels of silver and gold, and silken robes, which they stripped from the homes of the nobles and from the palaces of the Cæsars. Though the city did not greatly suffer, the moral effect of the disaster was immense. Rome the eternal, the unconquerable, she who had taken captive all the world, was now herself a captive. The pagans saw in this calamity the vengeance of the ancient deities who had been dishonoured and driven from their shrines. The Christians believed that God had sent a judgment on the Romans to punish them for their sins. In either case the spell of Rome was broken for ever.

Sack of Rome by the Visigoths, 410 A.D.

From Rome Alaric led his hosts, laden with plunder, into southern Italy. Perhaps he intended to cross the Mediterranean and bring Africa under his rule. The plan was never carried out, for the youthful chieftain died suddenly, a victim to Italian fever. According to a famous story, the Visigoths compelled their Roman prisoners to turn aside the course of a river and build a tomb in its dry bed. There at dead of night they placed the body of Alaric, seated on his horse and surrounded by the trophies of his conquests. When the task was done, they let the water flow back and killed the workmen, that the secret of their hero's grave might for ever remain unknown.[1]

Death of Alaric, 410 A.D.

Alaric has been called the Moses of the Visigoths. He guided them on their wanderings till they came in sight of the promised land which he was not himself to enter. After Alaric's death, the barbarians made their way northward through Italy and settled in southern Gaul and Spain. In these lands they founded an independent Visigothic kingdom, the first to be created on Roman soil.

Kingdom of the Visigoths, 415–711 A.D.

[1] This tale has been doubted by some scholars because the first reference to it is in a Gothic history by Jordanes, written about one hundred and fifty years after the death of Alaric. But in itself the story is not at all incredible.

The possessions of the Visigoths in Gaul were seized by their neighbours, the Franks, in less than a century; but the Gothic kingdom in Spain had three hundred years of prosperous life.[1] The barbarian rulers sought to preserve the institutions of Rome and to respect the rights of their Roman subjects. Conquerors and conquered gradually blended into one people, out of whom have grown the Spaniards of modern times.

Romanization of the Visigoths,

203. Breaking of the Rhine Barrier

After the departure of the Visigoths, Rome and Italy remained undisturbed for nearly forty years. The western provinces were not so fortunate. At the time of Alaric's first attack on Italy the legions along the Rhine had been withdrawn to meet him, leaving the frontier unguarded. In 406 A.D., four years before Alaric's sack of Rome, a vast company of Germans crossed the Rhine and swept almost unopposed through Gaul. Some of these peoples carved out kingdoms for themselves from the ruins of the empire.

The Germans cross the Rhine, 406 A.D.

The Burgundians settled on the upper Rhine and in the fertile valley of the Rhone, in southeastern Gaul. After less than a century of independence, they were conquered by the Franks. Their name, however, survives in modern Burgundy.

Kingdom of the Burgundians, 443–534 A.D.

The Vandals settled first in Spain. The territory now called Andalusia still preserves the memory of these barbarians. After the Visigothic invasion of Spain, the Vandals passed over to north Africa. Its productive fields, so rich in grain, were as tempting to them as to Alaric and his hosts. The Vandals made themselves masters of Carthage and soon conquered all the Roman province of Africa. Their kingdom here lasted about one hundred years.

Vandal kingdom in north Africa, 429–534 A.D.

[1] The Visigothic kingdom in Spain was overthrown by the Mohammedan Arabs, 711 A.D.

While the Visigoths were finding a home in the districts north and south of the Pyrenees, the Burgundians in the Rhone valley, and the Vandals in Africa, still another Germanic people began to spread over northern Gaul. They were the Franks, who had long held lands on both sides of the lower Rhine. Unlike the other barbarian peoples, the Franks were not of a roving disposition. They contented themselves with a gradual advance into Roman territory. It was not until near the close of the fifth century that they overthrew the Roman power in northern Gaul and began to form the Frankish kingdom out of which modern France has grown.[1]

The Franks in northern Gaul.

The troubled years of the fifth century saw also the beginning of the Germanic conquest of Britain. The withdrawal of the legions from that island left it defenceless, for the Celtic inhabitants were too weak or too cowardly to defend themselves. Bands of savage Picts from what is now Scotland swarmed over Hadrian's Wall, attacking the Britons in the rear. From Ireland came the no less savage Scots. The eastern coasts, at the same time, were constantly exposed to raids by Saxon pirates. "The barbarians," groaned the wretched people, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; thus two modes of death assail us — we are either slain or drowned."[2] The Britons, in their extremity, adopted the old Roman practice of getting the Germans to fight for them. Bands of Jutes were invited over from Denmark in 449 A.D. The Jutes forced back the Picts, and then settled down on the island as conquerors. Fresh swarms of invaders followed them, chiefly wild Angles and Saxons from the region near the mouth of the Elbe. The invaders subdued nearly all that part of Britain that Rome had previously conquered. In this way the Angles and Saxons became ancestors of the English people, and Engleland became England.[3]

The Angles and Saxons in Britain, from 449 A.D.

[1] See page 554.

[2] Gildas, *De excidio Britanniæ*, 20.

[3] The invasion of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons was followed by the migration

By the middle of the fifth century, the larger part of the Roman Empire in the West had come under barbarian control. The Germans ruled in Africa, Spain, Britain, and parts of Gaul. But now their rising kingdoms, as well as the crumbling empire itself, were threatened by a common foe — the terrible Huns.

The situation in 451 A.D.

204. Inroads of the Huns

We know very little about the Huns except that they were not related to the Germans or to any other European people. Some scholars believe them to have belonged to the Mongolian race. The Huns, to the excited imagination of Roman writers, were a race of demons, rather than men. Their olive skins, little, turned-up noses, and black, beady eyes must have given them a very frightful appearance. They spent most of their time on horseback, sweeping over the country like a whirlwind, and leaving destruction and death in their wake.

The Huns.

The Huns did not become dangerous to Rome for more than half a century after their first appearance in Europe.[1] During this time they moved into the Danube region and settled in the lands now known as Austria and Hungary. At last the Huns found a national leader in Attila, "a man born into the world to agitate the nations, the fear of all lands," [2] one whose boast it was that the grass never grew again where his horse's hoofs had trod. He quickly built up a great military power obeyed by many barbarous nations from the Caspian to the Rhine.

Attila the Hun.

Attila, from his capital on the Danube, could threaten both the East and the West. The emperors at Constantinople bought him off with lavish gifts, and so the robber-ruler turned to the western provinces for his prey. In 451 A.D., he led his motley host, said to number half a million men,

Invasion of Gaul by Attila.

across the Channel of large numbers of the defeated islanders. The district where they settled is called after them, Brittany.

[1] See page 539.

[2] Jordanes, *De rebus Geticis*, 35.

across the Rhine. Many a noble municipality with its still active Roman life was visited by the Huns with fire and sword. Paris,[1] it is worthy of note, escaped destruction. That now famous city was then only a little village on an island in the Seine.

In this hour of danger, Romans and Germans gave up quarreling and united against the common foe. Visigoths under their native king hastened from Spain; Burgundians and Franks joined their ranks; to these forces a German general, named Aëtius, added the last Roman army in the West. Opposed to them Attila had his Huns, the conquered Ostrogoths, and many other barbarian peoples. The battle of Châlons has well been called a struggle of the nations. It was one of the fiercest conflicts recorded in history. Legend declares that a brook running through the battlefield was swollen to a torrent by the blood of fallen men. The very dead, it was said, rose from the ground in the night and continued the struggle with their ghostly swords. On both sides thousands perished, but so many more of Attila's men fell that he dared not risk a fresh encounter on the following day. He drew his shattered forces together and retreated beyond the Rhine.

Battle of Châlons, 451 A.D.

Europe once more had beaten back the hordes of Asia. Had Attila won, Roman civilization, which the Germans were now about to take over and absorb, might have perished utterly. Such is the importance of the battle of Châlons.

Châlons a decisive battle.

In spite of this setback, Attila did not abandon his hope of conquest. The next year he led his still formidable army over the Julian Alps, and burned or plundered many towns of northern Italy. A few trembling fugitives sought shelter on the islands at the head of the Adriatic. Out of their rude huts grew up in the Middle Ages splendid and famous Venice, a city that in later centuries was to help defend Europe against those kinsmen of the Huns, the Turks.

Attila invades Italy, 452 A.D.

[1] Known to the Romans as Lutetia Parisiorum, the capital of the Parisii.

During all this time terror reigned at Rome. There seemed no possibility of preventing another sack of the capital by one more dreadful than Alaric. The Senate sent a consul and the venerable bishop of Rome, Leo the Great, to plead humbly with Attila for peace. Strange to say, the grim monarch listened to their prayer. We shall never know the reason for this sudden change of front. The story ran that the apostles Peter and Paul appeared to Attila and by their threats frightened him into leaving Italian soil. But perhaps it was the saintly presence of Leo which induced Attila to sheathe the sword when Rome lay almost within his grasp.

Attila's retreat.

The fiery Hun did not long survive this Italian expedition. Within a year he was dead, dying suddenly, it was said, in a drunken sleep. The great confederacy which he had formed broke up at once after his death. The German subjects gained their freedom, and the Huns themselves either withdrew to their Scythian wilds or mingled with the peoples they had conquered. Europe breathed again; the nightmare was over.

Death of Attila, 453 A.D.

205. End of the Roman Empire in the West, 476 A.D.

Rome escaped a visitation by the Huns only to fall a victim, three years later, to the Vandals. After the capture of Carthage,[1] these barbarians made that city the seat of a pirate empire. Putting out in their long, light vessels, they swept the seas and raided many a populous city on the Mediterranean coast. "Whither shall we sail?" a Vandal pilot is said to have asked his chief at the outset of an expedition. "To the dwellings of men with whom God is angry," was the answer.[2] So terrible were their inroads that the word "vandalism" has come to mean the aimless and wanton destruction of property.

Vandal pirates.

In 455 A.D. the ships of the Vandals, led by their king, Gaiseric, appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. The Romans could offer no

[1] See page 543.

[2] Procopius, *De bello Vandalico*, i, 5.

resistance. Only the noble bishop Leo went out with his clergy to meet the invader and intercede for the city. Gaiseric promised to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not to destroy the public buildings. These were the best terms he would grant. The Vandals spent fourteen days stripping Rome of her wealth. Pagan temples and Christian churches suffered alike. The greedy barbarians even carried off the gilded roof of the Capitol, thinking it to be gold. Among other famous relics, they stole the seven-branched candlestick and the table of the shewbread which Titus had brought from Jerusalem. Besides shiploads of booty, the Vandals took away thousands of Romans as slaves, including the widow and two daughters of an emperor. Just six centuries before, Scipio, standing on the smoking ruins of Carthage, had looked forward with foreboding to the downfall of his own city.[1] Now a barbarian leader, whose capital was a new Carthage, had stepped into the place of Hannibal, and had plundered Rome of her proudest possessions.

Sack of Rome by the Vandals, 455 A.D.

After the Vandal sack of Rome, the imperial throne became the mere plaything of the army and its leaders. A German commander, named Ricimer, set up and deposed four puppet emperors within five years. He was, in fact, the real ruler of Italy at this time. After his death, Orestes, another German general, went a step beyond Ricimer's policy, and placed his own son on the seat of the Cæsars. By a curious coincidence, this lad bore the name of Romulus, legendary founder of Rome, and the nickname of Augustulus ("the little Augustus"). The boy emperor reigned less than a year. The German troops clamoured for a third of the lands of Italy, and when their demand was refused, they proclaimed Odoacer king. The poor little emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was packed off to a villa near Naples, where he disappears from history.

The Roman Empire in the West, 455–476 A.D.

[1] See page 376.

There was now no emperor in the West. To the men of that time it seemed that East and West had been once more joined under a single ruler, as in the days of Constantine and Theodosius. The emperors at Constantinople, indeed, never gave up their claims to be regarded as the rightful sovereigns in Italy and Rome. Nevertheless, as an actual fact, Roman dominion throughout the West had now come to an end. Odoacer, the head of the Germans in Italy, ruled a kingdom as independent as that of the Vandals in Africa, or that of the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul. The date 476 A.D. marks, therefore, the final breaking up of the Roman Empire in the West by the Germanic barbarians.[1]

The situation in 476 A.D.

206. The Ostrogoths; Theodoric the Great, 476–526 A.D.

We are not to suppose that the settlement of Germanic nations in southern and western Europe came to an end with the downfall of Romulus Augustulus, near the close of the fifth century. The sixth and seventh centuries witnessed fresh invasions and the formation of new barbarian kingdoms. To follow in detail the story of these troubled times would lead us from the classical world to the world of medieval Europe, from the history of antiquity to the history of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, we may well try to understand how, during this period, Rome continued to influence the invaders, and how her provinces became the foundations of Germanic states, in which much of ancient civilization survived.

Transition to the Middle Ages.

Odoacer and his soldiers did not enjoy a long rule over Italy. During the last year of the Roman Empire in the West, the Ostrogoths[2] found a new chieftain in the great Theodoric, of all the Germanic leaders the one who was to show the most kingly qualities. The Ostrogoths, for a time, were hired by the government at Constantinople to defend the lower Danube, but they proved to be expensive and dangerous

The Ostrogoths under Theodoric.

[1] See the map, page 554. [2] See page 538.

allies. It must have been a great relief to the Roman emperor when Theodoric offered the services of his people in driving out the other barbarians from Italy. "If I fail," Theodoric said to the emperor, "you will be relieved of a troublesome friend; if I succeed, I shall govern Italy in your name and to your glory."[1]

The Ostrogoths in Italy.

Theodoric led the entire nation of Ostrogoths, women and children as well as warriors, across the Alps, and came down to meet Odoacer in battle. When the fighting was over and Odoacer had surrendered, Theodoric slew him with his own hand during a banquet which celebrated the victory. This son of a forest chieftain had not yet lost all his barbarism.

Theodoric, king of Italy, 493–526 A.D.

Though Theodoric had gained the throne by violence and treachery, he soon showed himself a broad-minded statesman. He had lived as a youth in the imperial court at Constantinople, where he became well acquainted with Roman ideas of law and order. The civilization of Rome impressed him; and he wished not to destroy but to preserve it. Theodoric ruled in Italy for thirty-three years — years of such quiet and prosperity that his Roman subjects could only regret that the Goths had not come in earlier.

Policy of Theodoric in Italy.

The enlightened policy of Theodoric was exhibited in many ways. He governed the two nations, Goths and Romans, as if they were one people. He kept all the old offices, and by preference appointed to them men of Roman birth. His Italian subjects were allowed to live under their own laws and to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Germans. Though Theodoric himself was a rude soldier who could neither read nor write, he patronized literature and gave high positions to Latin writers. During his reign cities were restored, roads and aqueducts repaired, and many beautiful buildings raised at Ravenna, the Ostrogothic capital.

The influence of Theodoric reached far beyond the boundaries

[1] Jordanes, *De rebus Geticis*, 57.

of Italy. He allied himself with most of the German rulers of the West. His second wife was a Frankish princess, his sister was the wife of a Vandal chieftain, one daughter married a king of the Visigoths, another wedded a Burgundian king. By such alliances Theodoric brought about friendly relations between the warring races of the empire. It seemed, in fact, as if the West might again be united under a

Theodoric's foreign policy.

TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

The two-storied marble structure is capped by an enormous monolith weighing over 300 tons.

single ruler; as if the Ostrogoths might be the German people to carry on the civilizing work of Rome. But no such good fortune was in store for Europe.

207. The Age of Justinian, 527–565 A.D.

In the year after Theodoric's death a really great emperor, Justinian, came to the throne at Constantinople. He holds a distinguished place in Roman history. In the general darkness and disorder now settling over Europe the genius of Justinian revived, for a time, the waning glories of the empire.

Justinian.

It was the ambition of Justinian to reunite the Roman world by conquering the German kingdoms which had been formed out of the Mediterranean provinces. His able commander, Belisarius, destroyed the Vandal power in Africa in one short campaign. The Vandals had now declined in warlike strength, and their Roman subjects welcomed Belisarius and his men as deliverers from oppression.

Conquest of Africa, 533–534 A.D.

The Ostrogoths in Sicily and Italy made a more stubborn defence. Rome suffered severely in the struggles. The city was again sacked by a Gothic king and was left for forty days uninhabited.[1] At last, however, the Germans were so completely defeated that they agreed to leave Italy with all their possessions. The feeble remnant of the Ostrogothic race filed sadly through the passes of the Alps, and mingling with the barbarian tribes became lost to history.

Conquest of Sicily and Italy, 535–553 A.D.

The overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom proved to be a disaster for Italy. Soon after Justinian's death the country was again overrun, this time by the Lombards, a more barbarous people than the Goths. The invaders first seized the lands north of the Po, a region which has ever since been called Lombardy after them. They later came to rule over the greater part of the peninsula. The Lombard power lasted for about two centuries, until it was overthrown by the Franks.

Lombards in Italy, 568–774 A.D.

The ambition of Justinian was not confined to conquest. His aim was to restore the prosperity as well as the provinces of the empire. His reign was remarkable for its public works. The most noteworthy of these is the Church of St. Sophia,[2] under the glorious dome of which Mohammedans now gather for worship. Commerce and agriculture flourished under the great emperor. It was at this time that two Christian missionaries brought from distant China the eggs of the silkworm,

Civilizing work of Justinian.

[1] These forty days are the only break in Rome's twenty-six centuries of historic life.

[2] See pages 502–503.

and introduced into Europe the culture of the mulberry tree and the manufacture of silk. At this time, too, learned lawyers employed by Justinian compiled the *Corpus Juris Civilis*,[1] the Body of Civil Law, which forms Rome's most precious gift to our modern world. Such achievements entitle Justinian to a lasting place among the heroes of the nations.

CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE

The main building is roofed over by a great central dome, 107 feet in diameter and 177 feet in height. The spaces on the east and west are covered by half-domes.

The Eastern Empire, for nearly nine centuries after Justinian, preserved a part of the dominions of ancient Rome. During the Middle Ages the countries of the eastern Mediterranean continued to be bound together by the common government at Constantinople. Here the Greek language was still spoken, and works of Greek literature were still produced.[2] Hellenic culture was thus kept alive in the world, until the nations of western Europe were ready to receive it and to profit by it. The history of medieval civilization

The Eastern Empire in the Middle Ages.

[1] See page 474.

[2] See page 290.

is, in large measure, the history of the Roman Empire in the East.

208. The Franks; Clovis to Charlemagne, 486–768 A.D.

Of all the Germanic invaders of western Europe, the Franks alone were able to establish a lasting kingdom. We have already met them in their home on the lower Rhine, from which they pushed gradually into Roman territory. In 486 A.D., just ten years after the downfall of Romulus Augustulus, the Franks went forth to conquer under their chieftain Clovis. He defeated the Roman governor of Gaul in a pitched battle near Soissons, and thus extended the Frankish dominions to the river Loire, which formed the northern boundary of the Visigothic kingdom. Clovis now turned against his German neighbours, the Visigoths of Gaul and the Burgundians. The former were completely subdued; the latter were forced to pay tribute. The Franks in this way came to control the greater part of ancient Gaul. They ruled from the Rhine to the Pyrenees.

Conquests of Clovis, 486–511 A.D.

Clovis reigned in western Europe as an independent king, but he recognized a sort of allegiance to the emperor at Constantinople

by accepting the title of "consul." The Roman inhabitants of Gaul were not oppressed; their cities were preserved; their language and laws remained untouched. Clovis did not hesitate to appoint Romans to important places in the government and in the army, just as the Romans had long been accustomed to employ the Germans. This Frankish king may be compared to his great contemporary, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, in his efforts to pose as an heir of the Roman Empire and a guardian of Latin culture.

Romanization of the Franks.

The Franks, like the Anglo-Saxons, were still a heathen people when they entered the empire. Clovis, however, had married a Burgundian princess, Clotilda, who was a devout Catholic. Once when hard pressed by his enemies in a battle near Strassburg, Clovis vowed that he would become a Christian if the God of Clotilda gave him victory. The battle turned in favour of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, had himself and three thousand warriors baptized into the Roman Catholic faith. By this act the king secured the loyalty of his Christian subjects, and won the favour of the Church of Rome.

Christianization of the Franks, 496 A.D.

The power which Clovis founded stood the test of time. For more than two hundred and fifty years the successors of Clovis were the strongest rulers in western and central Europe. During the eighth century they performed a priceless service for civilization by beating back the Mohammedan Arabs who, having seized Spain from the Visigoths, invaded Gaul and threatened to make that country also a Mohammedan land. The barbarian Franks all this time were coming more and more under the influence of the two great civilizing forces then in the world — Rome and Christianity. At last we reach a Frankish king whose life work it was to bring all the Germanic peoples into one mighty Christian empire in which the old distinctions of Roman and German were forgotten. This king was Charlemagne.[1]

Successors of Clovis, 511–768 A.D.

[1] "Charles the Great," from the Latin *Carolus Magnus*.

209. Charlemagne and the Revival of the Roman Empire in the West, 768–814 A.D.

Charlemagne reigned over the Franks for forty-six years, and during these years he set his stamp on all later European history.

Charlemagne the man.[1] The character and personality of this great German are familiar to us from a brief biography written by his secretary, Einhard, in imitation of the life of Augustus by Suetonius.[1] Charlemagne, we learn, was a tall, square-shouldered, strongly-built man, with bright, keen eyes, and an expression at once cheerful and dignified. Riding, hunting, and swimming were his favourite sports. He was simple in his tastes, and very temperate in both food and drink. Except when in Rome, he always wore the old Frankish costume, with high laced boots, a linen tunic, blue cloak, and sword girt at his side. He was a clear, fluent speaker, used Latin as readily as his native tongue, and understood Greek when it was spoken. "He also

[1] See page 438.

tried to learn to write, and often kept his tablets and writing book under the pillow of his couch, that when he had leisure he might practise his hand in forming letters; but he made little progress in this task, too long deferred and begun too late in life." [1] For the times, however, Charlemagne was an educated man — no mere barbarian.

Himself a German, Charlemagne was filled with the spirit of Rome. He realized, even better than Theodoric,[2] that Germanism stood for idolatry and barbarism; Romanism for Christianity and civilization. He made, therefore, a noble effort to revive classical culture in the West from the low state into which it had fallen during the Germanic invasions. He founded many schools to provide not only the priests, but also the common people, with an education. Learned men were called from Italy to the royal court to study and edit the books of Latin authors. Churches, palaces, and public works were built to adorn and benefit his kingdom. In all this civilizing work the Frankish king was partially successful. Western Europe after Charlemagne never fell back into quite the same ignorance, superstition, and disorder, as before his reign.

Charlemagne's civilizing work.

CHARLEMAGNE

Lateran Museum, Rome

A mosaic picture, made during the lifetime of Charlemagne, and probably a fair likeness of him.

Charlemagne's long life, almost to its close, was filled with war-

[1] Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, 25. Writing was at this period a rare accomplishment, except for priests.

[2] See page 550.

fare. He conquered the Lombards[1] in Italy and brought their kingdom to an end. He wrested northern Spain as far as the Ebro River from the Mohammedans, who had spread over the peninsula. His long wars in Germany resulted in the annexation of Saxony and Bavaria to the Frankish territory. The dominions of Charlemagne thus included what is now France, Belgium, Holland, western Germany, and northern Italy, besides a part of Spain and Austria. In this truly gigantic realm all the surviving Germanic peoples, except those in Denmark, Scandinavia, and Britain, were brought under the sway of one man.

Charlemagne's conquests.

Charlemagne, the champion of Christendom, the most conspicuous ruler in Europe, seemed to the men of his age the rightful successor of the ancient Roman emperors. He had their power, and now he was to have their name. On Christmas day, 800 A.D., the Pope, in St. Peter's Church at Rome, placed on his head a golden crown, while all the populace cried aloud, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans,

Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans, 800 A.D.

[1] See page 552.

crowned by God!"[1] This act was regarded as the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West. Little more than three centuries after Romulus Augustulus, a man of barbarian race, ruling over a people partly German and partly Roman, sat on the throne of the Cæsars.

210. German Influence on Society

Civilization suffered a great shock when the barbarians descended on the empire and from its provinces carved out their kingdoms. These conquering Germans were rude in manners, very ignorant, and with little taste for anything except fighting and bodily enjoyments. They were unlike the Romans in dress and habits of life. They lived under different laws, spoke different languages, obeyed different rulers. Naturally, their coming into the empire brought about a long period of disorder and confusion, during which the new race slowly raised itself to a level of culture somewhat approaching that which Greeks and Romans had reached.

General effect of the barbarian invasions.

It is remarkable, indeed, that the Germans did not do more damage to classical civilization. One reason is found in their small numbers. The Visigothic band was the largest, but it must have been much reduced in size by the time of the final settlement in Gaul and Spain. The Burgundians reckoned only eighty thousand warriors. The Vandals had an army of not more than twenty-five thousand fighting men. The weakness of the empire in the fifth century is seen in the fact that it was overrun by barbarians far inferior in numbers to those which Rome had repulsed many times before.

Numbers of the Germans.

The Germans, then, settled among a subject population much more numerous than their own. Though barbarous, they had the capacity and the willingness to learn from those whom they conquered.

Growing fusion of Germans and Romans.

[1] *Carolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum Imperatori, vita et victoria!*

During the early Middle Ages we can watch the gradual union of the two races, the Romans borrowing from the Germans, but the latter, most of all, from the Romans. This fusion was greatly helped, as we have seen,[1] by the fact that some of the principal peoples, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Vandals, were already Christians when they entered the empire. Other peoples, such as the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, were afterwards converted to Christianity. It was helped, too, by the previous existence in the empire of so many Germans as colonists, soldiers, and slaves. Especially was it helped by the reverence which the barbarians had for Roman civilization, displayed in the massive roads and aqueducts, and in the numerous cities filled with palaces and monuments. They were awed, like children, by the pomp and ceremony of the imperial court. The exclamation of a Gothic chieftain, when he visited Constantinople, may stand for the feelings of a whole nation: "Without doubt the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood!"[2]

Progressive forces.

In closing our survey of the Germanic invasions, we need to emphasize the forces that made for progress rather than those that made for decline. It is true that for several centuries, roughly from the time of Justinian to that of Charlemagne, the western half of the Roman world relapsed into ignorance, superstition, and even barbarism. But classical civilization, we have already found reason to believe,[3] had begun to decay long before the Germans broke up the empire. The Germans came, as Christianity had come, only to hasten the process of decay. Each of these influences in turn worked to build up the fabric of a new society on the ruins of the old. First Christianity infused its quickening spirit into the pagan world and gave a new religion to mankind. Later followed the Germans, who accepted Christianity, adopted much of Græco-Roman culture, and then contributed their fresh blood and youthful minds, and their own vigorous, progressive life.

[1] See page 533. [2] Jordanes, *De rebus Geticis*, 28. [3] See page 506.

It might have been expected that the race whose social and moral virtues we have seen extolled by a Roman[1] would prevail when the struggle ensued between the forces of decay and corruption and those based upon principles of a more solid character. The supersession of the Roman civilization by that of the northern peoples was an inevitable process, and though in the result much that was admirable was lost to mankind, a rich heritage of the best elements in the ancient world has been preserved to us.

[1] See page 535.

CHAPTER XVIII

PRIVATE LIFE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

211. The Classical City

Introductory.

If we wish to understand the history of the Greeks and Romans, it will not be enough to study their political development and the biographies of their great statesmen and warriors. We must also know something of ancient religion, literature, and art. Especially do we need to learn about the private life of the classical peoples—their manners, customs, occupations, and sports. This life centred in the city.

Origin of the city.

A Greek or a Roman city usually grew up about a hill of refuge (*acropolis*, *capitolium*), to which the people of the surrounding district could flee in time of danger.[1] This mount would be crowned with a fortress and the temples of the gods. Not far away was the market-place (*agora*, *forum*), where the people gathered to conduct their business and to enjoy social intercourse. About the citadel and the market-place were grouped the narrow streets and low houses of the town. Thus an ancient city was closely built up and lacked the miles of suburbs that belong to a modern metropolis. One could easily walk round its outer walls in the course of an afternoon.

General appearance of an ancient city.

The largest and most beautiful buildings in an ancient city were always the temples, colonnades, and other public structures. The houses of private individuals, for the most part, had few pretensions to beauty. They were insignificant in appearance, often built with only one story, and covered with a flat roof. From a

[1] See page 165.

distance, however, their whitewashed walls and red-tiled roofs, shining brightly under the warm sun, must have made an attractive picture.

To the free-born inhabitant of Athens or of Rome his city was at once his country and his church, his club and his home. He shared in its government; he took part in the stately ceremonies that honoured its patron god; in the city he could indulge his taste for talking and for politics; here he found both safety and society. No wonder that an Athenian or a Roman learned, from early childhood, to love his city with an almost passionate devotion. **Life in the city.**

To classical peoples scarcely any feature in the life of the barbarian could have seemed more in contrast with their own ideas than a lack of the civic spirit. Tacitus thus refers to the communal life of the Germans: "It is well known that the nations of Germany have no cities, and that they do not even tolerate closely contiguous dwellings. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them. Their villages they do not arrange in our fashion, with the buildings connected and joined together. Every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against the disasters of fire or because they do not know how to build." The reason for this tendency to isolation, however, was less the fear of accident or want of skill in building than the essentially unsocial cast of the Teutonic mind.

212. Childhood and Early Training

The coming of a child, to parents in antiquity, as to parents now, was usually a very happy event. Especially welcome was the birth of a son. The father felt assured that through the boy his old age would be cared for, and that the family name and the worship of the family ancestors would be kept up after his own death. "Male children," said an **Importance of male children.**

ancient poet, "are the pillars of the house."[1] The city, as well, had an interest in the matter, for a male child meant another citizen able to take the father's place in the army and the public assembly. To have no children was regarded as one of the greatest calamities that could befall a Greek or a Roman.

The ancient attitude toward children was in one respect very unlike our own. Pagan antiquity was disfigured by a terrible practice — infanticide.[2] The law allowed a father to do whatever he pleased with a new-born infant. If he was very poor, or if his child was deformed, or if he had any other reason for not choosing to rear it, he could expose the infant. The child was abandoned in some desert spot where it soon died, or it was placed secretly in a temple with the hope that possibly some kind-hearted person might take pity on it. The child, if rescued, became the slave of its adopter. This custom of exposure, an inheritance from prehistoric savagery, tended to grow less common with advancing culture. Though permitted by the Athenians, it was prohibited at Thebes. Roman law, from very early times, forbade the exposure of a son or a first-born daughter, unless it was deformed or very weakly. Still, such a fate often happened to a female child. The complete abolition of infanticide was due to the spread of Christian teachings about the sacredness of human life.[3]

Infanticide.

The child, if not exposed, received a name at a religious festival held a few days after birth. The name day was a very joyful occasion: relatives and friends brought little gifts; the father sacrificed to the family gods; and then all sat down to an abundant feast. By these ceremonies the father formally acknowledged the child as his own, and bound himself to rear and educate it.

The name-day celebration.

A Greek boy had generally but one name. The favourite name for the eldest son was that of his paternal grandfather. A father, however, might give him his own name or that of an intimate

[1] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 57. [2] See pages 170, 317. [3] See page 532.

friend. The Romans at first seem to have used only the one name, then two were given; and later we have the familiar threefold name, representing the individual, the clan, and the family.[1] **Names.**

Among all peoples, whatever their stage of culture, the life of little children is very much the same. In the classical world boys and girls, until the age of seven, remained under the general oversight of their mother. Most households were able to afford a slave woman or a foreigner to shoulder the chief responsibility for the children. When they were good, she told them stories from the rich treasury of classic mythology and heroic legend. When they were bad, she punished them with a sandal, after the fashion of modern nurses. Very modern, also, appear some of the nursery toys — the hoops, swings, hobby-horses, and dolls — with which these ancient children amused themselves. Many of their games, such as hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, and blindman's buff, resembled those still played to-day. **Early childhood.**

At about the beginning of his eighth year a boy passed under the care of a slave (*pædagogus*), who attended him everywhere — to and from school, on the playground, and in the house. It was the duty of this "pedagogue" to teach the boy good manners, and to prevent him from falling into bad companionships. His sister, meanwhile, remained in seclusion at home. As her mother's constant companion, she learned the usual duties of household management, but enjoyed no such advantages in the way of careful schooling as her brother would henceforth receive. **Later childhood.**

[1] In "Marcus Tullius Cicero," "Marcus," the *prænomen*, corresponds to our "Christian" name; "Tullius," the *nomen*, marks the clan, or *gens*; "Cicero," the *cognomen*, indicates the family. As there were only eighteen prænomens in common use, it follows that the personal names of Romans present a good deal of uniformity. Like our "Christian" names, the prænomen was used in the family and by intimate friends. Citizens, in ordinary conversation, employed the cognomen. The nomen proper was restricted to formal occasions. In writing, the prænomen was usually abbreviated, *i.e.* G. for Gaius, Gn. for Gnæus, L. for Lucius, M. for Marcus, P. for Publius, Q. for Quintus, T. for Titus, etc.

213. Education at Athens

The Greeks cared little for "book learning" or even for manual training. They thought of education as a means to self-culture and worthy citizenship. Hence instruction during the formative years of childhood aimed quite as much at developing the body and the moral nature as the mind.

Purpose of education.

AN ATHENIAN SCHOOL

Royal Museum, Berlin

A painting by Duris on a drinking-cup, or cylix. The picture is divided by the two handles. In the upper half, beginning at the left: a youth playing the double flute as a lesson to the boy before him; a teacher holding a tablet and stylus and correcting a composition; a slave (*pædagogus*), who accompanied the children to and from school. In the lower half: a master teaching his pupil to play the lyre; a teacher holding a half-opened roll, listening to a recitation by the student before him; a bearded *pædagogus*. The inner picture, badly damaged, represents a youth in a bath.

We do not find in ancient Greece our system of common schools. Public opinion, however, insisted that all male citizens should be educated. Athens and other Greek cities contained many private

schools open to children of all classes, on the payment of moderate fees. No matter how poor his parents, a Greek boy could gain at least the elements of knowledge. This value set upon the wide extension of education was something hitherto unknown in antiquity.[1]

Private schools.

Greek education consisted of three main branches, known as gymnastics, music, and grammar. By gymnastics, the Greeks meant the physical training in the palestra, an open stretch of ground on the outskirts of the city. Here a private teacher gave instruction in the various athletic sports which were so popular at the national games. All the participants in the exercise practised naked. They first smeared their bodies with oil, and after the contests cleaned themselves with a scraper, or *strigil*.[2] The palestra usually lay near a stream, and so the boys added swimming and diving to their other accomplishments. This daily exercise taken in the open air developed fine athletes. Perhaps no other people have ever had better bodies than the Greeks.

Gymnastics.

A MUSICAL CONTEST

National Museum, Athens

According to Greek legend, Marsyas the satyr, who possessed Athena's flute, challenged Apollo to a combat, flute against lyre.

Music, the second important branch of education, was intended to improve the moral nature of young men and to fit them for pleasant social intercourse. They learned to play a stringed instrument called the lyre, and at the same time to sing to their own accompaniment. Side by side with this musical

Music.

[1] See pages 111–112.

[2] See the illustration, page 162.

training, the pupils read and memorized lyric poetry.[1] The instruction did not aim at producing performers of great ability. It was enough if it enabled a man to take his part in the music and songs at social gatherings, as well as to play for his own amusement.[2]

Grammar, the third branch of education, included instruction in writing and the reading of the national literature. The Greeks never thought of making foreign languages a subject of study. They were content with the thorough mastery of their own tongue. The boy began by tracing his letters with a stylus on wax-coated wooden tablets which rested on his knees. When he had learned to write and to read, the schoolmaster took up with him the works of the epic poets, especially Homer, besides *Æsop's Fables*[3] and other popular compositions. The student learned by heart much of the poetry, and at so early an age that he always remembered it. Not a few Athenians, it is said, could recite the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Grammar.

After the fifth century, to this curriculum were added a little arithmetic and elementary drawing, the latter to aid in the appreciation of sculpture and painting. Still, throughout its course, Greek education mainly consisted of the three elements just described: the training of the body; the cultivation of the emotions by music and singing; and the knowledge of the great classics of the language.

Other subjects of study.

At the age of eighteen, when school days were over, an Athenian reached his majority. He now came under the charge of a tutor, and received for a year careful training in military drill. Another year was spent in garrison duty on the frontier. At the end of this service the youth returned to civil life. Unless he belonged to the lowest social class, and had therefore to follow a trade, he could pass his early manhood

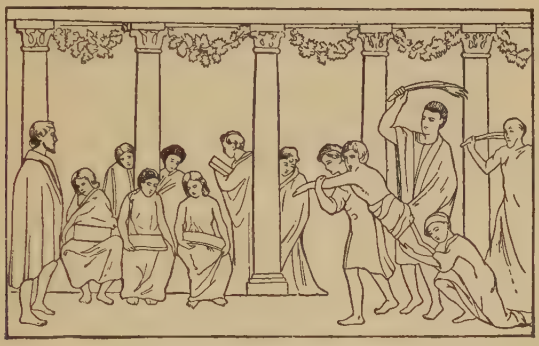
Occupations of manhood.

[1] See page 182.

[2] Greek music, to judge from the little that has survived, seems to have been quite unlike modern music. We owe to the Greeks, however, our diatonic scale.

[3] See page 183.

much as he pleased. There were the daily sports of the palestra and gymnasium ; there were horseback riding, chariot driving, and hunting. If he had more studious tastes, the young man might enter on the study of rhetoric and oratory under the sophists.[1] A youth who lived at Athens during the great years of the city's



A Roman School Scene

Wall-painting, Herculaneum

history did not lack opportunities to secure a complete and well-rounded culture.

214. Roman Education

Roman children at first received all their education in the home. As at Athens, the aim of this home training was to establish good habits rather than to impart knowledge. The father took his son into the fields to learn the work of a farmer, and into the Forum to learn the duties of a citizen. Since every Roman was bred for the soldier's life, the boy was taught the use of arms, as well as such manly exercises as riding and swimming. This physical training, unlike that of Greeks, laid little stress on securing beauty of form and grace of movement. Its chief aim was to make good warriors by developing strength and agility. From his father, also, a lad would gain

The home training.

[1] See page 253.

some knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Slight as this education appears, it was enough to nurture that fine Roman character which we meet in the best days of the republic.

Instruction in the elementary schools.

Elementary schools existed at Rome from an early date. As they grew in popularity, their instruction more and more took the place of the father's teachings. A boy began his school days at about the age of seven. He learned to read, to write with a reed pen upon papyrus, and to cipher by means of the reckoning board, or abacus.[1] He received a little instruction in singing and had to memorize all sorts of proverbs and maxims, besides the laws of the Twelve Tables.[2] His studies went on under the watchful eyes of a harsh schoolmaster who did not hesitate to use the rod. A Roman poet tells us that if a boy missed a single syllable in his reading, he was soon black and blue all over — "striped just like his nurse's cloak."[3]

Grammar schools; the study of literature.

After the First Punic War, when Rome began to come into close contact with Greece, the curriculum was enlarged by the study of literature. The Romans were the first people who made the mastery of a foreign tongue an essential part of education. Schools now arose in which the Greek language and literature formed the chief subject of instruction. As Latin literature came into being, its productions were also studied. Cicero's orations, even during his lifetime, were used as texts. After the death of Horace and of Vergil their poems took that place as schoolbooks which they have ever since retained. In these grammar schools, as we may call them, Roman boys completed their ordinary education. By this time they would have become of age (usually between the fourteenth and seventeenth years), and would now be ready to assume the duties of citizenship.

The rhetoric schools lay outside the regular educational system. They were conducted by Greek, and occasionally by Roman,

[1] See the illustration, page 18. [2] See page 331. [3] Plautus, *Bacchides*, 434.

teachers. These institutions were like our colleges in providing an advanced course for young men who had already finished their elementary studies. The instruction given in them had to do chiefly with the art of prose composition and the practice of public speaking. Their work grew to be very popular at Rome, for oratory was one of the main avenues to distinction open to a young man of ability and ambition.

Rhetoric schools.

Persons of wealth or noble birth might continue the training of the rhetoric schools by a university course at a Greek city, such as Athens, Alexandria, or Rhodes. Here the Roman youth would listen to lectures on philosophy delivered by the deep thinkers whom Greece still produced, and would profit by the treasures of art and science preserved in these ancient capitals. Many famous Romans thus passed several years abroad in graduate study.[1] During the imperial age, as we have already seen,[2] real universities also arose in the West, particularly in Gaul and Spain, and attracted students from all parts of the empire.

Travel and study abroad.

215. Marriage and the Position of Women

A young man in Athens or Rome did not, as a rule, marry immediately on coming of age. He might remain a bachelor for several years, sometimes till he was thirty or over. The sports and exercises of the gymnasium, the frequent obligation of military service, or the desire to travel and study abroad were often sufficient to delay entrance upon the married state.

Deferring of marriage.

Perhaps an even stronger reason for this unwillingness to marry was the absence of the romantic element in much of classical life. In some Greek states, and particularly at Athens, youths and maidens of the upper classes had few opportunities for becoming acquainted with one another. An Athenian girl was closely guarded by her parents.

Seclusion of Athenian girls.

[1] See page 288.

[2] See page 490.

If, on rare occasions, she went outside the house to witness some religious festival, to visit a temple, or to attend a funeral, she was always accompanied by an older woman as a chaperon. It sometimes happened that an Athenian never saw his future wife until the wedding day.

The young man's father had most to do with the selection of a wife. He tried to secure for his son some daughter of a friend who possessed rank and property equal to his own. If he found a suitable match, the parents of the two parties entered into a contract which, among other things, usually stated how large a dowry the bride's father was to settle on his daughter. An Athenian marriage was very little a matter of romance and very much a matter of business. This prosaic system even prevailed at Rome, where women enjoyed more liberty than in most Greek cities. In classical antiquity people married chiefly for practical reasons: to rear children, support a household, and secure a recognized position in society.

Business-like character of marriage.

The wedding customs of the Greeks and Romans presented many similarities. Marriage, among both peoples, was a religious ceremony. On the appointed day the principals and their guests, dressed in holiday attire, met at the house of the bride. In the case of a Roman wedding, the auspices[1] were then taken, and the words of the nuptial contract were pronounced in the presence of witnesses. After a solemn sacrifice to the gods of marriage, the guests partook of the wedding banquet. When night came on, the husband brought his wife to her new abode, escorted by a procession of torchbearers, musicians, and friends, who sang the happy wedding song. The next day the husband held a second marriage feast in his house, and the newly married pair formally received their relatives and acquaintances.

Wedding customs.

An Athenian wife, during her younger years, always remained

[1] See page 325.

more or less a prisoner. She could not go out except by permission. She took no part in the banquets and entertainments which her husband gave. She lived a life of confinement in that quarter of the house assigned to the women for their special abode. An Athenian wife, morever, had no legal rights. If her husband ill treated her, she found it difficult to secure a separation. In case of a divorce, the father kept possession of the children. In the Greek world the inferior position of women affords a marked contrast to the general refinement of life and manners.

Inferior condition of an Athenian wife.

Married women at Rome enjoyed a position far more honourable than in Greece. Although early custom placed the wife, together with her children, in the power of the husband,[1] still she possessed many privileges. She was not shut up at home, but was permitted to mingle freely in society. She was the friend and confidante of her husband, as well as his housekeeper. During the great days of Roman history the women showed themselves virtuous and dignified, loving wives and excellent companions.

Higher position of the Roman matron.

216. Clothing

There were no great differences between the dress of the two classical peoples. Both wore the long, loosely flowing robes that contrast so sharply with our tight-fitting garments.[2] The mild Mediterranean climate enabled the Greeks and the Romans to wear a simple, almost scanty costume. It was a costume, morever, that did not constantly change according to the whims of fashion, but remained almost the same during many centuries.

Character of classical dress.

Athenian male attire consisted of but two articles, the tunic and the mantle. The tunic was an undergarment of wool or linen, without sleeves. When the wearer was busy in an occupation that required freedom of movement, the tunic was drawn up tightly

[1] See page 317.

[2] See the illustrations, pages 249, 265, 448.

about the body and confined by a girdle. Over this garment was thrown a large woollen mantle, so wrapped about the figure as to leave free only the right shoulder and head. In the house a man wore his tunic alone; out of doors and on the street he wore the mantle over it. However, it does not appear to have been bad form to present one's self in public garbed only in the mantle. The frugal and hardy Socrates, we are told, dressed in nothing but his cloak, winter and summer. Some Greek statues indicate that this was by no means an unusual practice.

Costume of an Athenian gentleman.

Very similar to the two main articles of Greek clothing were the Roman *tunica* and *toga*.[1] The latter was the characteristic dress of a Roman gentleman for over a thousand years. It was a heavy, woollen robe, white in colour, enveloping the whole figure and reaching to the feet. The toga was the public dress of the citizen. He wore it in the Forum, in the street, at the games—in all places where social forms were observed. Its use was forbidden to slaves and strangers. Roman boys wore a toga with a crimson border (*toga prætexta*). On reaching their majority they exchanged this mark of immaturity for the pure white *toga virilis*, the garb of a citizen. Hence Vergil, in a famous line, speaks of the Romans as "lords of the world, the race that wears the toga."[2]

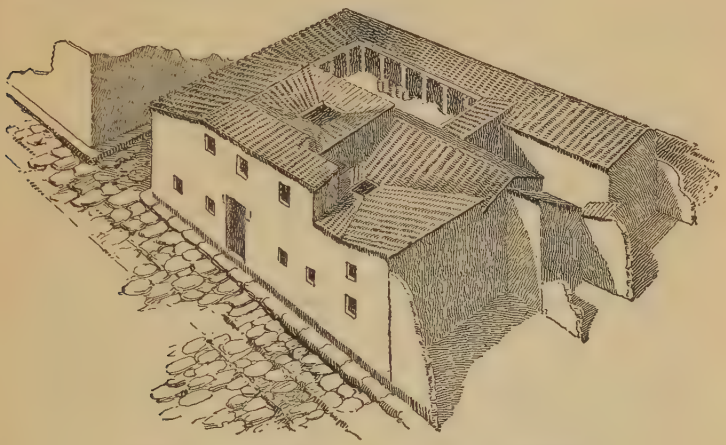
The Roman toga.

Hats, ordinarily, were never worn, either by men or women. On a journey or out in the country, broad-brimmed hats were used to shield the head against the sun. In rainy weather the mantle, pulled up over the head, furnished protection. Coverings for the feet, at least among the Greeks, were not regarded as essential to a decent appearance in public. Sandals, merely flat soles of wood or leather fastened by thongs, were usually worn indoors, but even these were laid aside at a dinner party. Outside the house

Coverings for the head and feet.

[1] The corresponding names of women's garments were *stola* and *palla*.
[2] *Æneid*, i, 282.

leather shoes of various shapes and colours were in general use. They cannot have been very comfortable, since stockings were unknown in antiquity.



HOUSE OF THE VETTII AT POMPEII (RESTORED)

Notice the large area of blank wall both on the front and on the side. The front windows are very small and evidently of less importance for admitting light than the openings of the two *atria*. At the back is seen the large, well-lighted peristyle.

To complete the picture of classical dress we must imagine the Greek or Roman gentleman abroad wearing a seal ring and carrying a cane. Until the middle of the fourth century B.C. the use of the cane was obligatory at Athens. **Ornaments.** Women delighted in a profusion of ornaments. Necklaces, earrings, bracelets, chains, and other articles of feminine jewellery of great cost and beauty show that in ancient days the love of personal adornment was no less strong than now.

217. House and Furniture

The ancient house lay close to the street line. The exterior was plain and simple to an extreme. The owner was satisfied if his mansion shut out the noise and dust of the highway. He built it, therefore, round one or more open courts which took the

place of windows supplying light and air. Except for the doorway, the front of the house presented a bare, blank surface, only relieved by narrow slits or lattices on the wall of the upper story. The street side of the house wall received a coating of whitewash or of fine marble stucco. The roof of the house was flat and covered with clay tiles. This style of domestic architecture is still common in eastern lands.

External appearance of the house.

In contrast with its unpretentious exterior, a classical dwelling indoors had a most attractive appearance. We cannot exactly determine just what were the arrangements of a Greek interior. But the better class of Roman houses, such as some of those excavated at Pompeii, followed Greek designs in many respects. The Pompeian remains, therefore, will give some idea of the sort of residence occupied by a well-to-do citizen of Athens or Rome.

Interior arrangements.

POMPEIAN FLOOR MOSAIC

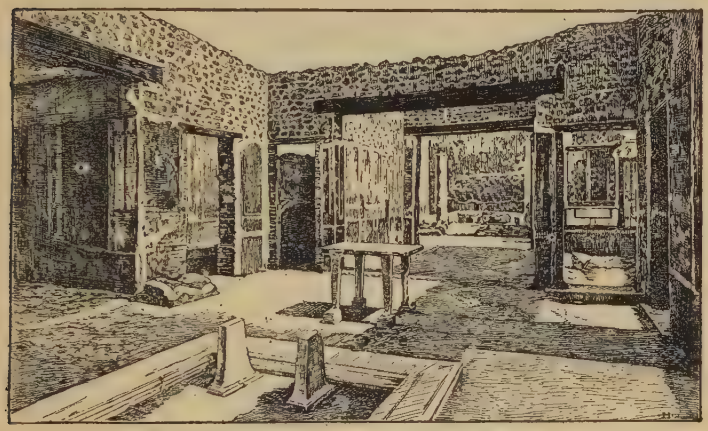
The visitor at one of these ancient houses first entered a small courtyard or vestibule, from which a narrow passage led to the heavy oaken door. A dog was sometimes kept chained in this hallway; in Pompeii there is a picture of one worked in mosaic on the floor with the warning beneath it, "Beware of the dog" (*Cave canem*). Having made known his presence by using the knocker, the guest was ushered into the reception room, or *atrium*. This was a large apartment covered with a roof, except for a hole in the centre admitting light and air. A marble basin directly underneath caught the rain water which came through the opening. The *atrium* represents the single room of the primitive Roman house without windows or chimney.[1]

The atrium.

[1] See the illustration, page 319.

A Roman gentleman lavished on the *atrium* all the splendour his means would permit. A fine mosaic pavement formed the floor; brilliant paintings covered the walls; and handsome statues, ranged at the sides of the room, made up for the absence of furniture. In the rear of this apartment was an alcove (*tablinum*), which served as the master's study. Recesses on each side of the *atrium* contained the waxen masks and marble busts of distinguished ancestors.

Decoration of the atrium.



ATRIUM OF A POMPEIAN HOUSE

The view shows the *atrium* with the basin for rainwater; in the centre, the *tablinum* with its wall paintings; and the peristyle at the rear.

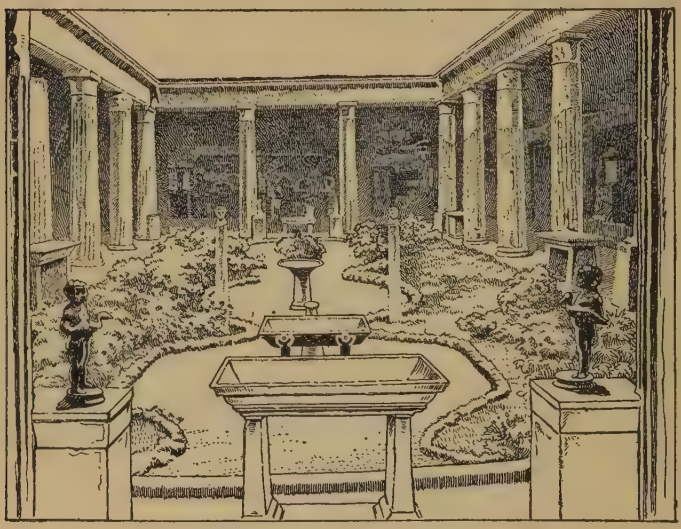
A corridor from the *atrium* led into the peristyle, the second of the two main sections of a Roman house. It was a spacious court, open to the sky and inclosed by an unbroken colonnade or portico. This delightful spot, rather than the formal *atrium*, served as the centre of family life. About it were grouped the bedchambers, bathrooms, dining rooms, kitchen, and other apartments of a comfortable mansion. Still other rooms occupied the upper stories of the dwelling.

The peristyle.

A Greek or Roman house was ill supplied with furniture. Many

of the most common and useful articles now in use were then entirely unknown. Couches or beds for sleeping and for reclining at meals, chairs, tables, and a great variety of lamps provided for most of the daily needs. What furniture there was had an elegance of form which modern cabinet makers seek in vain to rival. It was enough, and just enough, to be in

Furniture.



PERISTYLE OF A POMPEIAN HOUSE

House of the Vettii, Pompeii

The peristyle, excavated in 1894–1895, has been carefully restored. The garden, fountains, tables, and marble colonnades are all modern.

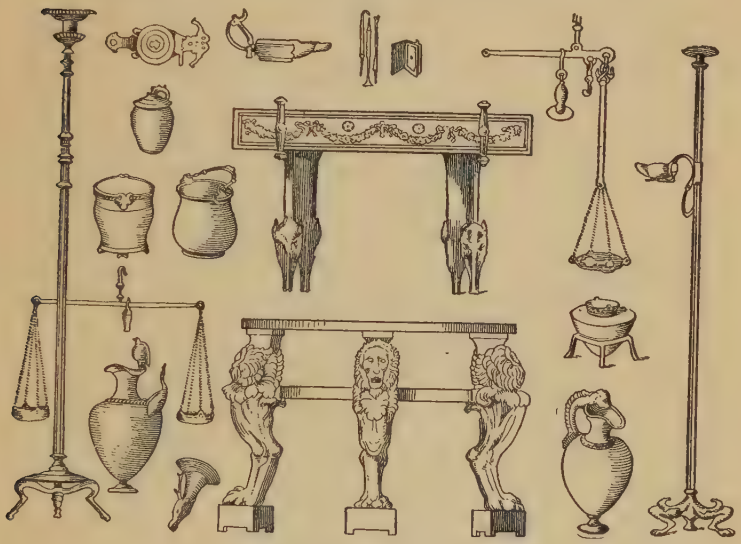
keeping with the stately *atrium* and the graceful peristyle. The sure instinct for beauty possessed by classical peoples made the furnishings of the home as well as the home itself a daily lesson in good taste.

218. Athenian Daily Life

An Athenian gentleman, though possessed of abundant leisure, was not likely to find time dragging heavily on his hands. As we

have already seen,[1] his duties as a member of the Assembly or of the jury courts would claim a good share of his energies. Moreover, there were performances in the theatre and frequent religious festivals to engage his attention. On days occupied by no such public events, there were still numberless opportunities for social intercourse at the gatherings of the men in market place, palestra, and gymnasium.

How an Athenian passed the day.



HOUSE FURNITURE FROM POMPEII

The ancient Athenian was no sluggard. At dawn,[2] or even before sunrise, he rose from his couch, washed his face and hands, put on his scanty garments, and was soon ready for the street. Before leaving the house, he broke his fast with a meal as simple

[1] See pages 225–227.

[2] With the Greeks, ordinary usage divided the twenty-four hours of daylight and darkness into seven parts, three for the night and four for the day. The daylight hours included early morning, the forenoon (nine o'clock till noon), the midday heat, and the late afternoon. Time was reckoned by sundials, or by the length of the shadow thrown by a vertical staff, and later, by water clocks.

as the European "rolls and coffee" — in this case merely a few mouthfuls of bread dipped in wine. After breakfast he might call on his friends, or perhaps ride into the country and visit his estates. About ten o'clock (which the Athenians called "full market"), he would be pretty sure to find his way to the Agora. The shops at this time were crowded with purchasers, and every sociable citizen of Athens was to be found in them or in the neighbouring colonnades which lined the market-place.

Business of the forenoon.

The public resorts were deserted at noon, when the Athenian returned home to enjoy a light meal and a rest during the heat. As the day grew cooler, men again went out and visited a gymnasium, such as the Lyceum or the Academy, in the city suburbs.[1] Here were grounds for running, wrestling, discus-throwing, and other sports, as well as rooms for bathing and anointing. While the younger men busied themselves in such active exercises, those of maturer years might be content with less vigorous games or with conversation on political or philosophical themes. It was not very difficult to engage the average citizen in discussion; there were plenty of debaters and abundance of argumentation in ancient Athens. Even in the first century of our era, the Apostle Paul could describe its inhabitants as those who "spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing."[2]

Occupations of the afternoon.

The principal meal of the day came about sunset. The master of the house, if he had no guests, shared the repast with his wife and children. For a man of moderate means the ordinary fare was very much what it is now in Greece — bread, olives, figs, cheese, with a little wine and meat as occasional luxuries. As a substitute for sugar, the Athenian used honey; olive oil took the place of butter; and snow served instead of ice for cooling water or wine. A wealthy man might add to these simple articles of diet a few dainties, such as fruits, nuts,

The evening meal.

[1] See page 624.

[2] *Acts*, xvii, 21.

and cakes. At the end of the meal the diners refreshed themselves with wine mixed with water. The Greeks appear to have been usually as temperate in their drink as they were frugal in their food. The remainder of the evening would be devoted to conversation and music and possibly a little reading. But as a rule the Athenian gentleman went to bed early. The lighting arrangements of an ancient house were not such as to encourage late hours; besides, as we have seen, the practice was to rise very early of a morning.

219. Daily Life at Rome

A Roman of the higher class, who lived in late republican or early imperial times, passed through much the same daily routine as our Athenian citizen in the days of Pericles or Demosthenes. He rose at an early hour,[1] and after a light breakfast dispatched his private business with the help of his steward and manager. He then took his place in the *atrium* to meet the crowd of poor dependents who came to pay their respects to their patron and to receive their usual morning alms — either food or sufficient money to buy a modest dinner. Having greeted his visitors and perhaps helped them in legal or business matters, the great man entered his litter and was carried down to the Forum. Here he might attend the law courts to plead a case for himself or for his clients. If he were a member of the Senate, he would take part in the deliberations of that body. At eleven o'clock, when the ordinary duties of the morning were over, the citizen returned home to eat his luncheon and enjoy the midday rest, or siesta. This practice of having a nap in the heat of the day became so general

Morning round of a Roman noble.

[1] The Roman day, divided into twelve hours, began with sunrise and ended at sunset. The hours, being one-twelfth of the time during this interval, necessarily varied in length according to the season of the year. Thus, an hour in midwinter was not quite forty-five minutes long, while a midsummer hour was nearly seventy-five minutes in duration. The seventh hour, winter and summer, always commenced at noon.

that at noon the streets of a Roman city had the same deserted appearance as at midnight.

After an hour of refreshing sleep it was time for the regular

ROMAN COINS SHOWING VARIOUS STYLES OF HAIR-DRESSING

British Museum

exercise out of doors in the Campus Martius, or indoors at one of the large city baths. Many houses of wealthy nobles also contained special rooms fitted up for gymnastic exercises, especially for the game of hand-ball, which still keeps its popularity in Italy. Then came one of the chief pleasures of a Roman's existence — the daily bath. This was taken ordinarily in one of the public bathing establishments, or *thermæ*, to be found in every Roman town.[1]

The afternoon exercise and bath.

A bath was a luxurious affair, requiring at least three rooms.[2]

[1] At the end of the third century A.D. Rome had eleven large baths, besides nine hundred smaller private establishments. Some sixty thousand people could be accommodated at one time in these baths.

[2] The best-preserved Roman baths are those at Pompeii. The English town of Bath, once a Roman city, has also very interesting remains. These include a

After undressing, the bathers entered a warm anteroom and sat for a time on the benches there, in order to perspire freely. This was a precaution against the danger of passing too suddenly into the high temperature of the *caldarium*, or hot room. Here the hot bath was taken in a large tank of water sunk in the middle of the floor. Next came a visit to the cold room and an exhilarating cold plunge. The bathers were then scraped down with a *strigil* and anointed

Arrangements of the bath.

A Greek Banquet

From a vase painting by Duris

with perfumed oil. Afterwards they rested on the couches with which the resort was supplied, and spent the time in reading or conversation until the hour for dinner.

The late dinner, with the Romans as with the Greeks, formed the principal meal of the day. It was usually a social function. The host and his guests reclined on couches arranged about a table. The meal occupied a long time; three hours was considered a moderate length. Ordinarily it included three courses: the entrée, then the dinner proper, and finally the dessert. Elaborate meals sometimes consisted of six or seven courses, each made up of a number of dishes. Among the vulgar rich a great feast often became an occasion for a display of

The late dinner.

large bath, still filled with water and lined at the bottom with the Roman lead, several smaller bathing chambers, and portions of the ancient pipes and conduits.

furniture, plate, and food which would have seemed disgusting to the Greeks.

The Romans borrowed from the Greeks the custom of ending a banquet with a symposium, or drinking-bout. The tables were cleared of dishes and the guests were anointed with perfumes and crowned with garlands. Under the superintendence of a master of ceremonies, or "king of the feast," every one settled down to a course of hard drinking. During the banquet and the symposium it was common for professional performers to entertain the guests with music, dancing, pantomimes, and feats of jugglery. Among both Greeks and Romans the symposium sometimes furnished an occasion for disgraceful drunkenness. But ancient literature contains, also, many illustrations of its pleasanter side — when men of intellectual tastes would pass the long evenings in discussions of high and noble themes.

The symposium.

220. Greek Amusements

We have already learned something of the amusements which enabled an Athenian gentleman to pass his time without work and yet without mental weariness. The sports of the gymnasium, the duties of the bath, the banquets and entertainments all helped to fill up such hours as were not devoted to political engagements or to social intercourse.

Variety of amusements.

YOUTH READING A PAPYRUS ROLL

Relief on a sarcophagus

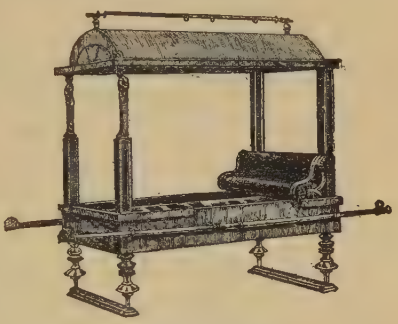
There were some occupations which did not have the prominence they possess to-day with persons of wealth and leisure. For instance, the quiet attractions of the studious life were less appreciated then than now. The explanation partly lies in the difficulties that attended reading. The ancient

Reading.

papyrus roll, wound upon a wooden cylinder, was awkward to hold and trying on the eyes to peruse. It could not compare in convenience with the modern printed book.[1]

Travelling, which with us is so important a means of culture and recreation, had many drawbacks in antiquity. The roads, except in the late Roman period, were generally poor and often unsafe. The only means of conveyance was by carriage or on horseback. The inns were all of the meanest character. For these reasons, and perhaps also because of a certain blindness to the charms of nature, people confined their journeys chiefly to business visits, or to attendance at religious festivals such as the Olympian games.

Travelling.



A Roman Litter

The litter consists of an ordinary couch with four posts and a pair of poles. Curtains fastened to the rod above the canopy shielded the occupant from observation.

The festivals which had most interest to an Athenian did not require a journey beyond the city for their enjoyment. Every fourth year, in the month of July, the people celebrated the Great Panathenaic[2] festival. Athletic contests and poetical recitations,

[1] The papyrus roll was sometimes very long. The entire *Iliad* or *Odyssey* might be contained in a single manuscript measuring 150 feet in length. During the Hellenistic Age Greek scholars at Alexandria began to divide the works of classical authors into "books," each one short enough to be included within a roll of moderate size. Thus the history of Herodotus contains nine such books, and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* each twenty-four books. In the third century A.D. the unwieldy roll began to give way to the tablet composed of a number of leaves held together by a ring. About this time, also, the use of vellum, or parchment made of sheepskin, became common. The oldest Greek manuscripts are papyri from Egypt, the preservation of which is due to the wonderfully dry climate of the Nile valley. Some ancient rolls, dating a century or more before Christ, have been recovered from Herculaneum.

[2] Panathenaic means "belonging to all the Athenians." See page 630.

sacrifices, feasts, and processions honoured the virgin goddess who presided over the Athenian city. It was a holiday time when slaves enjoyed many indulgences, when women came out from their seclusion, and when the gods received their share of joyful worship.

Religious festivals at Athens.

Even more interesting, perhaps, to the average Athenian were the dramatic performances held in midwinter and in spring, at the festivals of Dionysus. The tragedies and comedies composed for these entertainments took their place, as we have already seen,[1] among the masterpieces of Greek literature.

Dramatic entertainments.

Attic tragedy, the first division of the drama to attain artistic character, passed through several stages before it reached a completed form. First, the hymns sung at the festivals of Dionysus were adapted to a trained chorus. The next step was to select one of the members of the chorus as an actor to take part in a dialogue with the chorus leader. Then a second and finally a third actor were introduced. These changes made the dialogue of most importance. The speeches of the actors could now tell a complete story, to which the songs and dances of the chorus added interest and animation. When at length great poets began to compose the odes sung by the chorus and the words of the dialogue recited by the actors, the materials of the tragic drama were complete.

Development of tragedy.

There is very little likeness between the ancient and the modern drama. Greek plays were performed out of doors in the bright sunlight. Until late Roman times it is unlikely that a raised stage existed. The three actors and the members of the chorus appeared together in the dancing ring, or orchestra. The performers were all men. Each actor might play several parts. There was no elaborate scenery ; the spectator had to rely chiefly on his own imagination for the setting of the piece. The actors indulged in few lively movements or

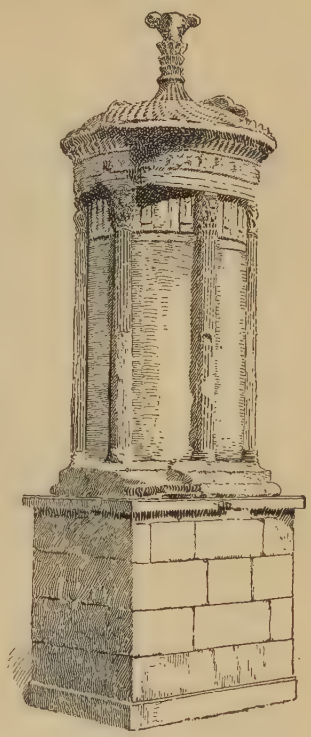
Features of a Greek play.

[1] See pages 248–250.

gestures. From a distance they must have looked like a group of majestic statues. All wore elaborate costumes, and tragic actors, in addition, were made to appear larger than human with masks, padding, and thick-soled boots, or buskins. The performances lasted throughout the three days of the Dionysiac festivals, beginning early in the morning and ending only at night. All this time was necessary because they formed contests for a prize which the people awarded to the poet and chorus whose presentation was judged of highest excellence.

There was no entrance fee for the theatre. The entertainments were free, since they had a religious and moral character which made them highly educative. The state even recompensed the poorer citizens who had to give up work to attend a play. We can understand, therefore, how large a part was played by the drama in the intellectual life of Athens.[1]

Importance of the drama.



CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES

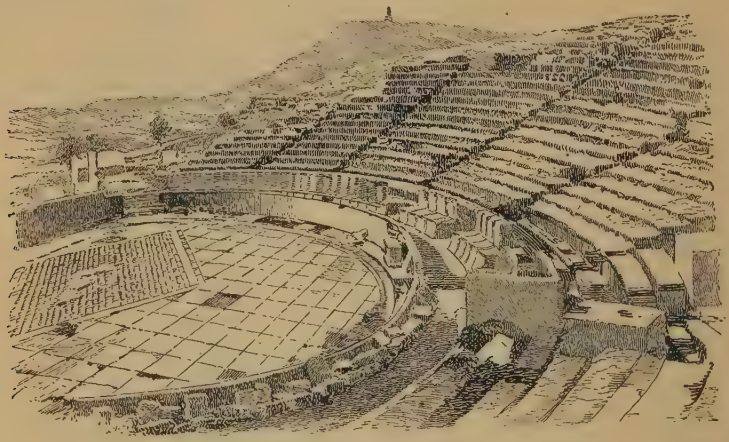
A monument near the Theatre of Dionysus. It was erected in 334 B.C. to commemorate a victory in a dramatic contest.

The Theatre of Dionysus, where dramatic exhibitions were held, lay close to the southeastern angle of the Acropolis. The audience sat upon wooden benches rising, tier after tier, on

Theatre of Dionysus.

[1] The most elaborate reproduction in modern times of a Greek play was the performance by Harvard students of the *Agamemnon* by Æschylus. It was given in the Stadium at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in June, 1906. The University of California at Berkeley possesses a splendid open-air theatre modelled on Greek lines. It holds seven thousand people.

the adjacent hillside. About the middle of the fourth century B.C. these were replaced by the stone seats which are still to be seen. Sixteen thousand people could be accommodated in this open-air theatre.



THEATRE OF DIONYSUS, ATHENS

221. Roman Amusements

The Roman drama.

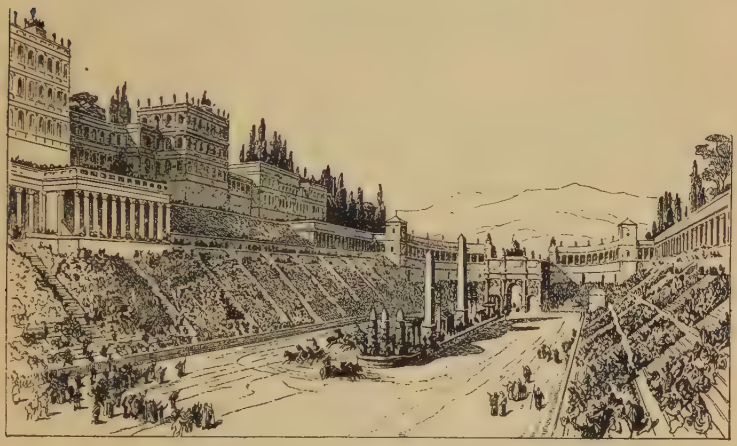
The Roman had few of the civic festivals which did so much to make life beautiful and attractive for the Greek. Perhaps the triumph,[1] celebrated by a victorious general on his return from war, was the nearest approach to the splendid pageants we find at Athens. Nor were theatrical performances greatly in vogue at Rome. The average citizen could not endure to sit all day on the hard stones of an outdoor theatre, watching the plays that held a Greek audience enthralled. Tragedies were seldom acted at Rome. Only the lighter comedies, adaptations from Greek originals, were really popular there.

Pantomimes formed the staple amusement of the Roman theatre. In these performances a single dancer, by movements

[1] See pages 353–354.

and gestures, represented mythological scenes and love stories. The actor took several characters in succession, and a chorus accompanied him with songs. There were also "vaudeville" entertainments with all manner of jugglers, rope-dancers, acrobats, and clowns, to amuse a people who no longer found pleasure in the refined productions of the classical stage.

Pantomime and vaudeville.



THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS (RESTORATION)

Far more popular than even pantomime and vaudeville were the "games of the circus." At Rome, these were held chiefly in the Circus Maximus. The first circus was laid out in the days of the Tarquins. Frequent fires having destroyed the earlier wooden structures, the emperor Trajan rebuilt the seats in stone, covered with marble. They accommodated perhaps two hundred thousand spectators.

The Circensian games.

Chariot races formed the principal attraction of the circus. There were usually four horses to a chariot, though sometimes the drivers showed their skill by handling as many as six or seven horses. The contestants whirled seven times around the low wall, or *spina*, which divided the race course. The

Chariot races.

shortness of the stretches and the sharp turns about the *spina* must have prevented the attainment of great speed. A race, nevertheless, was a most exciting sport. What we should call "fouling" was permitted and even encouraged. The driver might turn his team against another, or might endeavour to upset a rival's car. It was a very tame contest that did not have its accompaniment of broken chariots, fallen horses, and killed or injured drivers. One event followed another during the day, until the approach of darkness compelled the spectators to turn homewards.

Animal-baitings.

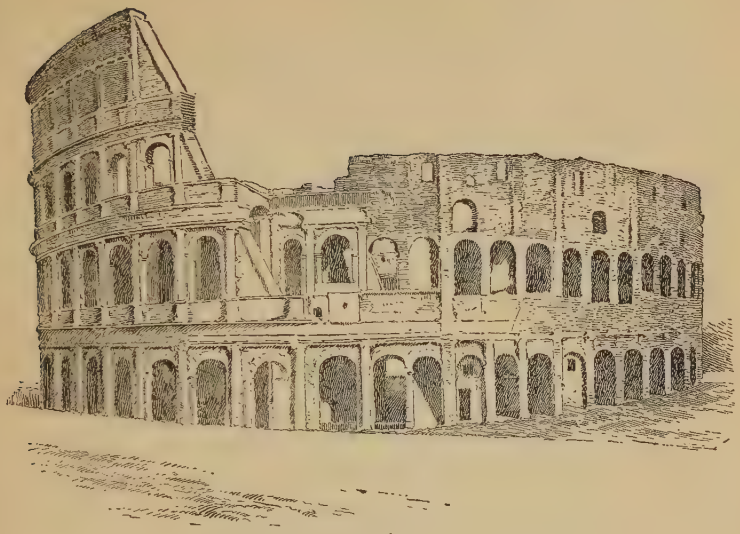
The Circus Maximus was often used for a variety of animal shows. Fierce wild beasts, brought from every quarter of the empire, were turned loose to slaughter one another, or to tear to pieces condemned criminals.[1] More popular still were the contests between savage animals and men. Pompey once exhibited six hundred lions and twenty elephants, which fought against prisoners of war armed with darts. Julius Cæsar gave an animal-hunt lasting five days, when giraffes were introduced for the first time, and bull-fights formed another novelty. In the reign of Augustus thirty-five hundred elephants were killed in the circus. At the opening of the Amphitheatre of Titus nine thousand animals are said to have been slain.[2] Such amusements did something to satisfy the lust for blood in the Roman populace — a lust which was more completely satisfied by the gladiatorial combats.

Gladiatorial shows.

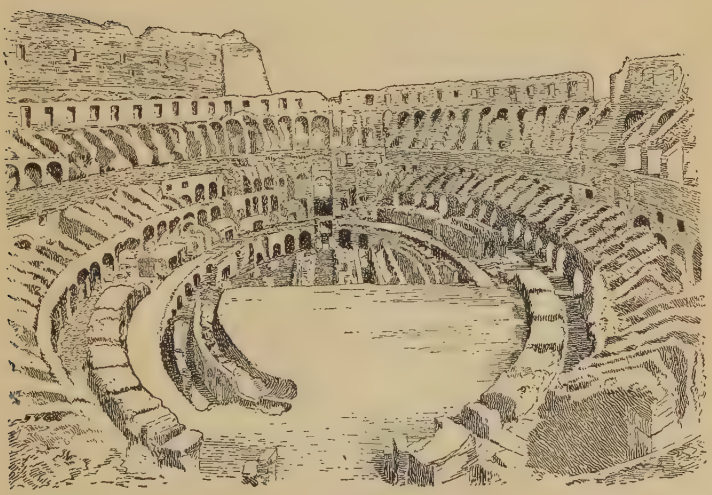
Exhibitions of gladiators were known in Italy long before they became popular at Rome. The combats probably started from the savage practice of sacrificing prisoners or slaves at the funeral of their master. Then the custom arose of allowing the victims a chance for their lives by having them fight one another, the conqueror being spared for future battles. From

[1] See pages 523, 527.

[2] It is a well-known fact that these Roman games had much effect in diminishing the number of wild animals in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and in bringing about the extinction of many species.



Exterior



Interior

THE COLOSSEUM

this it was but a step to keeping trained slaves as gladiators. The first gladiatorial shows were limited to funerals. As the taste for them increased, they became amusements which were given whenever anyone wished to win favour with the people. During the imperial epoch the number of such exhibitions increased greatly. The emperor Trajan, for example, to celebrate his victories over the Dacians,[1] exhibited no less than ten thousand men within the space of four months.

Gladiators.

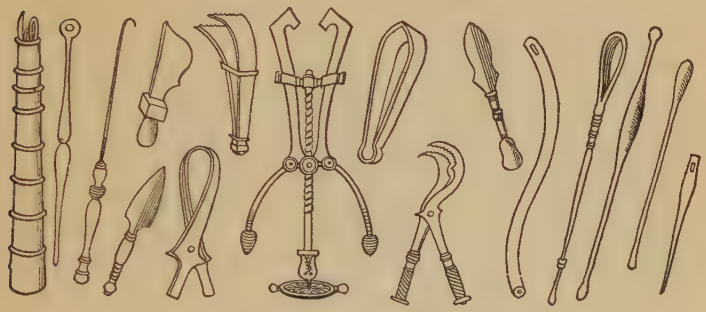
Roman gladiators were carefully trained in special schools. Slaves, captives, and condemned criminals made up the larger body of fighters. As the demand increased, even free citizens hired themselves out for this bloody business. The gladiators belonged to various classes, according to the defensive armour they wore and the style of fighting they employed. Gladiators armed alike never fought one another. The fight was man against man, and party against party. If the combatants showed cowardice or lack of zeal, they were spurred on by whips and hot irons. When a man was wounded and unable to continue the struggle, he might appeal to the spectators. He lifted his finger to plead for release ; if he had fought well, the people indicated their willingness to spare him by waving their handkerchiefs. If the spectators were in a cruel mood, they turned down their thumbs as the signal for his deathblow. These hideous exhibitions continued in different parts of the Roman Empire until the fifth century of our era.

"Bread and the games of the circus."

Gladiatorial combats, chariot races, and dramatic shows were free performances. For the lower classes in the Roman city they became the chief pleasure of life. The days of their celebration were public holidays, which in the reign of Marcus Aurelius numbered no less than one hundred and thirty-five. In the fourth century the year included one hundred and seventy-five such holidays. The once sovereign people of Rome became a lazy, worthless rabble, fed by the state

[1] See page 456.

and amused with the games. It was well said by an ancient satirist that the Romans wanted only two things to make them happy —"bread and the games of the circus."[1]



SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS FROM POMPEII

Royal Museum, Naples

222. Funeral Rites

In spite of their splendid climate, their outdoor life, and the constant care bestowed upon the body, the Athenian and the Roman were subject to most of the physical ills that afflict mankind. In sickness they could not rely upon very skilful medical treatment. Ancient doctors had by no means the ability of modern practitioners. The healing art, as in the Orient,[2] was bound up with all sorts of superstitious notions. Men were wont to depend on sacrifice to the gods and magical incantations far more than on common-sense rules of diet, fresh air, and exercise.[3]

Sickness and death.

If the patient despaired of recovery, he made a will, which, among other things, contained directions about the funeral ceremonies. These were carried out with great care. Both Greeks

[1] *Panem et circenses* (Juvenal, x, 80–81).

[2] See page 110.

[3] Surgery, however, was surprisingly advanced when we remember that dissection of human bodies was forbidden as being a desecration of the dead. There is scarcely a modern surgeon who does not express his admiration when seeing the ancient instruments discovered at Pompeii.

and Romans, in common with many more primitive peoples, believed that the soul could find peace only after the due disposal of the body in the grave. To perform the last rites for the departed was, therefore, a solemn religious duty for the surviving members of the family.[1] These beliefs continued even after cremation, which was more costly than simple burial, came into general use.

Significance of funeral rites.

AN ATHENIAN GRAVESTONE

National Museum, Athens

A relief on the tomb of a certain Hegeso. It represents a woman, seated, taking a jewel from a casket held by an attendant.

Funeral ceremonies were often solemn and impressive. At Athens they took place in the early morning before sunrise. The body was borne on a couch, preceded by the kinsmen of the deceased. The female relatives, walking in the rear, closed the short and modest procession. When the dead man was laid in the tomb, the mourners called upon him three times by name and spoke the last farewell.

An Athenian funeral.

The burial of a Roman citizen formed an occasion for greater pomp and display. Musicians, playing a funeral march, headed the procession. They were followed by a band of mourning women

[1] See page 319.

who chanted a solemn dirge. Then came, in the case of a noble, the most imposing feature of the ceremony — the troop of actors wearing the waxen masks[1] of the dead man's ancestors and dressed in the robes which each one had worn during life. The corpse, carried with face uncovered on a lofty bier, was escorted by the relatives and friends, and by a crowd of dependents and slaves. If the deceased had been a man of note, the procession moved to the Forum, where a funeral oration was delivered in his honour. Burial took place outside the city walls. When cremation was practised, the corpse was burned on a funeral pile. After the fire had done its work, the ashes were reverently gathered and placed in a funeral urn.

A Roman funeral.

A Cinerary Urn
Vatican Museum, Rome

Beside the mound which marked the grave an Athenian was usually content to place a simple slab of stone or marble sculptured in relief with a portrait of the dead. Many hundreds of such monuments lined the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis.

Athenian gravestones.

The Romans preferred costlier tributes to the departed. Elaborate family tombs, large enough for several generations, were erected along the Appian Way and the other high roads leading out of Rome. There were also immense underground structures, called *columbaria*, intended as receptacles for great numbers of funerary urns. On certain festival days[2] the family of the departed visited his last resting place to perform those rites of love and piety which humanity cherished then no less than now.

Roman funeral monuments.

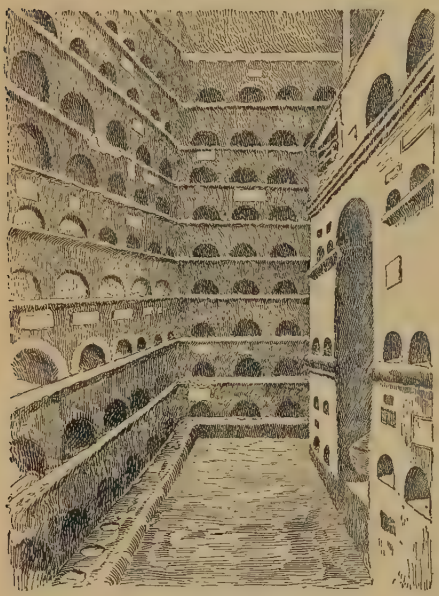
[1] See page 577.

[2] See pages 319–320.

223. Slavery

The private life of the Greeks and Romans, as described in the preceding pages, would have been impossible without the existence of a large servile class. Slaves did much of the heavy and disagreeable work in the ancient world, thus allowing the free citizen to engage in more honourable employment, or to pass his days in dignified leisure.

Place of slavery in classical life.



COLUMBARIUM

This coöperative tomb at Rome was discovered in 1840. It consists of one room deep underground with 450 pigeon-holes for cinerary urns.

The Greeks seem sometimes to have thought that only barbarians should be degraded to the condition of servitude. Most Greek slaves, as a matter of fact, were purchased from foreign countries. But after the Romans had subdued the Mediterranean world, their captives included not only members of inferior races, but also the cultivated inhabitants of Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor. We hear of slaves at Rome who served as clerks, secretaries, librarians, actors, and musicians. Their education was often superior to that of the coarse and brutal masters who owned them.

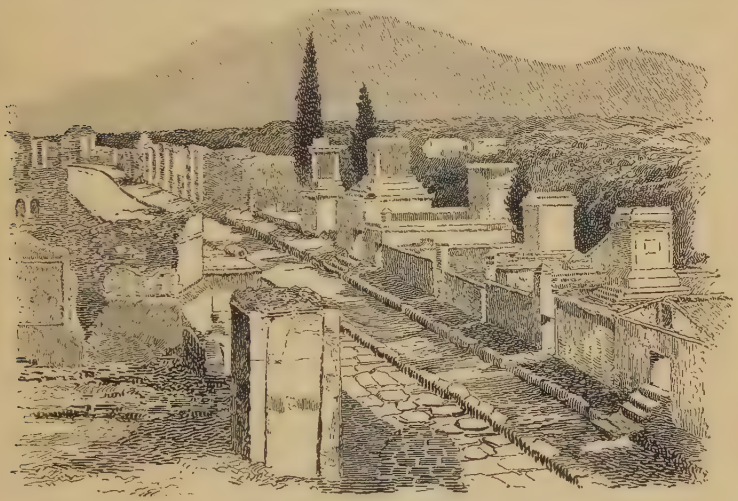
Sources of slaves.

The number of slaves, though great enough in Athens[1] and

[1] See page 232.

other Greek cities, reached almost impossible figures during the later period of Roman history. Every victorious battle swelled the troops of captives sent to the slave markets at Rome. After the destruction of Carthage Scipio sold fifty thousand of its inhabitants into slavery. Pompey and Cæsar together are said to have disposed in this way of more than a million Asiatics and Gauls. Titus took about one hundred

Number and cheapness of slaves.



STREET OF TOMBS, POMPEII

thousand prisoners at the capture of Jerusalem. Ordinary slaves became as cheap as beasts of burden are now. The Roman poet Horace tells us that at least ten slaves were necessary for a gentleman in even moderate circumstances. Wealthy individuals, given to excessive luxury, might number their city slaves by hundreds, in addition to those on their country estates.

Slaves engaged in a great variety of occupations. They were domestic servants, farm labourers, miners, artisans, factory hands, and even shopkeepers. Household slaves at Rome were employed in every conceivable way. Each part of a rich man's

residence had its special staff of servants. One set cared for the living rooms and furniture, another looked after the kitchen and the service of the table, a third set saw to the clothing of the master, mistress, and children. Other companies of slaves escorted their lord when he appeared in public, some to clear the way before him, some to bear his litter, others to remind him of the names of acquaintances, or to run on his errands. The possession of a fine troop of slaves, dressed in handsome liveries, was a favourite way of showing one's wealth and luxury.

How slaves were employed.

It is difficult for us to realize the attitude of ancient peoples toward their slaves. They were regarded as part of the chattels of the house—as on a level with domestic animals rather than human beings. Some Roman writers on agriculture refer to slaves as "speaking tools," only a little different from "semi-speaking tools," the cattle, and "mute tools," the hoes and ploughs. Though Athenian law forbade owners to kill their slaves or to treat them cruelly, it permitted the corporal punishment of slaves for slight offences. At Rome, until the imperial epoch, no restraints whatever existed upon the master's power. A slave was part of his property with which he could do exactly as he pleased. We hear of one Roman master, even in the cultured Augustan Age, who caused slaves that angered him to be thrown alive into a pond as food for the fish. Such instances of barbarity were, of course, exceptional. But slaves who laboured in the mines or on the farms seem, as a rule, to have received cruel treatment. They were compelled to work long hours with little food or rest, and when sick, were often left to die without attention. People argued that it was cheaper to work a slave to death and buy a new one than to spend time and money doctoring the old slave. The terrible punishments, the beating with scourges which followed the slightest misconduct or neglect of duty, the branding with a hot iron which a runaway slave received, the fearful penalty of crucifixion which followed an

Treatment of slaves.

attempt upon the owner's life—all these tortures show how hard was the lot of the bondman in pagan Rome.

A slave, under some circumstances, could gain his freedom. In Greece, where many little states constantly at war bordered one another, a slave could often run away to liberty. In a great empire like Rome, where no boundary lines existed, this was usually impossible. Freedom, however, was sometimes voluntarily granted. A master in his will might liberate his favourite slave, as a reward for the faithful service of a lifetime. An even commoner practice permitted the slave to keep a part of the produce of his labour and what property he could scrape together by the utmost frugality. As Xenophon said, "Slaves are willing to take trouble when freedom is the prize and the time of bondage is fixed."[1] Such freedmen generally remained the poor dependents of their former masters, though some of them, especially in imperial Rome, rose to positions of wealth and prominence.

Possibilities of freedom.

SLAVE WORKING IN FETTERS

Slavery in Greece and Italy had existed from the earliest times. It never was more flourishing than in the great age of classical history. On three occasions risings of the subject population seriously menaced the Roman state. In the first of these so-called "Servile Wars" (135–132 B.C.) seventy thousand slaves are said to have been under arms in Sicily. The second insurrection (103–99 B.C.) was no less formidable; while in the third, the "War of the Gladiators"[2] (73–71 B.C.), the rebels, under their leader Spartacus, inflicted several defeats upon the armies of the republic, until they were finally put down by Crassus and Pompey.

The Servile Wars.

[1] Xenophon, *Œconomicus*, v, 16.

[2] See page 413.

Nor did slavery pass away when the Roman world became Christian. The spread of Christianity certainly helped to improve the lot of the slave and to encourage his liberation.[1] The Church, nevertheless, recognized slavery from the beginning. Not until the latter part of the Middle Ages, and long after ancient civilization had perished, did the practice finally disappear from European lands.

Permanence of slavery.

[1] See page 532.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ART OF GREECE AND ROME

224. Characteristics of Classical Art

MORE than any other race that has ever lived, the Greeks possessed the sense of beauty. They wanted to have everything about them beautiful. They did not make their art a far-away thing to be enjoyed only on rare occasions. Greek art was bound up with all the details of Greek life. Not simply in buildings, statues, and paintings, but in the minor decorative arts of vase-painting and gem-engraving, even in humble household vessels and furniture, the refined taste of the Greeks displayed itself. They touched nothing they did not adorn.

Introductory.

Greek art was original. This does not mean that the artists of Greece never borrowed. We know that they learned something from Oriental craftsmen and from the prehistoric artists who flourished in the Ægean Age.[1] On this point Mr H. B. Cotterill, in his *Ancient Greece*, says: "It is foolish to refuse to recognize in Hellenic art, as in Hellenic thought, the presence of many elements derived from other sources—from Crete, Lydia, Phrygia, the East, and Egypt—and to insist on an 'autochthonous' originality in the case of Greek sculpture or Greek thought which cannot be claimed for Giotto, Dante, or Shakespeare. But whether of Ægean or other origin in regard to some of its elements, the art of classical Hellas is, of course, original in the true sense of the word, being a re-creation—and that, too, into a far higher existence." Moreover, the Greeks took only what was good in the productions of

Originality of Greek art.

[1] See page 147.

other nations and discarded what was ugly, conventional, or grotesque.

Greek art, again, was ideal. It did not make immediate usefulness the chief end. The artist's first intention was to impress and move the spectator with forms of ideal loveliness. He found no place for the representation of things repulsive or sensational or vulgar. The masterpieces of Greek art, without exception, have strength, nobility, and gracious beauty.

Its ideal quality.

Finally, we may say that at its best the art of the Greeks was characterized by clearness and simplicity. They seemed to feel at once when anything was exaggerated or in bad taste. One of their favourite maxims was, "Do nothing in excess." A Greek temple never has one part of it too large in proportion to another, or too much decoration, or ornament in the wrong place. The limbs and features of a Greek statue are on just the right scale for each other; head and body are always symmetrical. For these reasons the productions of ancient artists affect us with a sense of wonderful accuracy and precision.

Its clearness and simplicity.

Greek art had a history. Throughout a long life, covering at least a thousand years, it passed through several distinct periods. There was an early age, an age of beginnings, extending roughly to the close of the Persian wars. After this followed a glorious century and a half during which Greek art reached its highest level. Then in Alexandrian and Roman times came the period of gradual decadence or decline. Great as were the productions of this later age, they did not rise to the standard set by earlier masterpieces.

Historical development of Greek art.

In this third and final period of its history the art of Greece merged into that of Rome. Except in architecture, Roman art made slight pretence to originality. Roman artists turned to Greek masterpieces for inspiration. Much of the so-called Roman art was the product of Greek craftsmen working on Italian soil. But it was Rome that introduced classical art to the modern world. At Rome, almost alone, were kept un-

The art of the Romans.

impaired such remains of the Greek artistic genius as escaped the barbarism of the Middle Ages. If we look to ancient Greece for the creation of the ancient masterpieces, for their preservation we look to ancient Rome.

225. Greek Architecture

Unlike the architecture of Egypt, where some of the most ancient examples exhibit the highest excellence, that of Greece can be traced from crude and imperfect forms. The edifices at Mycenæ or Tiryns present slight resemblance to the superb architectural creations of the Age of Pericles. In prehistoric structures only the lower part of the walls was composed of stone. The upper stories consisted of timber or sun-dried bricks. The historic Greeks turned to other building materials. It was their happy fortune to possess inexhaustible quarries of white marble, for instance, on Mount Pentelicus[1] near Athens and on the island of Paros in the Ægean. These beautiful marbles were generally employed for temples and other public structures. When limestone was used, the builders gave it the appearance of marble by coating the surface with a fine, hard stucco. Baked bricks, so common in ancient Babylonia, were not manufactured by the Greeks until near the close of their history.

Building materials.

The methods of Greek builders differed in several respects from those used at the present time. In the first place, lime mortar was not employed to bind together the masses of stone or marble. The squared or rectangular blocks, all of uniform length and height, were laid in level courses, and fitted each to each with extreme nicety. Metal clamps held the blocks in a firm grip, and prevented the sliding of one course of masonry upon another.

Methods of construction.

A second interesting feature of Greek architecture was the use

[1] The ancient quarries lie far up on the side of the mountain and still show the marks of the old chisels. Pentelic marble is quarried at the present day, and is even exported to the United States.

of colour. The uniform white or golden brown aspect of existing temples by no means represents their original appearance. Time, wind, and rain have removed all but traces of their former coloration. Tints were sometimes employed to relieve the dazzling whiteness of bare marble walls. It was more usual to colour only the ornamental parts of a temple and the open spaces that served as a background for sculpture. The Greeks were accustomed to a bright sun and a clear light and hence could endure a vividness of colouring that would be unpleasant to modern eyes.

Use of colour.

A third characteristic of Greek architecture was the absence of the arch. The Greeks were doubtless familiar with this important device, but until the Hellenistic period they seem to have made very little use of it. As far as we know, they never employed the vaulted ceiling to cover large spaces. All their temples and similar buildings had only the flat ceiling resting on long rows of columns.

Absence of the arch.

The column probably developed from the rude pillar used in timber construction. Its earliest form was the wooden post. A survival of this is the fluting of the shaft, which represents the grooved surface of a tree trunk. The capital at the top arose from the flat, wooden slab on which rested the heavy beam of the roof.

Origin of the column.

The two Greek orders of architecture, Doric and Ionic,[1] are distinguished mainly by differences in the treatment of the column. The Doric column has no base of its own. The sturdy shaft is grooved lengthwise with some twenty flutings. The capital is a circular band of stone capped by a square block, all without decoration. The mainland of Greece was the peculiar home of the Doric order. This was also the characteristic style of southern Italy and Sicily.

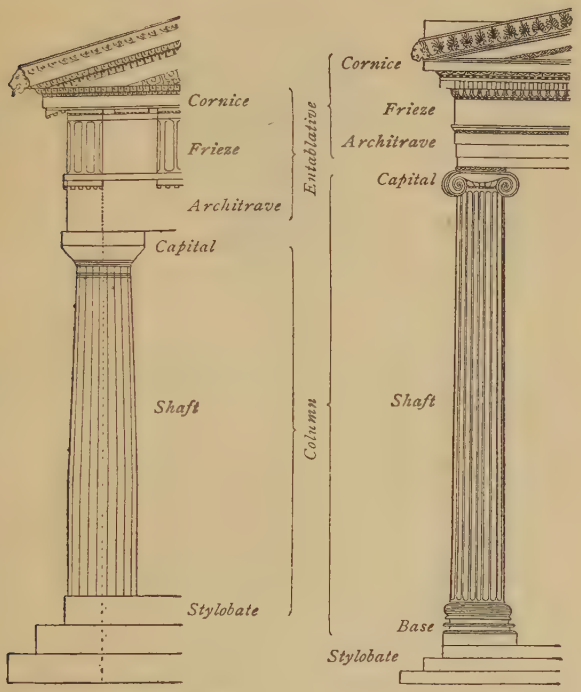
The Doric column.

The Ionic column rests upon a base. Its shaft is tall and slender. The beautifully carved capital swells outward into two spiral

[1] The so-called Corinthian order differs from the Ionic only in its capital.

rolls, the ends of which are curled under to form the "volutes." The Ionic order flourished particularly in Asia Minor. It was well known, too, at Athens. **The Ionic column.**

In contrast with the simple, unpretentious houses in which the



CORNER OF A DORIC FAÇADE

CORNER OF AN IONIC FAÇADE

Greeks were content to live, their public buildings were often of a costly and elaborate character. Thus their places of assembly and public markets were frequently surrounded with colonnades supported by marble columns. Such a covered walk, or stoa, gave protection from the sun, rain, and wind. Here the citizens would meet to discuss matters of general interest, and here the philosophers would gather their disciples. Olympia **Public buildings.**

possessed an especially beautiful stoa. The gates of Greek cities were handsomely built, and the gateway leading into the Acropolis of Athens was considered a model of architecture. All these buildings have now disappeared. But sufficient examples of temples remain to afford a clear idea of their nature.

a. Corinthian *b. Composite* *c. Tuscan*

CAPITALS

The highly decorative Corinthian capital, modelled on acanthus leaves, came into fashion in Alexandrian and Roman times. The Composite capital, as its name indicates, combined details from the Ionic and Corinthian into one ornate whole. This and the plain Tuscan capital were quite generally employed by the Romans.

Temples.

The temple was the chief structure in a Greek city. It was very simple in outline — merely a rectangular building provided with doors, but without windows. Around it was a single or a double row of columns. Above them rose the architrave, a plain band of massive stones which reached from one column to another and supported the upper part of the building. Then came the frieze, adorned with sculptured reliefs, then the horizontal cornice, and at the ends of the building the triangular pediments formed by the sloping roof. The pediments were sometimes decorated with statues. Since the temple was not intended to hold a congregation of worshippers, but only to contain the image of the god, the interior usually had little ornamentation.

Greek temples were not very large, for size was not the object of the builders. They were not even lavishly decorated. Their beauty lies, most of all, in their harmonious proportions and perfect symmetry. In the best examples of the Greek temple there

are, for instance, no straight lines. The columns are not set at equal intervals, but closer together near the corners of the building. The shafts of the columns, instead of tapering upward at a uniform rate, swell slightly toward the centre. The artistic eye of the Greek delighted in such subtle curves. These characteristics make a classical temple unique of its kind.[1]

Uniqueness of the Greek temple.

226. Greek Sculpture

The greatest achievement of the Greeks in art was their sculpture. Roman artists surpassed them in the creation of massive architectural works; modern artists have surpassed them in painting. In sculpture the Greeks still remain unexcelled.

The Greek genius in sculpture.

In spite of all the wealth of sculpture that once adorned the temples and other public buildings in Greece, the existing remains are very scanty. The statues of gold and ivory vanished long ago. The bronze statues, formerly numbered by thousands, have nearly all gone into the melting pot.[2] Sculptures in marble were turned into mortar or used as building materials. Those which escaped such a fate were often ruined by wanton mutilation and centuries of neglect. There exists to-day but one Greek statue which is certainly the production of an ancient master.[3] In the destruction of the Greek sculptures the world has suffered a loss that can never be repaired. The examples we still possess are mainly marble copies, made in Roman times from Greek originals. It is as if the paintings by the old masters of Europe, four centuries ago, were now known only in the reproductions by modern artists of inferior powers.

Loss of the masterpieces.

[1] For illustrations of Greek temples, see pages 163, 179, 231.

[2] In 1900–1901 a number of Greek bronzes and marbles were recovered from the bottom of the Mediterranean, near the island of Cythera (Cerigo). They had once formed the cargo of a shipwrecked vessel whose rotting timbers lay imbedded in the mud beside them.

[3] The Hermes of Praxiteles. See page 611.

The Greek sculptor worked with a variety of materials. Wood was in common use during primitive times. Terra cotta was employed at all periods for statuettes a few inches in height.[1] Productions in gold and ivory, from the costliness of these objects, were extremely rare. But some colossal statues, such as that of the Parthenon Athena, were richly overlaid with gold and ivory upon an inner figure of wood. Bronze was the favourite material of some of the most eminent artists. Above all, the Greek sculptor relied on the beautiful marbles in which his country abounded. Their exquisite variations in light and shade and soft, warm colouring made them far more effective for sculpture than the cold, unchanging whiteness of the Italian marbles which were used during Roman times and in later days.

Materials.

The methods employed by the ancient sculptor differed in some respects from those followed by his modern successors. Quite commonly, a Greek marble statue or group was built up out of several parts. The joining was accomplished with such skill as to escape ordinary observation. Furthermore, the artist made little use of full-sized clay models to be copied in the marble with the help of exact measurements. The greatest sculptors worked free-hand, guiding themselves mostly by the eye. The preliminary work of hewing out from the rough was done by means of chisels. The surface of the marble afterwards received a careful polishing with the file, and also with sand.

Technical processes.

The final process concerned the application of colour. Marble statues were always more or less painted. The colouring seems to have been done with great restraint, being applied, as a rule, only to the features and draperies. Still, it is worth while to remember that the pure white statues of modern sculptors would not have satisfied Greek artists of the classical age.

Use of colour.

Greek sculpture existed in the two forms of bas-reliefs and statuary in the round. Reliefs were chiefly used for temple pedi-

[1] See page 615.

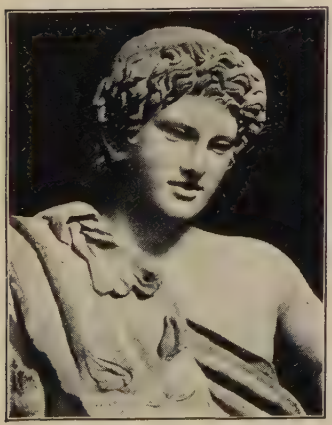
ATHENA PARTHENOS

National Museum, Athens

Found at Athens in 1880. A marble statuette copy of the Athena by Phidias, placed in the Parthenon in 438 B.C. The original, nearly forty feet high, had ivory for the face, feet, and hands, and gold for the drapery and accessories.

NIOBE AND HER YOUNGEST DAUGHTER

Uffizi Gallery, Florence



HEAD OF LEANING SATYR
"THE MARBLE FAUN"

Capitoline Museum, Rome

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN

Graf Collection, Vienna

One of a series of remarkable pictures found in Egypt, between 1886–1888. They date from the first and second centuries, A.D.

ments and friezes, and also for monuments on graves. Statues consisted of images of the gods set up in their shrines, sculptures dedicated as offerings to divinities, and figures of statesmen, generals, and victorious athletes raised in public places and sanctuaries.

Varieties of Greek sculpture.

This list will show how many were the opportunities which the ancient sculptor enjoyed. The service of religion created a constant demand for his genius. The numerous athletic contests and the daily sports of the gymnasium gave him a chance to study living models in the handsome, finely-shaped bodies of the contestants. With such inspiration it is not remarkable that sculpture reached so high a development in ancient Greece.

Importance of the sculptor's art.

227. Development of Greek Sculpture

The Greeks made rapid progress in the domain of sculpture. Barely two centuries and a half elapsed between the rudest marble statues and the finest products of the ancient artist. A good example of early sculpture is seen in the gravestone of Aristion,[1] which belongs to the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Its primitive character is shown by certain inaccuracies of detail. Thus the soldier's right hand is drawn like a foot, and his eye is given in full face instead of in profile. The artist has been unable to pose the figure in an easy attitude. It is stiff and rigid. Yet the work has a certain freshness of spirit and vigour of execution which give promise of rich development.

The "Warrior of Marathon."

How great an advance Greek sculpture had made by the middle of the fifth century is illustrated by the striking figure of the Discobolus.[2] Though the bronze original has perished, we possess several excellent copies in marble of this famous work. The statue represents a young man, perhaps an athlete at the Olympian games, who is bending forward to hurl the discus.

The "Discus-Thrower."

[1] See the illustration, page 195. [2] See the illustration, page 161.

His body is thrown violently to the left with a twisting action that brings every muscle into play. The whole conception is full of life and energy.

Of all the masters that flourished in the fifth century none had a greater reputation than Phidias the Athenian. He gained fame both as architect and sculptor. Pericles made him his counsellor in all matters relating to the embellishment of Athens. Phidias superintended the erection of those marvellous structures which crowned the Acropolis. The exquisite sculptures of the Parthenon,[1] if not by his hand, at any rate were executed under his direction. He was also the creator of two huge statues of gold and ivory, one at Olympia and the other at Athens. Despite the loss of these famous works, the Parthenon sculptures are enough to justify the renown which Phidias enjoyed throughout antiquity.

The Parthenon sculptures.

Some authorities ascribe to the pupils of Phidias a statue which has been called the most beautiful in existence — the Aphrodite of Melos.[2] It was discovered in 1820 on the island bearing that name. The statue consists of two principal pieces, joined together across the folds of the drapery. The strong, serene figure of the goddess sets forth the Greek ideal of female loveliness at its best. Of all ancient statues none has been more generally and more justly admired.

The Aphrodite of Melos.

The most eminent of fourth-century sculptors was Praxiteles. Ancient treatises on art catalogue some fifty of his productions. Nearly all deal with mythological subjects. Some of them still exist in copies, such as the so-called "Marble Faun."[3] It is one of the two statues which the sculptor himself

The "Marble Faun."

[1] The sculptures of the Parthenon are elsewhere described in detail (pages 630–631).

[2] More commonly known as the Venus of Milo. Most art critics consider it a work dating from about 100 B.C. Copies of two other famous statues of the goddess are in existence — the Venus de Medici in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, and the Aphrodite of Cnidus in the Vatican at Rome. See the plate facing page 612.

[3] The American novelist Hawthorne has made this statue famous by his book called *The Marble Faun*. See the plate facing page 608.

is said to have most prized of all his works. The figure represents a youthful satyr. His body rests on a tree trunk; his right hand holds a pipe which he has evidently just been playing. A leopard skin is thrown across his chest. In earlier times a satyr was represented under a graceful, half-animal form. But Praxiteles has dropped the animal characteristics to show us a being human in every respect save the pointed ears. The sculpture conveys the idea of a happy, playful creature of the woodlands.

The world is fortunate in still possessing one original statue by Praxiteles. This precious relic was found in 1877 at Olympia, on the very spot where an ancient Greek traveller had described its existence. The statue exhibits Hermes carrying the youthful Dionysus whom Zeus had confided to his care. Though one of the minor works by Praxiteles, to us the statue is of supreme importance. It is the sole production by an acknowledged master of Greek sculpture that has survived the wreck of time. Neither photograph nor cast gives a satisfactory idea of its beauty. The symmetrical body of Hermes is faultlessly modelled. The poise of the head is full of dignity, the expression of the face is refined and thoughtful. Manly strength and beauty have never been better embodied than in this work.

The Hermes.

A group of famous statues, sometimes ascribed to Praxiteles, is that of Niobe and Her Children. According to ancient legend, Niobe had aroused the anger of Leto by boasting that she had seven stalwart sons and seven blooming daughters, while Leto had borne only Apollo and Artemis. Niobe was punished by the loss of all her children, whom the archer god and goddess slew with their deadly arrows. The original group of sculptures, representing the punishment of Niobe, probably contained eighteen statues. The central figure in one of the copies shows the grief-stricken mother, as she seeks to shelter with arms and mantle her youngest daughter who kneels terrified at her feet.[1] The artist has treated his subject with much

Niobe and Her Children.

[1] See the plate facing page 608.

delicacy. There is no attempt to reproduce the physical anguish, the painful contortions, of death by violence.

An admirable statue belonging to the latter part of the fourth century is the Apoxyomenus.[1] It represents an athlete rubbing his arm with a flesh-scraper to remove the oil and sand of the palestra, or exercising ground. His slender form suggests quickness and agility rather than brute strength. His face, though refined, lacks something of the radiant charm seen in the Hermes.

"Athlete using the Strigil."

Some of the best work of Hellenistic sculptors was accomplished at the important art centre of Rhodes.[2] The most celebrated production of the Rhodian artists is the Laocoön group.[3] This is an original work, found at Rome in 1506. Like many other Greek sculptures, it consists of several pieces joined together with great care. The subject is the punishment inflicted on Laocoön, a Trojan priest, together with his two sons. A pair of large serpents, sent by the offended gods, have seized the unhappy victims. Laocoön, enveloped in their folds, sees his children dying before his eyes and himself expires in mortal agony. The entire group is a wonderful study of physical suffering. A repulsive subject has been rendered with exceeding skill. But it is not the noblest art.

The Laocoön group.

Nobler and more truly pathetic is the figure of the Dying Gaul, erroneously called the Dying Gladiator. It represents a Gaul who in battle has fallen on his sword, to avoid a shameful slavery. Overcome by the faintness of death, he sinks upon his shield, his head drops heavily forward, his brows are knit with pain, his lips are parted in a final sigh. With all its powerful realism, the statue shows nothing violent or revolting. It is a sombre tragedy in stone.

The Dying Gaul.

Other productions of the Hellenistic sculptors had more pleasing themes.[4] In some respects nothing could be finer than

[1] See the illustration, page 162. [2] See page 288. [3] See the plate facing page 298.
[4] See the relief sculptures on the "Alexander" sarcophagus (plate facing page 278).

THE APHRODITE OF MELOS

Louvre, Paris

the Victory[1] recently found on the island of Samothrace. It commemorates a naval battle fought in 306 B.C. The statue, considerably above life size, stood on a pedestal having the form of a ship's prow. The goddess of Victory was probably represented holding a trumpet to her lips with her right hand. The fresh ocean breeze has blown her garments back into tumultuous folds. The cold marble seems to thrill with energy and life. No better expression of movement has been left to us by ancient art.

Victory of Samothrace.

228. Greek Painting

Painting, of all the varieties of art, holds forth least promise of immortality. The productions by the ancient painters have disappeared, and only the names of the artists and some stories of their achievements have survived. We know, however, that Greek painting enjoyed a high reputation in antiquity. Besides the prehistoric Cretan frescoes, there still exist some examples of wall paintings, the work of Italian craftsmen, but thoroughly Greek in character. In mural work of this description the colours were laid with a brush upon a groundwork of wet plaster. Easel painting, which flourished from the fourth century B.C., was done in water-colour on tablets of wood, or, more rarely, of stone. The use of oils in painting was unknown in ancient times.

Mural and easel paintings.

The Greeks were also familiar with a third method of painting, the so-called encaustic process. In encaustic work the colours were ground in heated liquid wax and applied to wooden or ivory objects. The process was tedious and difficult, and hence was only employed for small pictures similar to our miniatures. The dry climate of Egypt has preserved some admirable specimens of this art. The portraits are remarkably lifelike. Many of the faces, indeed, are most modern in appearance.[2]

Miniatures.

[1] See the plate facing page 290.

[2] See the plate facing page 608.

In the absence of pictures by the great Greek masters an especial interest attaches to the painted pottery of their period.

Vase painting.

Tombs and sanctuaries in Greece and Italy have yielded many thousands of ancient vases.[1] The term "Etruscan," by which they are popularly known, is inaccurate since nearly all the vases are of Greek origin. Large quantities of this

Calydonian boar hunt
Games at the funeral of Patroclus
Peleus, Thetis and the gods
Pursuit of Troilus by Achilles
Animal scenes, sphinxes, etc.

THE FRANÇOIS VASE

Archæological Museum, Florence

Found in an Etruscan grave in 1844. A black-figured terra cotta vase of about 600 B.C. It is nearly three feet in height and two and one half feet in diameter. The figures on the vase depict scenes from Greek mythology.

painted earthenware were used for funeral purposes. In daily life pottery took the place of our modern china and had as much an ornamental as a useful object. The vases were shaped with the potter's wheel into a variety of forms, and after careful firing were ready for the process of decoration.

Two methods were followed in the painting of Greek vases. In

[1] See the illustrations of vase paintings, pages 189, 193, 566, 583.

the earlier or black-figured pottery the figures were painted in black on the red glazed surface of the vase. The red-figured vases, that later became popular, were made by covering with black paint the entire surface except the figures, which were left in the ruddy colour of the clay.

Black-figured and red-figured vases.

Greek vases are remarkable for their artistic excellence. There exist perhaps no two painted vases absolutely identical. The workman despised mere copying, and did not even depend on patterns. If ordinary craftsmen could produce the beautiful vase paintings found in our museums, one wonders what must have been the creations of the masters of the pictorial art.

Beauty of Greek vases.

THREE TERRA-COTTA STATUETTES

British Museum

Grave finds from Tanagra in Bœotia. They date from the close of the fourth century B.C.

229. The Minor Arts in Greece

Baked clay was the material, not only of vases, but also of ornamental statuettes. The first terra-cottas were made by modelling the figure in a solid mass, but later the use of a mould became customary. These statuettes, the least costly of all works of art, served as offerings to the gods, as funereal objects for tombs, and as household ornaments. They represent not only creatures of mythological fancy, but men and women in their ordinary occupations, and children and animals besides. The statuettes, as well as the vase paintings, show us the everyday life of classical antiquity.

Terra-cotta statuettes.

The Greeks in metal working surpassed the best achievements of their Oriental competitors. Our museums are stocked with a multitude of objects, such as bronze mirrors, lamps, armour, gold ornaments, and silver vases, once buried in graves or hidden from the greed of man in spots now accidentally discovered.

Metal-working.

a *b*

TWO GREEK GEMS

a. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. An intaglio representing the triumph of Augustus, the victor of Actium.

b. Museum, Vienna. A cameo, cut in sardonyx, portraying Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and his wife Arsinoë.

In gem engraving the Greeks have never been excelled. The earlier gems, some of which date from Ægean times, are all intaglios; that is, stones on which the design is hollowed out. Gems of this character were engraved with a name or device for the sealing of documents. Impressions of them are often found on terra cotta tablets. In Alexandrian and Roman times precious stones were much worn as personal ornaments. Such gems, called cameos, bear a design in relief, frequently a very fine portraiture. Nothing can exceed their delicate beauty. They rank among the perfect creations of Greek art.

Gem engraving.

In the making of coins the Greek genius likewise exhibited its supremacy. The earliest coins, as we have learned,[1] were struck

[1] See page 84.

by Lydian monarchs in the eighth century B.C. The invention was soon adopted by the Greeks, who developed it into a real art. Almost every Hellenic city had its own series of silver coins, besides occasional issues of bronze and gold. **Coins.** The finest examples were produced in Sicily.

Greek coins, as well as our own, were struck on a die. The artistic superiority of ancient over modern coins is due, in a measure, to changed conditions of manufacture. Modern coins, intended to be piled one upon another, are necessarily flat. Ancient coins, being always more or less globular, permitted the stamping of an image on them in high relief. But this is only a partial explanation; the underlying reason is found in that Greek feeling for beauty which impressed itself upon everything that came from the hands of a Greek workman.[1] **Perfection of Greek coins.**

A Silver Coin of Syracuse

The profile of the nymph Arethusa has been styled the most exquisite Greek head known to us.

230. Roman Architecture

In architecture the Romans achieved preëminence. The temples and other public works of Greece seem almost insignificant beside the stupendous edifices raised by Roman genius in every province of the empire. The ability of the Romans to build on so large a scale arose from their use of vaulted constructions. Knowledge of the round arch passed over from the Orient to the Etruscans, and from them to the Romans.[2] At first the arch was employed mainly for gates, drainage sewers, aqueducts, and bridges. In imperial times, this device was adopted to permit the construction **The arch and dome in Roman buildings.**

[1] For illustrations of Oriental, Greek, and Roman coins, see the plate facing page 82.

[2] See pages 109, 307.

of vast buildings with overarching domes. The principle of the dome has inspired some of the finest creations of ancient and modern architecture.

Roman use of concrete and rubble.

The Romans for many of their buildings made much use of concrete. Its chief ingredient was *pozzolana*, a volcanic ash found in great abundance near Rome and other sites. The *pozzolana*, when mixed with lime and sand, formed a very strong cement. This material was poured in a fluid state into timber casings, where it quickly set and hardened. Small pieces of stone, called rubble, were forced down into the cement to give it additional stability. Thus foundations, walls, and arches were, so to speak, cast solid. They were usually faced with brick, which in turn might be covered with thin slabs of marble. The brick and the marble were ornamental. It was the concrete and the rubble which gave buildings composed of them their great durability, and made Rome the "Eternal City."

Temples.

The triumphs of Roman architecture were not confined chiefly to sacred edifices. Roman temples, indeed, are mostly copies from the Greek. In comparison with their originals, they lack grace and refinement. The florid Corinthian and Composite replace the purer Doric and Ionic orders. There is less accuracy in the masonry fitting, and far less careful attention to details of construction. A frequent departure from Greek models is found in the restriction of the rows of pillars to the front of the building, while the sides and rear are lined with "engaged" columns to give the idea of a colonnade.[1] More characteristically Roman are vaulted temples, such as the Pantheon,[2] where the circular dome is faced with a Greek portico.

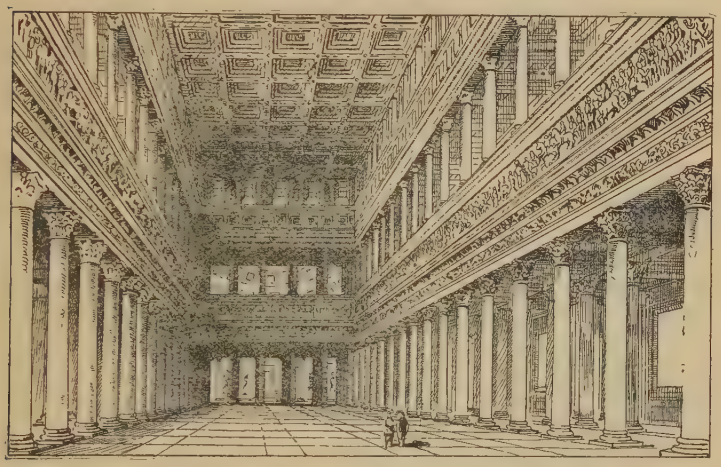
Basilicas.

Roman basilicas, of which only the ruins are now in existence, were once found in every city. These were buildings for the use of judges and merchants. The chief feature of a basilica was the long central nave divided by pillars from the side aisles. At one end there was often a circular arched

[1] See the illustration, page 490.

[2] See the illustration, page 457.

recess — the apse — where the judges held court. This arrangement of the interior bears some resemblance to the plan of the early Christian church with its choir, nave, and forest of columns. It is probable, however, that we must seek the origin of Christian architecture in the *atrium* and peristyle of a large Roman house.



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE ULPIAN BASILICA (RESTORATION)

A restoration of the structure in the Forum of Trajan at Rome.

Perhaps the most imposing, and certainly among the most useful, of Roman structures were the aqueducts.[1] There were sixty-eight in Italy and the provinces. No less than fourteen supplied the capital city with water. The aqueducts usually ran under the surface of the ground as do our water pipes. They were carried on arches only across depressions and valleys. The Claudian Aqueduct ran for thirty-six miles underground and for only nine and a half miles on arches. Though these monuments were intended simply as engineering works, their heavy masses of rough masonry produce an inspiring sense of power.[2]

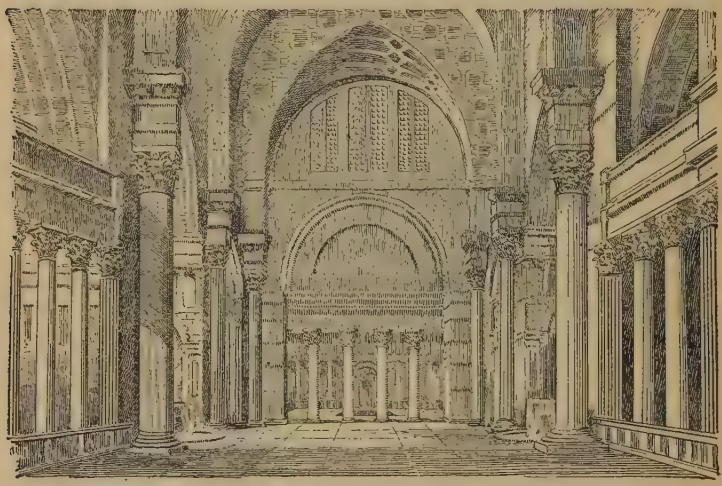
Aqueducts.

[1] See the illustrations, pages 348, 357, 489.

[2] Some Roman aqueducts are still in use; there is one at Seville in Spain, called the Caños de Carmona, through which water has flowed for over two thousand years.

The abundant water supply furnished by the aqueducts was connected with a system of great public baths, or *thermæ*. Scarcely a town or village throughout the empire lacked one or more such buildings. Those at Rome were constructed on a scale of magnificence, of which we can form but a slight conception from the ruins now in existence. In addition to many elaborate arrangements for the bathers, the *thermæ*

Thermæ.



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE BATHS OF CARACALLA (RESTORATION)

included lounging and reading rooms, libraries, gymnasia, even museums and galleries of art. The baths, indeed, were splendid clubhouses, open at little or no expense to every citizen of the metropolis.

A very characteristic example of Roman building is found in the triumphal arches.[1] Their sides were adorned with bas-reliefs, setting forth the principal scenes of a successful campaign. Memorial structures, called columns of victory,[2] were also set up in Rome and other cities. Both arch and column have been frequently imitated by modern architects.

Triumphal arches and columns.

[1] See the illustration, page 505.

[2] See the illustrations, pages 361, 456.

The palaces of Roman emperors and nobles, together with their luxurious country houses, or villas, have all disappeared. A like fate has befallen the enormous circuses, such as the Circus Maximus[1] at Rome and the Hippodrome[2] at Constantinople. The Roman theatres that still survive reproduce, in most respects, the familiar outlines of the Greek structures. In the amphitheatres, where animal shows and gladiatorial combats were exhibited, we have a genuinely Roman invention. The gigantic edifice called the Colosseum[3] in its way as truly typifies Roman architectural genius as the Parthenon represents at its best that of the Greeks.

Circuses, theatres, and amphitheatres.

231. Roman Sculpture and Painting

The Romans, in sculpture, did not exhibit the original powers which they revealed in architecture. At first, Rome was content to pillage the Greek world of its finest productions in marble and bronze. As the taste for art became more general, Greek sculptors were attracted to Rome, where they readily found purchasers for their imitations or copies of classic works. The capital became an art museum, crammed with the loveliest creations of antiquity. This Hellenic influence made it very difficult for a native Roman sculpture to maintain an existence. Only in portrait statues and bas-reliefs do we find evidence of independence and originality.

Imitative character of Roman sculpture.

A Roman Cameo

Portrait of a youth cut in sardonyx, probably of the first century A.D.

The art of portrait sculpture arose from the old custom of preserving in the house representations of departed ancestors.[4] The earliest images,

[1] See the illustration, page 589.
[2] See the illustration, page 503.
[3] See the illustration, page 591.
[4] See pages 577, 595.

moulded in wax, were intended simply as faithful pictures, not as works of art. When bronze and marble took the place of wax, the same idea prevailed of presenting the individual appearance with the utmost exactness. This kind of sculpture made a natural appeal to the practical-minded Roman, who could not always appreciate the ideal character of Greek masterpieces. A vast number of portrait statues,[1] all by nameless craftsmen, show us the features of the Roman emperors, as well as those of many Romans of lesser fame.

Portrait sculpture.

Some of the relief sculptures also illustrate this Roman tendency toward realism in art. In the representation of historical scenes the Romans wished to see what actually happened, whether the details of a march, a battle, or a triumph. The bas-reliefs from the Arch of Titus[2] impress us at once with a sense of their reality. Though executed in marble, it is a living, moving pageant which we witness. In these reliefs or in those from Trajan's Column, describing the Dacian War, sculpture well-nigh loses itself in the realm of painting.

Bas-reliefs.

Our knowledge of Roman painting is almost wholly confined to the wall paintings found at Rome, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. What has survived is apparently the work of ordinary craftsmen, who, if not Greeks, were deeply affected by the Greek spirit. Most of the scenes they depict are taken from classical mythology. The colouring is very rich; and the peculiar shade of red used is known to-day by the name of "Pompeian red." These bright, gay paintings must have added much to the attractiveness of an ancient house. The practice of mural painting passed over from the Romans to European artists, who have employed it in the splendid frescoes of medieval and modern churches.

Wall paintings.

Mosaic pictures, executed with small cubes of coloured stone or glass, formed a common decoration for pavements and walls. One of the finest in existence, the Alexander Mosaic, was discovered at Pompeii. It is probably a copy of

Mosaics.

[1] See the illustration, page 456.

[2] See the plate facing page 452.

Propylea

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (RESTORATION)

a famous Greek painting. Mosaic work is still another art which modern craftsmen have learned from the ancient masters without excelling them.

232. Artistic Athens

The two chief cities of the classical world, the two cities with whose history our narrative has been most concerned, are likewise the places of greatest interest to the student of ancient art. Athens and Rome were the artistic centres of Greece and Italy; on the adornment of these two capitals architect, sculptor, and painter lavished their finest efforts; at Athens and Rome there still survive, though with sadly diminished splendour, the most impressive monuments of antiquity.

Rome and Athens as art centres.

The city of Athens lies on the eastern side of the Attic plain, about four miles from the sea.[1] From the steep rock of the Acropolis a glorious panorama bursts upon the view. Far in the rear stretches an imposing mountain barrier, formed by the purple-hued ridges of Pentelicus, Parnes, and Hymettus. In the foreground, ever before the eyes, gleam the shining waters of the Saronic Gulf. The closeness, height, and grand form of the mountains, the near presence of the sea, the splendid mass and elevation of the Acropolis, all combine to produce an overpowering impression of beauty and grandeur. For magnificence of situation, few cities in the world can bear comparison with Athens.

Situation of Athens.

Roads converged toward the Athenian city from all parts of Attica. The highway from the harbour town of Piræus ran between the Long Walls built by Pericles.[2] Another important thoroughfare approached the city from Phalerum. To the northwest, the Sacred Way extended to Eleusis, where the famous mysteries were yearly celebrated.[3] It was lined for almost the entire length with tombs, chapels, and other buildings. To the northeast, stretched the mountain road that led to Marathon.

Roads.

All the roads from the sea and interior districts entered Athens

[1] See the map, page 203. [2] See page 230. [3] See page 513.

through handsome, well-built suburbs. One of the most attractive was the Outer Ceramicus, which lay to the northwest beyond the Sacred Way. Part of this region became a national cemetery filled with a variety of monuments so beautiful in design and workmanship as to dispel the natural sombreness of such a spot.[1]

Suburbs; the Outer Ceramicus.

Adjoining the Outer Ceramicus lay the pleasure ground and gymnasium on the banks of the Cephissus, called the Academy. It was adorned with porticoes and statues, and laid out with pleasant paths for strollers. In this delightful park the philosopher Plato taught his doctrines to the youth of Athens.[2] Another resort, known as the Lyceum, bordered the little stream of the Ilissus on the east of Athens. It was famed for its gymnasium and shady gardens, frequented by Aristotle and his pupils.[3]

The Academy and the Lyceum.

The traveller who passed through these suburbs came at length to the great wall, nearly five miles in circumference, raised by Themistocles to surround the settlement at the foot of the Acropolis.[4] The area included within this wall made up Old Athens. Some six centuries after Themistocles, the Roman emperor Hadrian, by building additional fortifications on the east, brought an extensive quarter, called New Athens, within the city limits. The wall of Themistocles was pierced at intervals with gates, the most important of which was the Dipylon. It was the Athenian terminal of the Sacred Way and the chief entrance to the city.

Walls of Athens.

The region within the walls was broken up by a number of rocky eminences which have a prominent place in the topography of Athens. Near the centre the Acropolis rises over two hundred feet above the plain, its summit crowned with monuments of the Periclean Age. Not far away is the hill called the Areopagus.[5] According to Greek legend, the war god

Hills of Athens.

[1] See the illustration, page 594.
[2] See page 255.
[3] See page 256, note 1.
[4] See page 213 and note 1.
[5] The place is referred to in the New Testament. See *Acts*, xvii, 16–32.

ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS FROM THE SOUTHWEST

Ares, who had murdered Poseidon's son, was tried on this spot. Here the Council of the Areopagus, a court of justice in trials for murder, held its deliberations in the open air. Beyond this height is the hill of the Pnyx.[1] It was the meeting place of the Athenian Assembly until the fourth century B.C., when the sessions were transferred to the Theatre of Dionysus.

The business and social centre of an ancient city was the agora or market place. The Agora of Athens lay in the hollow north of the Areopagus and Acropolis. The square was shaded by rows of plane trees and lined with the covered colonnades called stoas. In the great days of the city, when the Agora was filled with countless altars and shrines, it presented a most varied and attractive scene. **The Agora.**

Not all the splendid structures at Athens were confined to the Agora and the Acropolis. On a slight eminence not far from the Agora, rose the so-called "Theseum,"[2] built of Pentelic marble in the Doric order. It was formerly supposed to have been constructed by Cimon to receive the bones of the hero Theseus — whence the name. Scholars now consider it a temple to Hephæstus and Athena, erected just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. The "Theseum" owes its almost perfect preservation to the fact that during the Middle Ages this pagan temple served as a Christian church. **The "Theseum."**

Another famous temple, the colossal edifice called the Olympieum,[3] lay at some distance from the Acropolis on the southeast. Though dedicated by the tyrant Pisistratus in the sixth century B.C.,[4] it was not completed until long afterwards by the Roman emperor Hadrian. Fifteen of the lofty columns with their luxuriant Corinthian capitals are still standing. Even in their ruin they bear eloquent witness to the former magnificence of a structure which was sometimes included among the seven wonders of the world. **The "Olympieum."**

[1] See the illustration, page 227.
[2] See the illustration, page 231.
[3] See the illustration, page 163.
[4] See page 174.

From the Agora there branched off to the east and south an avenue called the Street of the Tripods. Here wealthy citizens who had trained a chorus to take part in a dramatic contest set up tripods to commemorate a victory. The beautiful Choragic Monument of Lysicrates[1] was intended to support one of these tripods. It is a circular building with six "engaged" columns bearing Corinthian capitals. The monument has especial interest as illustrating an architectural style which became very popular with the Romans.

Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.

Continuing along the Street of the Tripods, we come to the Theatre of Dionysus,[2] which is still in a fair state of preservation. Beyond this are the remains of the Odeum, or "Hall of Song," used for musical contests and declamations. The original building was raised by Pericles, in imitation, it is said, of the tent of Xerxes. The present ruins are those of the structure erected in the second century A.D. by Herodes Atticus, a public-spirited benefactor of Athens.[3]

Theatre of Dionysus and the Odeum.

233. The Athenian Acropolis

In the days of its greatness, many other temples and public buildings made beautiful the Athenian city. Nowhere had they been grouped in so harmonious a whole as on the Acropolis. Here was Athena's sanctuary, and here she reigned almost supreme, surrounded by an imposing array of temples, statues, shrines, and altars. Assuredly, no such glory of art was ever contained in so little space anywhere else in the world.[4]

Adornment of the Acropolis.

The adornment of the Acropolis was perhaps the most memorable achievement of Pericles.[5] As a stronghold, this rocky mount was made inaccessible except on the western side, where a flight

[1] See the illustration, page 587. [2] See the illustration, page 588.

[3] See page 479.

[4] Between the years 1885–1891 the Greek Archæological Society made a complete excavation of the Acropolis. This work revealed the traces of structures on the site belonging to a period earlier than the Age of Pericles. [5] See pages 230–231.

ATHENS
Temples
Porticoes and Stoas
Theatres, Gymnasia, etc.
Buildings used for government purposes.
1 Pompeum
2 Gymnasium
3 House of Pulytion
4 House
5 Porticoes
6 Stoa Poikile
7 Stoa of Attalus
8 Stoa Basileios
9 Stoa
10 Temple of Apollo
11 Senate House
12 Tholus
13 Temple of Aphrodite
14 Theseum
15 Temple of Hephaestus
16 Gymnasium of Ptolemy
17 Theseum
18 Stoa of Hadrian
19 Market
20 Sanctuary of Dioscuri
21 Prytaneum
22 Diogeneion
23 Propylea
24 Erectheum
25 Parthenon
26 Odeum
27 Theatre
28 Temple of Zeus
29 Stadium
30 Place of Assembly
31 Precinct of Asclepius
32 Portico of Attalus
33 Choragic Monument of Lysicrates
OUTER CERAMICUS
To the Academy
SACRED WAY
To Eleusis
Dipylon Gate
Sacred Gate
INNER CERAMICUS
COLLYTOS
R. Eridanus
Piraic Gate
MELITE
AGORA
DIOMEA
Diomean Gate
NEW ATHENS
LYCEUM
Aqueduct of Pisistratus
BARATHRON
Melitan Gate
Long Walls
AREOPAGUS
PNYX
STREET OF TRIPODS
ACROPOLIS
COELE
LIMNAE
HILLS OF THE MUSES
To Phaleron
R. Ilissus
AGRAE

of sixty marble steps led to the superb entrance gate, or Propylæa. It was constructed to resemble the front of a temple with columns and pediment. The paintings that once decorated it have disappeared.

The Propylæa.

On the right side of the stairway by which the Propylæa is reached, there rises a buttress of rock which served as the foundation for one of the most exquisite little buildings imaginable. This is the Ionic temple to Athena Nike, better known as the Temple of the Wingless Victory. Cimon is said to have built it in honour of his triumphs over the Persians.[1] After having been taken down by the Turks, who used the marble for fortifications, it was rebuilt in 1835 after the original plans. So it stands to-day, as it stood of old, on the narrow parapet beside the grand stairway of Athena.

Temple of the Wingless Victory.

TEMPLE OF THE WINGLESS VICTORY

Having mounted the steps and passed through the Propylæa, the visitor came at once on the multitude of splendid objects covering the crest of the hill. Directly in front stood a great bronze statue of the Guardian Athena, a masterpiece of the art of Phidias. It was made from the spoils of Marathon. The broad spear-point, glittering in the sunlight, could be seen by sailors far at sea. The statue was still standing in 395 A.D., when Alaric the Visigoth entered Athens.[2]

Statue of the Guardian Athena.

[1] See page 218.

[2] See page 541.

RESTORATION

PRESENT CONDITION

THE PARTHENON

The northern half of the Acropolis was specially holy ground. On this very site, according to tradition, Athena and Poseidon had contended for the dominion of Athens.[1] Here stood the oldest wooden statue of the goddess, which people believed to have fallen from heaven. Here, too, was a shrine of Erechtheus, a legendary Athenian king. The temple which occupies the spot — the Erechtheum — is in the Ionic style. It may be regarded as the best existing example of this light and graceful order. Perhaps the most beautiful feature is the Porch of the Caryatides. Its marble roof is supported by six pillars, carved in the semblance of maidens.[2] This curious but striking device has been often copied by modern architects.

The Erechtheum.

Most conspicuous of all the Acropolis buildings was the world-famed edifice which we know as the Parthenon, the temple of the Virgin Athena.[3] The ancient stone shrine of the goddess on the Acropolis had been destroyed by the Persians. Pericles determined to replace it by a more splendid structure. The quarries of Attica yielded for twenty years their most beautiful marbles to Phidias and the hundreds of artists and skilled workmen who were his assistants. The result of their labour was a temple which in Greek architecture holds a place as unapproachable and supreme as that held by the Aphrodite of Melos in Greek sculpture.

Building of the Parthenon.

The Parthenon illustrates the extreme simplicity of a Greek temple. It had no great size or height and included only two chambers. The rear room stored the sacred vessels and furniture used in worship, state treasure, and the more valuable offerings intrusted to the goddess for safekeeping. The second and larger room contained a colossal gold and ivory statue of Athena, the work of Phidias.[4] It faced the eastern doorway so that it might be bathed in the rays of the

Architecture of the Parthenon.

[1] See page 138. [2] One of the six Caryatids is now in the British Museum. Its place has been taken by a terra-cotta copy. See the plate facing page 630.

[3] See the plate facing page 628. [4] See the plate facing page 608.

rising run. Apart from the large doors, a certain amount of light reached the interior through the semi-transparent marble tiles of the roof. The Doric columns surrounding the building are marvels of fine workmanship. The great blocks of marble, forming the sections or "drums" of the columns, are joined without cement, as exactly as the most delicate piece of goldsmith's work. This amazing perfection of the construction and the admirable proportions make the Parthenon a model of strength and grace. Even in its present condition — a dismantled ruin — it remains a masterpiece of architecture.[1]

The Parthenon pediments.

The Parthenon was also remarkable for its sculptures executed under the superintendence of Phidias. The subjects of the pediment sculptures are taken from the mythic history of Athena. The birth of the goddess is represented on the east pediment over the door of the Parthenon. Here in the midst of deities and heroes Athena springs full-grown and armed from the head of her father Zeus. The west pediment illustrates the strife between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the city. The victory of the goddess in this contest made her the guardian of Athens. Only a part of these magnificent sculptures is in existence.

The Parthenon frieze.

The frieze of the Parthenon consists of a series of sculptured slabs and is over five hundred feet in length. The subject was the procession of the Great Panathenæa,[2] the principal festival in honour of Athena. At this time the sacred robe of the goddess, woven anew for each occasion, was brought

[1] After serving as a temple for about nine centuries, the Parthenon was turned into a Christian church, and later, into a Mohammedan mosque. Until 1687 it remained almost intact. In that year the Venetians bombarded Athens and sent a shell into the very centre of the Parthenon, which the Turks had made a powder magazine. The result was an explosion which threw down much of both side walls and many columns. Some of the sculptures surviving this catastrophe were secured by Lord Elgin, and in 1816 were bought for the British Museum. They are still known as the "Elgin Marbles." The removal to England of these priceless objects probably saved them from destruction. The poet Byron considered Lord Elgin's act a piece of vandalism, and wrote a poem, "The Curse of Minerva," to condemn it.

[2] See page 585.

FIGURES FROM THE PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

GROUPS FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

CORNER OF THE PARTHENON (RESTORED)

CARYATID PORCH OF THE ERECHTHEUM

to adorn her statue. The procession is thought of as starting from the western front, where Athenian youths dash forward on their spirited steeds. Then comes a brilliant array of maidens, matrons, soldiers, and luteplayers. Near the centre of the eastern front they meet a group of divinities who are conceived as spectators of the imposing scene. This part of the frieze is still in excellent condition.[1]

It was, indeed, a splendid collection of sculptured figures which once adorned the Parthenon. And it was a splendid mass of buildings, the noblest, surely, ever raised by man, that rose on the Acropolis height. If to-day they have lost much of their glory, we can still understand how they were the precious possession of the Athenians and the wonder of all the ancient world. "O shining, violet-crowned city of song, great Athens, bulwark of Hellas, walls divine!" The words are those of an old Greek poet,[2] but they are reëchoed by all who have come under the magic spell of the literature and art of the Athenian city.

The glory of Athens.

234. Artistic Rome

The monuments of Rome, unlike those of Athens, lay claim to no great antiquity. The destruction wrought by the Gauls in 390 B.C. and the great fire under Nero in 64 A.D. removed nearly all traces of the regal and republican city. Many buildings erected in the imperial age have also disappeared, since in medieval and modern times the inhabitants of Rome used the ancient edifices as quarries. The existing monuments give only a faint idea of the former magnificence of the capital city.

Destruction of ancient Rome.

The city of Rome lies on the Tiber. Where the river approaches Rome it makes two sharp turns, first to the west and then to the east. On the western, or Etruscan, bank stood the two hills called Vatican and Janiculum. They were

Situation of Rome.

[1] See the plate facing page 630.

[2] Pindar, *Fragments*, 76.

higher than the famous seven which rose on the eastern side where the ancient city was built.[1]

Two of these seven hills possess particular interest. The earliest settlement, as we have seen,[2] probably occupied the Palatine. It became in later days the favourite site for the great town houses of Roman nobles. In the imperial age the splendid palaces of the Cæsars were situated here.[3]

Palatine and Capitoline hills.

The Capitoline, steepest of the seven hills, was divided into two peaks. On one of these rose the most famous of all Roman temples, dedicated to Jupiter and his companion deities, Juno and Minerva. The other peak was occupied by a large temple of Juno Moneta ("the Adviser"), which served as the mint. The altars, shrines, and statues which once covered this height were so numerous that the Capitoline, like the Athenian Acropolis, became a museum of art.

Rome was surrounded in early times by a wall which bore the name of its legendary builder, Servius Tullius. By the period of the empire this early rampart had fallen into decay. The wall that now exists, embracing a considerably larger area than the Servian city, was not constructed until the reign of Aurelian.[4]

Walls of Rome.

As in most ancient cities, the region within the walls of Rome was thickly built up. Besides the Forum, only two large open spaces broke the mass of clustering houses. The first was the Circus Maximus, in the hollow between the Palatine Mount and the Aventine. This was a place set apart for sports and races.

Circus Maximus.

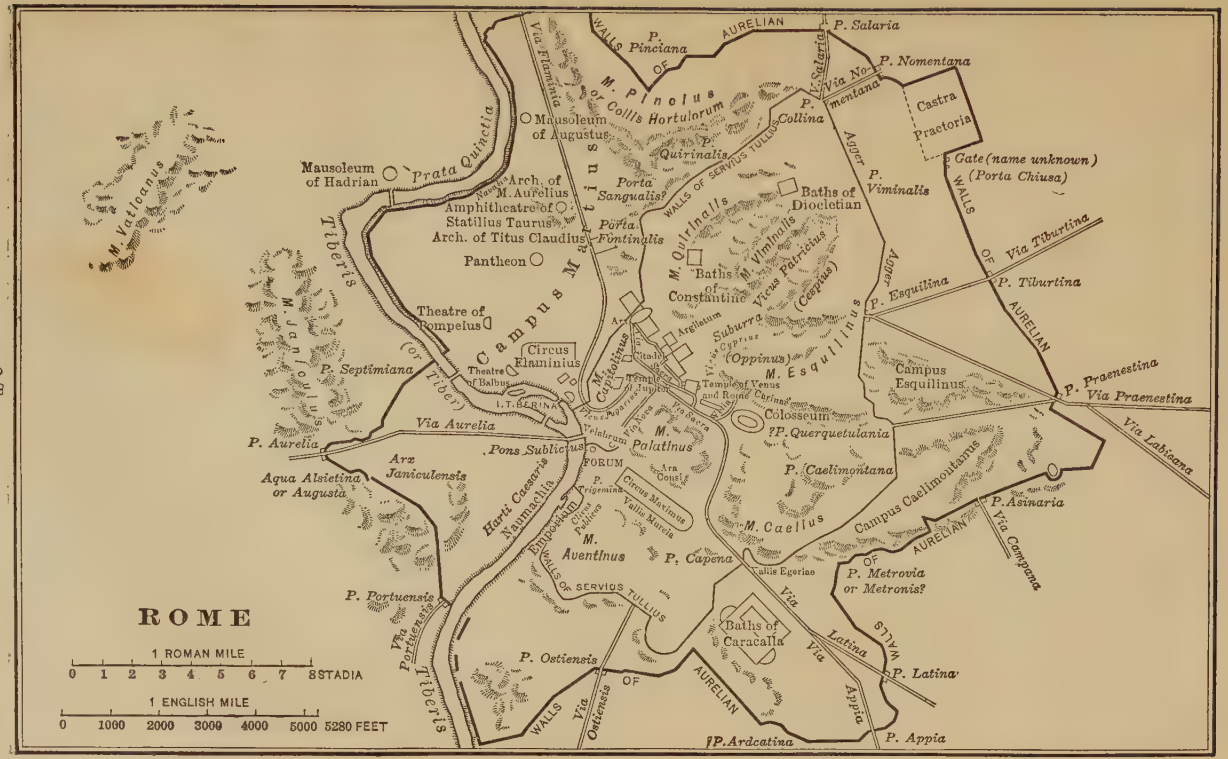
A second great open space of Rome stretched along the Tiber to the northwest of the Capitoline Hill. This famous "Plain of

[1] The seven hills have been compared to an open hand, the palm being formed by the three that lie close to the river, the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine; and the fingers by the four that radiate from these, the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Cælian. The Pincian Hill, on the north, was not included within the limits of old Rome.

[2] See page 310.

[3] Our word *palace* comes from the Latin *Palatium*.

[4] See the illustration, page 497.


ROME
1 ROMAN MILE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 STADIA
1 ENGLISH MILE
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 5280 FEET
Mausoleum of Augustus
Mausoleum of Hadrian
Prata Quinctia
Arch. of M. Aurelius
Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus
Arch. of Titus Claudius
Pantheon
Theatre of Pompeius
Circus Flaminius
Theatre of Balbus
I. T. BERINA
Campus Martius
Via Flaminia
Porta Sanguialis?
Porta Fontinalis
M. Pinciana
M. Pinciolus or Collis Hortulorum
P. Pinciana
WALLS OF AURELIAN
P. Salaria
P. Nomentana
Via Nomentana
Castra Praetoria
Gate (name unknown) (Porta Chiusa)
P. Collina
P. Quirinalis
WALLS OF SERVIUS TULLIUS
Baths of Diocletian
Agger
P. Viminalis
M. Quirinalis
M. Viminalis
Baths of Constantine
Vicus Patricius (Cespius)
Argiletum
Suburra
Cyprius (Oppinus)
M. Esquilinus
P. Esquilina
Via Tiburtina
P. Tiburtina
Campus Esquilinus
P. Praenestina
Via Praenestina
Via Labicana
Colosseum
?P. Querquetulania
P. Caelimontana
Campus Caelimontanus
P. Asinaria
Via Campana
M. Caelius
Vallis Egeriae
P. Metrovia or Metronis?
Baths of Caracalla
Via Latina
P. Latina
Via Appia
P. Appia
?P. Ardeatina
P. Ostiensis
Via Ostiensis
Tiberis
M. Janiculus
P. Septimiana
Via Aurelia
P. Aurelia
Aqua Alsietina or Augusta
Arx Janiculensis
Pons Sublicius
FORUM
Harti Caesaris
Naumachia
Emporium
Circus Maximus
Vallis Murcia
M. Aventinus
P. Capena
P. Portuensis
Via Portuensis
M. Vaticanus

Mars" lay outside the Servian walls. Under the republic, no buildings, except one or two temples, were permitted on the site. It was used for the meetings of the *comitia centuriata*, as the parade ground of the soldiers, and as a place of recreation for the citizens. During the imperial age the emperors raised some of their finest structures on the Campus Martius. It is the most populous part of the modern city.

The Campus Martius.

Following the map of ancient Rome under the empire, we may note the more important monuments which still exist in something like their original condition. Across the Tiber and beyond the Campus Martius stands the Mausoleum of Hadrian.[1] The existing building was formerly topped by another of smaller size which bore a statue of the emperor. In medieval times this stately tomb was turned into a castle. It is now a museum.

Mausoleum of Hadrian.

In the Campus Martius itself the most notable structure is the Pantheon.[2] It is the one ancient building in the entire Roman world which still survives, inside and out, in a fair state of preservation. The original Pantheon was the work of Agrippa, a minister of Augustus. The temple was reconstructed by Hadrian, who left the Greek portico unchanged, but added the rotunda and the dome. This great dome, the largest in the world, is composed of solid concrete. The interior of the building is lighted in a most effective manner by an opening at the top of the dome. During the Middle Ages the Pantheon was converted into a church. It now forms the burial place of the kings of Italy.

The Pantheon.

The ruins of the Theatre of Marcellus lie near the Tiber in a hollow not far from the Capitoline. It was built by Julius Cæsar and dedicated by Augustus in honour of the emperor's nephew, Marcellus.

Theatre of Marcellus.

[1] See the illustration, page 458. The present name, "Castle of the Angel" (*Castel Sant' Angelo*), arose from the legend that the archangel Michael, when a great plague raged in Rome, had been seen above the building sheathing his fiery sword as a sign that the wrath of the Lord was satisfied. A statue of the archangel now stands upon the monument.

[2] See the illustration, page 457.

The depression between the Cælian and Esquiline hills contains the Flavian Amphitheatre, better known as the Colosseum.[1] It was begun by Vespasian and probably completed by Titus. The topmost story, bringing the total height to one hundred and fifty-seven feet, seems to have been a later addition. No less than eighty entrances admitted the forty-five thousand spectators who could be accommodated in this huge structure. They sat on four ranges of seats corresponding very nearly in level with the four stories of the exterior. The lowest tier of seats was generally reserved for more distinguished citizens, the second tier was occupied by the middle class, the third by the poor, and the uppermost benches by women. A high wall with an iron grating surrounded the arena. Recent excavations have laid bare the subterranean dens for wild beasts and the arrangement for raising the scenery and cages through trap doors in the flooring of the arena. The Colosseum is a fine illustration of what imposing effects may be secured by plain masonry construction. Despite the enormous mass of the present ruins, probably two-thirds of the original materials have been carried away to be used in other buildings.[2]

The Colosseum.

Close to the Colosseum stands the arch[3] erected by the Senate in honour of the victory of Constantine over his rival Maxentius. From this event is dated the triumph of Christianity in the Roman state.[4] The monument consists of a central gateway with two smaller arches at the sides. The latter are flanked by detached columns in the Corinthian style. In front of the upper story and over the columns are four large statues. The arch is profusely decorated with sculptures in relief.

Arch of Constantine.

[1] See the illustration, page 591.

[2] During the Middle Ages a famous prophecy was current: —

> "While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall;
> And when Rome falls, with her shall fall the world."

[3] See the illustration, page 505.

[4] See page 529.

About half a mile beyond the Colosseum may be seen the remains of the Baths of Caracalla.[1] They were surpassed in size only by those of Diocletian. Their ruined masses of brick and concrete are among the most stupendous examples of Roman architecture.

Baths of Caracalla.

Near the centre of the city are the remains of the Forum added by Trajan to the accommodations of the original Forum. It contains the Column of Trajan[2] under which that emperor was buried. His bronze statue, formerly occupying the top, has been replaced by a figure of St. Peter. The column is decorated with a continuous spiral relief representing scenes from the Dacian War. Some twenty-five hundred separate designs are included in this remarkable collection.

Column of Trajan.

235. The Roman Forum

The Forum lies in the valley north of the Palatine Hill. Like the Agora at Athens, it was the business and social centre of the Roman city. Under the republic the place also served for gladiatorial combats and athletic games. Such displays in imperial times were transferred to the amphitheatre and circus. The Forum was also cleared of its shops, and was reserved for law courts, exchanges, and other public buildings. During the Middle Ages the site became buried in ruins and rubbish, in some places to a depth of forty feet or more. Recent excavations have restored the ancient level and revealed the remains of the ancient structures.

Uses of the Forum.

The Forum could be approached from the east by one of the most famous streets in the world, the Roman Sacred Way. The illustration of the Forum at the present time gives a view looking eastward from the Capitoline Mount, and shows several of the buildings on or near the Sacred Way. At the left are seen the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine. Farther in

Approach to the Forum.

[1] See the illustration, page 620. [2] See the illustration, page 456.

THE ROMAN FORUM AT THE PRESENT TIME

the distance, the Colosseum looms up. Directly ahead is the Arch of Titus, which commemorates the capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The ruins of the palaces of the Cæsars occupy the slopes of the Palatine.

The only well-preserved monument in the Forum is the beautiful arch of Septimius Severus. Beyond it are three columns which once formed part of the Temple of Castor. They date from the time of Tiberius. In front are the foundations of the Basilica Julia erected by Julius Cæsar. Next come eight Ionic columns, all that remain of the Temple of Saturn. Here was the seat of the earliest public treasury. Near it and in the foreground are several columns in the Corinthian style belonging to a temple built by Vespasian.

The Forum to-day.

These ruined monuments, these empty foundations and lonely pillars, afford little idea of all the wealth of architecture that once adorned this spot. Here stood the circular shrine of Vesta,[1] guarding the altar and its ever-blazing fire. Near it stood the Regia, or residence of the Pontifex Maximus. Here was the Temple of Concord, famous in Roman history.[2] The Senate-house was here, and just before it, the Rostra, a platform adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of captured ships. From this place Roman orators addressed their assembled fellow-citizens.

The Forum in antiquity.

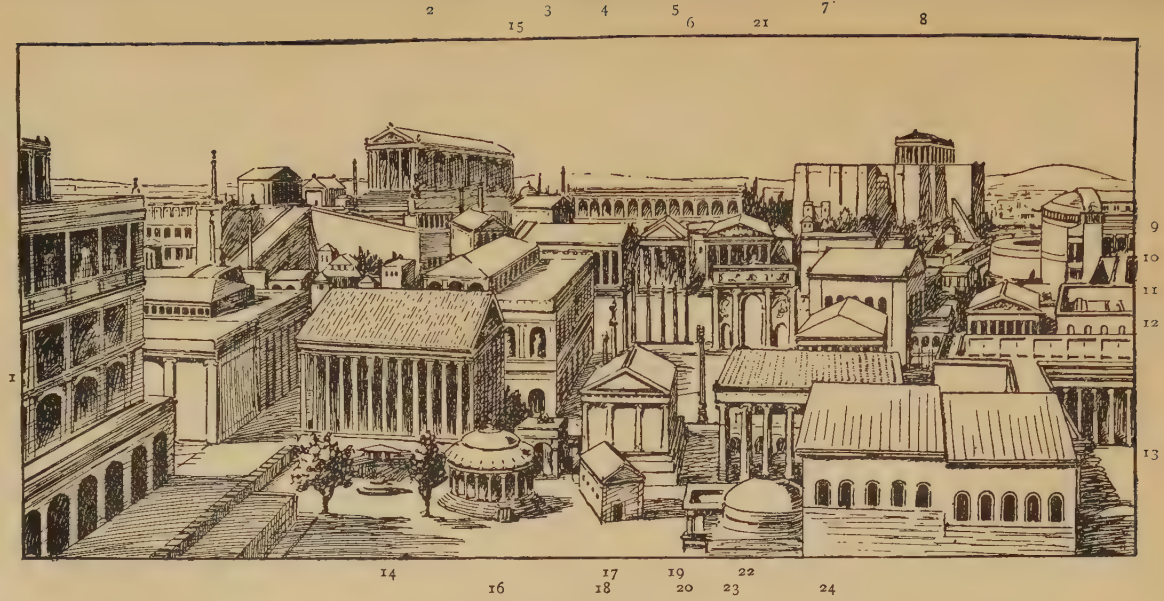
Eighteen hundred years ago, how splendid a scene must have greeted the observer who, from the height of the Capitol, gazed at the imperial city before him. Then the Forum below was one radiant avenue of temples, triumphal arches, columns, and shrines. And beyond the Forum stretched a magnificent array of theatres and amphitheatres, enormous baths, colossal sepulchres, and statues in stone and bronze. In the remote distance across terraces and gardens might be seen the long, unbroken line of the aqueducts, and a thousand marble villas gleaming in the sun against the distant hills. So prodigious an accumulation of objects beautiful, costly, and rare has never before or since been found on earth.

The grandeur of Rome.

[1] See page 321.

[2] See page 401.

In this book we have concerned ourselves with ancient history alone. We have studied chiefly the two great Indo-European peoples who produced classical civilization. They themselves have passed away, but the best of what they did still abides in our modern world. In Greece, it has been said, men first learned to be human; to develop the body, to train the intellect, to purify and refine the spirit. Literature in verse and prose, art in all its forms, science and philosophy are Greek creations. Under Rome mankind first learned to be civilized; for law, government, citizenship, are the work of the Latin race. These achievements, secured by the patient labours of the old Greeks and Romans, have become the heritage of all succeeding generations.



1 Palace of the Cæsars.
2 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
3 Temple of Saturn.
4 Tabularium. Temple of Vespasian.
5 Temple of Concord.
6 Arch of Septimius Severus.
7 Temple of Juno Moneta on the Arx.
8 Temple of Mother Venus.
9 Basilica Ulpia.
10 Forum of Trajan.
11 Forum of Augustus.
12 Forum of Nerva.
13 Forum of Vespasian.
14 Temple of Castor and Pollux.
15 Basilica Julia.
16 Temple of Vesta.
17 Temple of Julius Cæsar.
18 Regia.
19 Forum.
20 Sacred Way.
21 Basilica Æmilia.
22 Temple of Antoninus Pius.
23 Temple of Romulus.
24 Templum Sacræ Urbis.

THE ROMAN FORUM AND THE SURROUNDING BUILDINGS (Restored)

APPENDIX

TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES[1]

(Specially important dates are in italics)

Babylonia and Assyria	Egypt	Palestine	Lydia and Persia
B.C.	B.C.		
2500 Sargon I, king of Agade	3400 Menes, king of Egypt		
	3000–2800 The pyramid builders	B.C.	
2000 Hammurabi, king of Babylon	1800–1600 Rule of the Hyksos	2000 Age of Abraham	
	1350–1205 Nineteenth (Theban) Dynasty	1035–925 The Undivided Monarchy	
	Rameses II, 1292–1225	Saul, 1035–1015	
	Merneptah, 1225–1215	David, 985–955	
		Solomon, 955–925	
		925–722 Kingdom of Israel	
745–626 The great Assyrian kings		925–586 Kingdom of Judea	B.C.
Sargon II, 722–705			689–546 Kings of Lydia — dynasty of the Mermnadæ
Sennacherib, 705–681		*722 Capture of Samaria by Sargon II*	Crœsus, 560–546
Esarhaddon, 681–669			553–330 Kings of Persia — dynasty of the Achæmenidæ
Ashurbanipal, 669–626			
606 Destruction of Nineveh; end of the Assyrian Empire	609–593 Necho II		Cyrus the Great, 553–529
604–561 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon	570–525 Amasis II	*586 Capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar*	Cambyses, 529–522
539 Capture of Babylon by Cyrus the Great	525 Persian conquest by Cambyses		Darius I, 521–485
			Xerxes I, 485–465

[1] Before 1000 B.C., and in some instances even later, nearly all dates must be regarded as merely approximate. After 500 B.C., most dates can be established with accuracy.

TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES — *Continued*

B.C.	Greece	Rome
1600–1100	Great age of Ægean civilization	
1100–750	Homeric age	
776	*First recorded Olympiad*	
750–500	Period of colonial expansion	
621	Legislation of Draco	
594–593	Reforms of Solon	
560–527	Tyranny of Pisistratus	
510	Expulsion of Hippias from Athens	
508–507	Reforms of Clisthenes	
499–493	Ionian revolt	
492–479	*The Persian and Carthaginian attack*	
490	*Marathon*	
480	*Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, and Himera*	
479	*Platæa and Mycale*	
477(?)–454(?)	Confederacy of Delos	
461–429	Leadership of Pericles	
445	Thirty Years' Truce	
431–404	*The Peloponnesian War*	
430	Plague at Athens	
421	Peace of Nicias	
415–413	Sicilian expedition	
405	*Battle of Ægospotami*	
404	Fall of Athens	
404–371	Spartan Supremacy	
404–403	The Thirty Tyrants at Athens	
B.C.		
753(?)		Founding of Rome
753(?)–509(?)		The legendary kings
		Romulus, 753–716
		Numa Pompilius, 715–673
		Tullus Hostilius, 673–641
		Ancus Martius, 641–616
		Tarquinius Priscus, 616–578
		Servius Tullius, 578–534
		Tarquinius Superbus, 534–509
509(?)		Establishment of the republic; Valerian law
493(?)		Plebeian tribunes
451(?)–449(?)		The Decemvirs
405(?)–396(?)		Siege and capture of Veii

401–400 Expedition of the Ten Thousand
399 Death of Socrates
386 Peace of Antalcidas
371–362 Supremacy of Thebes
371 Battle of Leuctra
362 Battle of Mantinea; death of Epaminondas
359–336 Philip II, king of Macedonia
356–346 Second Sacred War
338 Battle of Chæronea
336–323 Alexander, king of Macedonia and Persia
335 Destruction of Thebes
334 Battle of the Granicus
333 Battle of Issus
332 Siege of Tyre; founding of Alexandria
331 Battle of Arbela
331–325 Conquest of the Far East
325 Expedition of Nearchus
323 Death of Alexander

390(?) Battle of the Allia; capture of Rome by the Gauls

367 Licinian laws

340–338 Great Latin War; dissolution of the Latin Confederacy

327–290 Samnite wars

321 Disaster at the Caudine Forks
295 Battle of Sentinum
281–272 War between Rome and Tarentum; invasion of Pyrrhus
280 Battle of Heraclea
279 Battle of Asculum
275 Battle of Beneventum

The Roman World

B.C.

264–241 *First Punic War*
218–201 *Second Punic War*
218 Battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia
217 Battle of Lake Trasimenus
216 Battle of Cannæ
212 Capture of Syracuse
207 Battle of the Metaurus
202 *Battle of Zama*
201 Peace between Rome and Carthage
215–205 First Macedonian War
200–196 Second Macedonian War
197 Battle of Cynoscephalæ; Macedonia becomes a dependent ally of Rome
190 Battle of Magnesia; Syria becomes a dependent ally of Rome
171–167 Third Macedonian War
168 Battle of Pydna
149–146 Third Punic War
146 *Destruction of Carthage* and *Corinth; Africa and Macedonia become Roman provinces*
133 Acquisition of the province of Asia; capture of Numantia in Spain
133 Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus
123–122 Tribunate of Gaius Gracchus
112–106 Jugurthine War
102–101 Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones; battles of Aquæ Sextiæ (102) and Vercellæ (101)
90–88 The Social War
88–84 First Mithradatic War
83–81 Second Mithradatic War
83–82 Civil War between Marius and Sulla
82–79 Dictatorship of Sulla
74–63 Third Mithradatic War
73–71 "War of the Gladiators"
72 Murder of Sertorius
67 Pompey and the War with the Pirates
65–63 Pompey in Pontus and Syria
63 *Conspiracy of Catiline*
60–53 First Triumvirate: Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar
58–50 Conquest of Gaul by Cæsar
53 Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians at Carrhæ
49–46 Civil War between Cæsar and the Pompeians
48 Battle of Pharsalus
46 Battle of Thapsus

44 *Assassination of Cæsar*
43 Second Triumvirate: Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian
43 Death of Cicero
42 Battles of Philippi
31 *Battle of Actium*
31 B.C.–68 A.D. The Julian and Claudian Cæsars
Augustus, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.
Tiberius, 14–37
Gaius (Caligula), 37–41
Claudius, 41–54
Nero, 54–68
27 Octavian receives the title Augustus
4 (?) Birth of Christ
A.D.
9 *Battle of the Teutoberg Forest*
43–85 Conquest of Britain
64 The Great Fire in Rome; Nero's persecution of the Christians
68–69 The year of military revolution; Galba, Otho, and Vitellius emperors
69–96 The Flavian Cæsars
Vespasian, 69–79
Titus, 79–81
Domitian, 81–96
70 Capture of Jerusalem by Titus
79 *Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum*
96–192 The Antonine Cæsars
Nerva, 96–98
Trajan, 98–117
Hadrian, 117–138
Antoninus Pius, 138–161
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161–180
Commodus, 180–192
101–106 Conquest of Dacia by Trajan
167–180 Wars with the Germanic barbarians
193–284 The "Soldier Emperors"
Septimius Severus, 193–211
Antoninus (Caracalla), 211–217
Antoninus (Elagabalus), 218–222
Alexander Severus, 222–235
Decius, 249–251
Valerian, 253–260
Gallienus, 260–268
Claudius II, 268–270
Aurelian, 270–275

212 *Edict of Caracalla*
227 Rise of the Sassanian or New Persian Empire
260 Capture of Valerian by the Persians
272–273 Zenobia conquered by Aurelian; destruction of Palmyra
284 *Reorganization of the Roman Empire by Diocletian*
284–395 The "Absolute Emperors"

- Diocletian, 284–305
- Maximian, 286–305
- Constantine I, 306–337 (sole emperor, 324–337)
- Constantine II, 337–340
- Constans, 337–350
- Constantius II, 337–361 (sole emperor, 351–361)
- Julian, 361–363
- Jovian, 363–364
- Valentinian I (West), 364–375
- Valens (East), 364–378
- Gratian (West), 375–383
- Valentinian II (West), 375–392
- Theodosius I (East), 379–395 (sole emperor, 392–395)

311 Edict of Galerius
312 Battle of the Milvian Bridge
313 Edict of Milan
325 *Council of Nicæa*
326–330 Removal of the capital to Constantinople
376 The Visigoths cross the Danube
378 Battle of Adrianople
395 *Final division of the Roman Empire*
410 *Capture of Rome by Alaric*
415–711 Visigothic kingdom in Spain (in Gaul, 415–507)
429–534 Vandal kingdom in Africa
443–534 Kingdom of the Burgundians
449 Invasion of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons
451 *Battle of Châlons*
455 Sack of Rome by the Vandals
476 *Romulus Augustulus, last emperor in the West*
476–526 Reign of Theodoric the Great
486 Clovis defeats the Romans at Soissons
493–553 Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy
496 Clovis accepts Christianity
527–565 Reign of Justinian
568–774 Lombards in Italy
768–814 Reign of Charlemagne
800 *Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans*

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DYER, T. H. *History of the Kings of Rome* (Bell, 1868, 16*s.*).

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MERIVALE, C. *The Roman Triumvirates* (Longmans, Epochs of Ancient History, 1876, 4th ed. 1885, 2*s.* 6*d.*).

OMAN, C. W. C. *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic: the Gracchi, Sulla, Crassus, Cato, Pompey, Cæsar* (Arnold, 1902, 6*s.*).

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——— *Roman Empire of the Second Century: Age of the Antonines*, 44 B.C.–96 A.D. (Longmans, Epochs of Ancient History, 1876, 2*s.* 6*d.*).

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——— *The Women of the Cæsars* (Unwin, 1911, 8*s.* 6*d.* net).

FIRTH, J. B. *Augustus Cæsar, and the Organisation of the Empire of Rome* (Putnam, Heroes of the Nations, 1905, 5*s.*).

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HENDERSON, B. W. *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*, A.D. 69–70 (Macmillan, 1908, 8*s.* 6*d.* net).

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NEGRI, G. *Julian the Apostate* (2 vols., Unwin, 1905, 21*s*. net).

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(*For* Sicily *see* GREECE (*b*) (ii), p. 652.)

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Boissier, Gaston. *Roman Africa: Algeria and Tunis.* Tr. by Arabella Ward (Putnam, 1899, 6*s.*).

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Haverfield, F. *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Clarendon Press, 1912, 3*s.* 6*d.* net).

Holmes, T. R. *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar* (Clarendon Press, 1907, 21*s.* net).

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Boissier, G. *Rome and Pompeii.* Tr. Fisher (Unwin, 1896, 2*s.* 6*d.* net).

Buckland, W. W. *The Roman Law of Slavery: the Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1908, 18*s.* net).

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Dill, S. *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (Macmillan, 1899, 8*s.* 6*d.* net).

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Fowler, W. W. *City-State of Greeks and Romans* (*see* Greece, p. 653).

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——— *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (Macmillan, 1908, 10*s.* net).

——— *The Religious Experience of the Roman People, to the Age of Augustus* (Macmillan, 1911, 12*s.* net).

Friedländer, L. *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (Macmillan, 1899, 6*s.*).

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Inge, W. R. *Society in Rome under the Cæsars* (Murray, 1888, 6*s.*).

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——— *Destruction of Ancient Rome* (Macmillan, 1899, 6*s.*).
——— *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (Macmillan, 1897, 16*s.*).
LOVELL, ISABEL. *Stories in Stone from the Roman Forum* (Macmillan (N.Y.), 1902, 6*s.* 6*d.* net).
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TEUFFEL, W. S. *History of Roman Literature* (tr.) (2 vols., Bell, 1873, 21*s.*).
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BREASTED, J. H. *History of Egypt, to the Persian Conquest* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1906, 20*s.* net).
BRUGSCH, H. *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs.* Ed. by Brodrick (Murray, 1891, 18*s.*).
BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS. Of Budge's many valuable works on Ancient Egypt see especially the following:
History of Egypt to the Death of Cleopatra VII, 30 B.C. (8 vols., Kegan Paul, 1899–1902, 3*s.* 6*d.* net each).
Egyptian Magic (Kegan Paul, 1899, 3*s.* 6*d.* net).
Gods of the Egyptians, or Studies in Egyptian Mythology (2 vols., Methuen, 1903, 63*s.* net).
Decrees of Memphis and Canopus (3 vols., Kegan Paul, 1904, 3*s.* 6*d.* net each). (Vols. i, ii, *The Rosetta Stone*: vol. iii, *The Decree of Canopus*.)
The Egyptian Sudan; its History and Monuments (2 vols., Kegan Paul, 1907, 42*s.* net).
Book of the Kings of Egypt (2 vols., Kegan Paul, 1908, 6*s.* net each). (Vol. i, *Dyn. I–XIX*; vol. ii, *Dyn. XX–XXX*.)
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——— *A Manual of Egyptian Archæology* (Grevel, 1902, 6*s*.).
——— *New Light on Ancient Egypt* (Unwin, 1908, 6*s*. net).
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——— *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (Constable, 1906, 1*s*. net).
——— *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity* (Harper, Library of Living Thought, 1909, 2*s*. 6*d*. net).
——— *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (Foulis, 1909, 5*s*. net).
——— *Egypt and Israel* (S.P.C.K., 1910, 2*s*. 6*d*.).
And many other works.
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RHIND, A. H *Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants* (Longmans, 1862, 18*s*.).
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——— *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (T. and T. Clark, 1902, 8*s*. net).
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CARTHAGE AND NORTH AFRICA

(*For* Punic Wars *see also* ROME (*c*), p. 655).

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CHURCH and GILMAN. *Carthage; or, The Empire of Africa* (Unwin, Story of the Nations, 1886, 5*s*.).
MORRIS, W. O'C. *Hannibal, Soldier, Statesman, and Patriot: and the Crisis of the Struggle between Carthage and Rome* (Putnam, Heroes of the Nations, 1897, 5*s*.).
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(*a*) ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, CHALDÆA

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——— *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings, including a Record of the Early History of the Kassites* (2 vols., Luzac, 1907, 17*s.* net).

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. — The pronunciation of all proper names is indicated either by a simplified spelling or by their accentuation and division into syllables. The diacritical marks employed are those found in Webster's *New International Dictionary* and are the following:

ā as in āle.
â " " senâte.
ȃ " " cȃre.
ă " " ăm.
ȧ " " ȧccount.
ä " " ärm.
å " " åsk.
ȧ " " sofȧ.
ē " " ēve.
ê " " êvent.
ĕ " " ĕnd.
ė " " recėnt.
ẽ " " makẽr.
ī " " īce.
ĭ " " ĭll.

ō as in ōld.
ô " " ôbey.
ȯ " " ȯrb.
ŏ " " ŏdd.
ǒ " " sǒft.
o͝ " " o͝bey.
ū " " ūse.
û " " ûnite.
u͟ " " u͟rn.
ŭ " " ŭp.
u͟ " " circu͟s.
ü " " menü.
o͞o as in fo͞od.
o͝o " " fo͝ot.
ou " " out.

oi as in oil.
ch " " chair.
g " " go.
ng " " sing.
ŋ " " iŋk.
t͟h " " t͟hen.
th " " thin.
t͡u " " nat͡ure.
d͡u " " verd͡ure.
ĸ for ch as in Ger. ich, ach.
ɴ as in Fr. bon.
y " " yet.
zh for z as in azure.

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